

W.B. HENNING  
SELECTED PAPERS

II



ACTA IRANICA



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ACTA IRANICA

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE

VOLUME VI

SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE  
DE S.M.I. LE SHAHINSHAH ARYAMEHR

# ACTA IRANICA

ENCYCLOPÉDIE PERMANENTE DES ÉTUDES IRANIENNES  
FONDÉE À L'OCCASION DU 2500<sup>e</sup> ANNIVERSAIRE  
DE LA FONDATION DE L'EMPIRE PERSE PAR CYRUS LE GRAND

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DEUXIÈME SÉRIE

HOMMAGES ET OPERA MINORA



Acta Iranica 15

ÉDITION  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE PAHLAVI  
TÉHÉRAN-LIÈGE

DIFFUSION  
E. J. BRILL  
LEIDEN

# HOMMAGES ET OPERA MINORA

VOLUME VI

## W. B. HENNING SELECTED PAPERS

II



1977

DIFFUSION  
E.J. BRILL  
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TÉHÉRAN-LIÈGE

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# TABLE DES MATIÈRES

<i>Sogdica</i> , James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XXI, London, 1940 (67 p. with Errata and addenda)	i
"Sulphur" in Sogdian ( <i>BSOS</i> , 1940, p. 398)	69
Compte rendu de E. HERZFELD, <i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1940, pp. 501-507).	71
Compte rendu de A. GHILAIN, <i>Essai sur la langue parthe</i> ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1940, pp. 508-509)	79
Mani's Last Journey ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1942, pp. 941-953).	81
An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn ( <i>JRAS</i> , 1942, pp. 229-248)	95
The Book of the Giants ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1943, pp. 52-74)	115
The murder of the Magi ( <i>JRAS</i> , 1944, pp. 133-144)	139
The Disintegration of the Avestic Studies ( <i>TPS</i> , 1942, pp. 40-56)	151
Sogdian Tales ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1945, pp. 465-487)	169
Brāhman ( <i>TPS</i> , 1944, pp. 108-118)	193
The Manichaean Fasts ( <i>JRAS</i> , 1945, pp. 146-164)	205
Waruḥān-Sāh ( <i>Journal of the Greater India Society</i> , 1945, XI/2, pp. 85-90)	225
The Sogdian Texts of Paris ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1946, pp. 713-740)	231
Two Central Asian Words ( <i>TPS</i> , 1945, pp. 150-162)	259
Two Manichaean Magical Texts, with an Excursus on the Parthian ending -ēndēh ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1947, pp. 39-66)	273
A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1948, pp. 306-318)	301
The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1948, pp. 601-615)	315
The Aramaic Inscription of Asoka found in Lampāka ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1949, pp. 80-88)	331
The name of the "Tokharian" language ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1949, pp. 158-162)	341
Oktō(u) ( <i>TPS</i> , 1948, p. 69)	347
A Pahlavi Poem ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1950, pp. 641-648; p. 809)	349
Gabae ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1951, p. 144)	357
The monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1952, pp. 151-178)	359



A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1952, pp. 501-522) . . . . .	387
A new Parthian Inscription ( <i>JRAS</i> , 1953, pp. 132-136) . . . . .	409
Notes on the Great Inscription of Šāpūr I ( <i>Prof. Jackson Memorial Volume</i> , Bombay, 1954, pp. 40-54) . . . . .	415
The inscription of Firuzabad ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1954, pp. 98-102) . . . . .	431
Ein unbeachtetes Wort im Awesta ( <i>Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller</i> , Leipzig, 1954, pp. 289-292) . . . . .	437
Compte rendu de F. ALTHEIM und H. STIEHL, <i>Asien und Rom, et Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen</i> ( <i>Gnomon</i> , 1954, pp. 476-480) . . . . .	441
The Middle Persian word for "beer" ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1955, pp. 603-604) . . . . .	447
The structure of the Khwarezmian verb ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1955, pp. 43-49) . . . . .	449
The ancient language of Azerbaijan ( <i>TPS</i> , 1954, pp. 157-177) . . . . .	457
Eine arabische Version mittelpersischer Weisheitsschriften ( <i>ZDMG</i> , 1956, pp. 73-77) . . . . .	479
The Khwarezmian Language ( <i>Z. V. Togan'a Armağan</i> , Istanbul, 1956, pp. 421-436) . . . . .	485
The "coin" with cuneiform inscription ( <i>NC</i> , 1956, pp. 327-328) . . . . .	501
Surkh Kotal ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1956, pp. 366-367) . . . . .	503
The dates of Mani's life, by S. H. TAQIZADEH. Translated from the Persian, introduced, and concluded by W. B. HENNING ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1957, pp. 106-121) . . . . .	505
The inscriptions of Tang-i Azao ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1957, pp. 335-342) . . . . .	521
A spurious folktale ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1958, pp. 315-318) . . . . .	529
New Pahlavi inscriptions on silver vessels ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1959, pp. 132-134) . . . . .	533
A fragment of the Manichaean hymn-cycles in Old Turkish ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1959, pp. 122-124) . . . . .	537
Die älteste persische Gedichthandschrift: eine neue Version von Barlaam und Joasaph ( <i>Akten des vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München 1957</i> , Wiesbaden, 1959, pp. 305-307) . . . . .	541
The Bactrian inscription ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1960, pp. 47-55) . . . . .	545
A Sassanian silver bowl from Georgia ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1961, pp. 353-356) . . . . .	555

Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdaki ( <i>A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S.H. TAQIZADEH</i> , London, 1962, pp. 89-104) . . . . .	559
A Bactrian seal-inscription ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1962, p. 335) . . . . .	575
The Kurdish Elm ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1963, ■, 68-72) . . . . .	577
Coriander ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1963, ■, 195-199) . . . . .	583
The survival of an ancient term ( <i>Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne</i> , Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 95-97) . . . . .	589
A forgotten Avestan word ( <i>Dr. J.M. Unvala Memorial Volume</i> , Bombay, 1964, p. 41-44) . . . . .	593
A grain of mustard ( <i>AION-L</i> , 1965, pp. 29-47) . . . . .	597
A Sogdian god ( <i>BSOAS</i> , 1965, pp. 242-254) . . . . .	617
Surkh-Kotal und Kaniska ( <i>ZDMG</i> , 1965, pp. 75-87) . . . . .	631
The Choresmian Documents ( <i>Asia Major</i> , 1965, p. 166-179) . . . . .	645
Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen ( <i>In Memoriam Paul Kahle</i> , Berlin, 1968, ■, 138-145) . . . . .	659





## SOGDICA

### FOREWORD

The preparation of this present volume has been interrupted by the war. Dr. Henning was unable to complete his work. The fifth part, *Manichaean-Sogdian Letters*, listed in the Contents, and quoted once on p. 48 in the text, was not ready. A Glossary, too, is lacking. He was also unable, if he had wished it, to revise the text. My task has been to read the proofs, since it was desired to finish the printing of the volume without further delay. I may add here that a note on the name *Ttūgutta* quoted on p. 11 will be published in the next part of the *BSOS*. On p. 22 a reference to Dr. Tedesco's note in *BSL.*, 23 (1922), 113, would no doubt have been added in a revision.

Meantime we hope that Dr. Henning's important work will be continued in the future.

H. W. BAILLY.

## SOGDIAN LISTS

IN a number of the Sogdian manuscripts which I had occasion to examine, the text is arranged in columns, against normal usage, in such a way that each line of a column contains a single word only. The columns, running from the right to the left, are separated from each other by more or less carelessly drawn vertical lines. Since the interval between two separating lines is determined by the longest word of each column, a large part of the page is left blank, in irregular patches, a fact which enhances the general unsightliness of these manuscripts. The script is the late Sogdian kind, and as bad as it can be (which is saying a good deal). In most of the manuscripts in question it is extremely irregular, the letters varying in shape from line to line in such a way as to make it doubtful that professional scribes wrote them. It seems that the majority of the fragments are either school exercises or lists of persons, etc., written by unskilled people for practical purposes.

The first reference to these lists (etc.) was given in my paper, "Argi and the 'Tokharians'," in *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 545 sqq., where several names from the *Nāšnāmak*, or "List of nations" were quoted. Shortly afterwards, A. A. Freiman published a similar list which had been found among the documents discovered in the Zarafshan valley in 1933, under the title *Sogdiyskiy rukopisnyi dokument astrologičeskogo soderžaniya (kalendar')*, in *Vestnik drevney istorii*, nr. 2 (3), pp. 34 sqq. The manuscript contains a "List of the calendar-days" (*rōšnāmak*), a "List of the lunar mansions" (*arxanāmak*), and a list of the days of the week (no title given). The photograph which accompanies the article conveys a good idea of the textual arrangement also in the manuscripts which I am publishing here. The only difference is that Freiman's manuscript is better spaced and more carefully written than those with which I am dealing.

A part of the manuscripts does not contain lists, but ordinary continuous texts which happen to be Manichaean in origin (frags. i, ii, iii). That, of course, does not prove that all these manuscripts were written by Manichaeans. Frags. i and ii contain some lines from a text similar to the Chinese *Traité Manichéen*, while in frag. iii the proper mental attitude towards soothsayers is discussed. Frags. v and vi are alphabetical lists of personal names (v, of men; vi, of women), the

alphabetical order being restricted to the first letter. The names are mostly Iranian, with a sprinkling of Christian and Buddhist names. Typically Manichaean appellations do not occur. Frag. iv is the remnant of a list of the parts of the body; the publication of a similar but more extensive list is in preparation. Last, but not least, frag. vii, the *Nāfnāmak*.

It is impossible to determine the date of these manuscripts. As a rule all we can say is: not earlier than the eighth century, and not later than the twelfth, but probably from the ninth or tenth century. In rare cases the contents provide definite indications; thus the *Nāfnāmak*, when fully interpreted, will (I hope) be counted amongst those rare cases. What we want is a dated palaeography which, however, can be based only on a large number of satisfactorily dated manuscripts. Of such we have practically none. The "late" ("Uiyur") type of Sogdian script was fully developed about A.D. 700, i.e. somewhat before the period to which the Manichaean manuscripts belong (the first Manichaean emissary reached China in A.D. 694). Like everybody else in Eastern Turkestan, the Sogdians used second-hand paper with preference (for its cheapness), namely rolls, of which one side had already been used by the Chinese. One might hope that by dating the Chinese part of a manuscript one could gain a date *post quem* for the Sogdian text, but competent Sinologists assure me that this hope is likely to remain unfulfilled.

#### FRAGMENT I

*T ii T(ojog)*. Written on a piece cut off from a Chin. roll. Two complete Sogd. columns, the first letters of the following, and a few word-ends from the preceding col. are preserved.

(a)	(b)	(c)
(1) ZK	(10) ZKn	(20) Z(Y)[
(2) βr'y	(11) 3m'r'	(21) p(')[
(3) 'apwry'kh	(12) wnyh	(22) ZK[n
(4) ycy	(13) ZK	(23) p[ncmy ?
(5) rz-k(r)y'kh	(14) βr'y	(24) p[tβyδy
(6) 'ntwys	(15) wyt'wp'z-ny'kh	(25) w[nyh
(7) wyk'ystm'n'kyh	(16) rw'ryh	(26) Z(K)[
(8) ZY	(17) nmsy'kh	(27) β(r)[y
(9) nk'βtp'z-ny-'kh	(18) nmry-'kh	(28) γ(r)[β'kyh
	(19) pckwyr	(29) γ(c)[y

"The fruit [of the 'tree' of *φράσις*] is perfection, rectitude, zeal, ?-mindedness, and submissiveness. The fruit of the 'tree' of *ἐνθύμιος* is patient-mindedness, i. self-humiliation, humility, fear of God, and . . . The fruit of the fifth 'tree' of *λογισμός* is wisdom."

*Commentary*: The main "fruits" of the "trees" = "parts of the soul" are the five "gifts" (3, perfection; 4, patience; 5, wisdom), see Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, i, p. 66 (562). In a similar Sogdian text (*M* 133), the names of the "fruits" are given differently, namely for 3, *m'npm'tyy* as *spwrnq'rky'* 'nspet[q]y'h p'tyw'anky' trny' 'tyr[š]y'q, and for 4, *sm'r* as *βwt'rmyky'* wyt'wp'zny'h xwcy'q nmry'q 'ty βiryky', whilst *ngβtp'zyny* is enumerated amongst the fruits of 1, *frn*. From this deplorable terminological muddle we can derive some approximative word-equations, viz.:—

3rd "tree"

<i>M</i> 133	<i>T</i> ii <i>T</i>
<i>spwrnq'rky'</i>	= 'spwrny'kh
'nspet[q]y'h	= 'ntwys
p'tyw'anky'	= wyk'ystm'n'kyh
trny'	= nk'βtp'zny'kh
r[š]y'q	= rzkry'kh

Sogd. *rz-kr-* can be compared to Parth. *rz-kr-*. Sogd. *frn-* "submissive", is well known, *nk'βt-* belongs to *nk'np-* "to submit" (see below, *Gloss.*, i, 9). *p'tyw'anky'* could be "the striving to protect oneself from sins".

4th "tree"

<i>βwt'rmyky'</i>	= wyt'wp'zny'kh
wyt'wp'zny'h	= rw'rtyh
xwcy'q	= nmry'kh
nmry'q	= nmry'kh
βiryky'	= pckwyr ZY p'X

This is less satisfactory. All these words have more or less the same meaning. *rwcy* = "fine, delicate", *rwcy'q* poss. = "shyness"; on *nmry'k-* see *BBB.*, p. 75, cf. also Buddh. *īrasyt*, *īrasy'tuḥ*, *SCE.*, 406, 624. *βwt'rmyky'* is not in the least different from *wyt'wp'zny(kh)*, cf. also Chr. *p[š]wp'zny'*, *S.T.*, ii. Hence, *rw'rtyh* 'delicacy', cf. *rw'rt* P[arisi] 19, 15 "fine, delicate", and Av. *urwōra-*.

## FRAGMENT II

T i. Small piece of a roll, Obv. Chinese, Rev. four fragmentary columns, Sogd.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
	.....	(12) 'z-	
	(5)  t)	(13) yw{	.....
	(6) [']z-w'rtch	(14) ZY	(20) m
.....	(7) wnh	(15) wyyh	(21) šw
(1) (r)šty'kh	(8) ky	(16) šynorβst (?)	(22) βr'y
(2) nyyy'kh	(9) ZY	(17) nrth	(23) ZY
(3) rty	(10) šw	(18) rwyšny'kh	(24) wrkr
(4) nwkr	(11) yw	(19) š'yh	(25) 'ry-kw (ny)[

*Commentary*: The *Traité Manichéen*, pp. 64 (560)-67 (563), contains an enumeration of the various parts of the ten "trees". The Sogdian names of their roots (love, etc., hatred, etc.), are found in *BBB*, p. 37, but *šynorβst* (16, poss. to read *šyn'rβst*), is not amongst them. Nor is any one of the "trunks" called "light" (18). The meaning of 'ryknyy[ (uncertain) is not known (cf. Buddh. *ryk* VJ., 1097, "wicked, disagreeable," = OPers. *arika*: Skt. *alika* acc. to Wackernagel!). The "trees" are divided in the following way (acc. to the *Traité*, unpubl. Parthian fragments, and our Sogd. text):—

Traité	Parthian	Sogdian
<i>racine</i>	<i>wyz</i>	<i>wyyh</i>
<i>tronc</i>	<i>tn</i>	<i>nrth</i>
<i>branches</i>	<i>š'x</i>	<i>š'yh</i>
<i>feuilles</i>	<i>wrgt</i> , or <i>png</i>	<i>wrkr</i>
<i>fruits</i>	<i>b'r</i> , or <i>b'rg</i>	<i>βr'y</i>
<i>goût</i>	<i>wzšn</i>	....
<i>couleur</i>	<i>gwrq</i>	....

Sogd. *wrkr* (VJ., 965), Parth. *wrgt*, and Saka *bāggare* suggest an OIran. neutral *r/n*-stem. *rarkat/n-* (MPers. *warg*, etc., from the nominative; Av. *varzakahe*, only in the *Frah. Gīm*, of doubtful authenticity). Sogd. *nrth* = NPers. *nard* "trunk" (*tane-i dirart*, Assadi, p. 26), cannot be connected with the words treated by Geiger, *Etym. Afghan.*, p. 183, nr. 140 (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, II, 113, and cf. *BSOS.*, x, pp. 98 sq.).

FRAGMENT III

T ii T. Small piece, cut from a Chin. roll. Two complete Sogd. coll., and of the preceding col. some word-ends.

(a)	(b)
(1) MN	(10) šštyk
(2) y'twk(')y	(11) MN
■ 'šry	(12) ptkryty
(4) pr	(13) 'sp'ey
■ m'n	(14) 'štyk
(6) 'yw	(15) MN
(7) MN	(16) nwwrn[ky'h]
(8) kyšyky	(17) 'yw
(9) y'w'k	

"As regards the soothsayer, three (matters are to ■ kept) in mind: firstly, about disunion amongst the heretics (1); secondly, about idolatry; thirdly, about unbelieving. One . . ."

*Commentary:* (2) Cf. y'twq, S.T., ii; Buddh. ššy kr'y, frag. iii, 21, 30, compared by Benveniste and Rosenberg, is probably different. ššy might be Skt. *jala* "water", hence ššy kr'y a "rain-maker".—(8) *kyšyk* is unknown. Av. (*kaša*-, etc.!)—(9) Elsewhere y'w'k is "part, partition".

FRAGMENT IV

T ii T (oyog). Medium-sized fragment, cut from a Chin. roll. Two complete Sogd. coll.

(a)	(b)
(1) mš'	(8) pšt
(2) šym	(9) šnt'kh
(3) ywš	(10) ryr'kh
(4) ywšβwn'kb	(11) 'z-š'k
(5) ryt	(12) 'z-š'kwyy'k
■ kwc'kh	(13) k'kh
(7) pr'ynk	

*Commentary:* (1) "Eyelash" (NPers. *maše*, etc.; Sogd. *nymz*-, see Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, p. 241; cf. also NPers. *nymz*-, *BBB.*, and Pahl., Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 534).—(2) "Eye-ball," or "pupil".—

(3) "Ear."—(4) "Ear-hole."—(5) "Face" (lower half of the face?).—  
 (6) "Mouth."—(7) "Opening of the mouth"! Hardly "cavity of  
 the mouth". The word is spelt *pyng* in Man. script (*M* 142; coupled  
 with *šndyt*), hence *p(a)rē/ing*.—(8) "Lips" (*BSOS.*, viii, p. 585, n. 3).—  
 (9) "Tooth."—(10) "Saliva," cf. NPers. *lir*, Pashto *lōra*. Incidentally,  
 the Hebrew (*rār*) and Aramaic (Syr. *rārā*) words are strikingly similar.—  
 (11) "Tongue."—(12) "Root, base of the tongue."—(13) "Palate."  
 Cf. *k'yk-* "palate", *Dhyāna*, 24. *kārak-* from OIr. \**kāhaka-*, through  
 early contraction \**kāka-* > Sogd. *kāk*. NPers. *kām*, Pashto *kūmai*,  
 etc., from OIr. \**kāhman-*? Yidgha *kāyaka* Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 216.

#### FRAGMENT V

*T* is a. Small fragment, from the centre of a page. Obv. Chin.  
 Rev. one fragmentary column, Sogd. The first line is separated from  
 the second by a horizontal stroke.

(1) myrprn

(2) nwy y'n

■ nwy prn

(4) [n]wy š(y)(r)

(5) [nw](y) (r')(t)

*Commentary*: (1) *Mīr-farn* could be taken for an ancient loan from  
 Parthian *Mīhrfarn* (later *mīhrfarr*), but it is probably due to recent  
 composition: Sogd. *mīr* "Sunday" (see *BBB.*, p. 85; cf. *Mīrāyaḍe*,  
*BSOS.*, ix, p. 664, n. 2) + *farn* "honour, luck", etc.—(2-5) A number  
 of similar names are found in the *Mahrnāmay* (also *nwy-y'n* 114,  
*nwy-frn* 116). *nwy* "new" is short for *nwy-m'z*, or *βy-nwy*, "new  
 moon."

#### FRAGMENT VI

*T* is *T*(oyoq). Medium-sized piece, cut from a Chin. roll. Two coll.  
 are complete (save for a line or two possibly missing at the bottom  
 of the page). Of the preceding column, some word-ends are preserved,  
 and two complete names which, for lack of space, were written at  
 right angles ■ the other lines ■ the end of the column. One letter,  
 of the alphabet is assigned to each column (. . . š m n . . .; reg.  
 the Sogd. alphabet, see *BSOS.*, x, p. 96).

(a)	(b)	(c)
	(3) m'y'm'yh	(12) nny m'neh
	(4) m'yāyṛh	(13) nny šyṛh
	(5) m'yδ'yh	(14) nny δ'yh
(1) δ'p'tāyṛh	(6) m'yβ'mh	(15) nwy β'mh
(2) δ'p'tāyṛ(h ?)	(7) mry'rth	(16) n'βrtash
	(8) m'y'kkh	(17) nwē'neh
	■ mwk'r'neh	(18) nwāβ'mh
	(10) mry'mh	(19) nwy(t)'neh
	(11) m'yβryh	(20) nm'δk'yneh

*Commentary:* (1/2) δ'p't might be the name of a deity, cf. 4, 19. "Having a *dānapati* as her friend," as the isolated spelling δ'p't = Chin. t'an-ūe = Skt. *dānapati*, *SCE.*, 186, might suggest, is perhaps not a likely name (Chr. δ'p't, *S.T.*, i, 18<sup>a</sup>, mistake for 'p't?). Is it possible to recognize in δ'p't (might be *ṣabat*, *labat*), the ancient Babylonian name of Venus, *Dūbat*, *Διδάφαρ*, Manichaean *dyb't*, *lyb't*, *dyb't*, *dydyt*, Parthian *dybt* (in a Manichaean text, *Mir. Man.*, iii, p. 880) ?—(3) *Mahāmāyā*.—(4-6) "Moon-friend" (fem.), "slave" (fem.), "lustre" (colour).—(7) "Pearl, Margaret."—(8) = *Māyāk*. Might be Av. *Humāyā* (*humāyākā* > \**umāyāk* > \**emāyāk* > *māyāk*); less likely: Av. *māyā* + *kā* (Skt. *Māyā* is m'yh, see 3).—(9) Cf. Parth. *mogr'nyg*, see Bartholomae, *ZAir. Wb.*, p. 164, n. 2? Or *māk-kar* "teaching" (MPers. *hmrg*, "Tokharian" *amok*)? Or derived from the name of Corea *Moukri* (Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 230; Tib. *Mug-lig* "le nom turo de la Corée", Skt. *Mukuri*, Pelliot *apud* Bagchi, *Deux Leziques*, i, p. 295; ii, p. 348) ?—(10) "Maria."—(11) This name occurs several times in the Nestorian tomb inscriptions, which were discovered in the Semiryaecie and edited by Chwolson, spelt m'yprh and myprh. The etymology which Nöldeke proposed (NPers. *māh-pāre*, *ZDMG.*, xlv, p. 527), can ■ safely discarded. Probably *Māy-friya*, later *Māy-fre(h)*, from Av. *māyā* "bliss" + *friyā* "beloved".—(12-4) nny is obviously the name of a deity, hence = Syr. nny, Arm. nanē, Navā, Kushan coins, *Nam*, *Navasa*, etc., see Hoffmann, *Martyrakten*, pp. 130-9, 151-161, 295 (nny in Samarkand), Sir Aurel Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, p. 12. From our passage it becomes clear that we have to read nny-βnk, nny-δ't and nny-δβ'r in the *Ancient Letters*, instead of nny.—(12) "resembling N".—(13) "having N. as her friend."—(14) "slave(-girl) of N."—(15) "having the lustre (or colour) of the new (moon)." The majority of Bogdian



names of women contained -β'm(h), see the lists of the *Mahmāmay*.—(16) Prob. "not bearing sorrow, *sans-souci*", n' + βrt + tns + h, cf. n'βrtczrnyh, *BBB*. tns "sorrow", or "nostalgia", *VJ.*, 323, 334, 355, 400, 1278; frag., ii (a), 6.—(17) "The ambrosial one."—(18) "Sweet-coloured" rather than "possessing immortal lustre" (*Arm. anoiš*, etc.).—(19) The fourth letter is not properly executed, and looks like a cross between t and ic. I cannot explain nyw'nch; nyw'nch would mean "free from failing".—(20) "The salty one." The reading is not quite certain in so far as the third letter might be ' (nm'šk-). The Sogdian word for "salt" was hitherto unknown. Cf. the Eastern dialect forms as collected by Gauthiot, *MSL.*, xix, p. 149; xx, pp. 5, 19, who poses OIr. *namaddaka*-. See further, Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, register s.v. salt, and cf. Saka *namra*, *nimra*, etc., Bailey, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 130. In unpublished Man. NPers. texts we have *amyhq*, unfavourable to Gauthiot's *namaddaka*-. In fact, Gauthiot has only proved that the OIran. form was not *namaddaka*-, and we are at liberty to assume OIr. *na/imaška*- (or *na/imaθka*-). For the final -k of NPers. *namak* one could compare NPers. *moyāk*: Parth. *mg'dg*, see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 85. There is every likelihood that Av. *namaška* *Yt.*, xiv, 55, is also "salt" (why should the *Vyāmburas* not have had the detestable habit of throwing salt into the fire in order to change its colour? Av. *ažma*- is "the stuff which is thrown into the fire for the purpose of burning it", normally, of course, "fire-wood").

#### FRAGMENT VII

T is D 94. Oblong piece of paper, cut from a Chin. roll. Obv. Chin., part of a *Buddhanāmasūtra*, Rev. Sogd., two complete and two frag. columns. The beginning of the text, with the title, is preserved.—In the preparation of this edition a not wholly satisfactory photographic copy only could be used.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
(a) n'βn'm'k	(1) β(rw)(m)'yk	(9) γ(wmp'n)y'†	(16) [ k'pyry
(b) n'β	(2) š'(m'y)k	(10) k's'k	(17) (n)[.]pyry
(c) [ . . ]šyk	(3) p'ryk	(11) ywēnyk	(18) t'kw
(d) ]	(4) pwy'r	(12) 'kwcyk	(19) t'γwt
(e) ]	(5) 'tγw'r'k	(13) 'rkcyk	(20) mrk'yt
(f) ]	(6) c'en'y	(14) γry-š'γ(k)	(21) mykryk
(g) ]	(7) (s)wt'yk	(15) kšy'n'k	
	(8) c(y')ny		

*Commentary* : It is perhaps wiser, at least for the present to leave open the obvious questions : What is the date of the list ? and : Does it represent the actual geographical knowledge at a certain time, or is it a historical list ? Or a mixture of both ? A portion of the names (10 sqq.) points to the time of the *Mahmānāy* (written about A.D. 820), but the end of the list (it is impossible to say how much, if anything at all, is missing), seems to suggest a far later date.

(a) "List of nations." (b) "nation."—(1) "Byzantine." *Brēm'yk*, or *Brēmeyk*, is written above the line. It is wholly illegible. Chr. *frēmeyk*, S.T., ii, see Schaedor, *Iranica*, p. 28. Several names were enumerated in the first column, [*t'yk*]<sup>2</sup> was probably one of them.—(2) "Syrian." Reading uncertain, poss. *t'meyk*. From *kām*, the Arabic name of Syria. Chin. *Yi tson* (*tjām*, Karlgren, 1162), B. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 56, n. 2, 83, 95 ; Chavannes, *T'oung-Pao*, v (1904), p. 78 n. Cf. also "*šayan*" in the *Oyaz Qayan* story, line 291, ed. Bang-Rachmati, cf. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, xxvii, on the passage.—(3) "Persian."—(4) "Bukharian." Cf. *Buxār-xudāh* (e.g. Beruni, *Chron.* 102<sup>10</sup>), Chin. *pu-xo* (*b'uo-yōt*), *pu-xuo* (*puo-xuāt*), Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 136 ; *Buqaraq ul's* in the inscription of Kültegin, Thomsen, *Inscr.*, p. 165, etc.—(5) "Tokharian," see BSOS., ix, pp. 545 sqq.—(6) The people of *Čās*, *Čās*, *Šās*, Chin. *tsu-t'ai*, *tsu-tsi*, *tsu-si* (second char. *t'ok*, *šic*, *š*, Karlgren, 1221, 1212, 811 [p. 399]) = *Čās*, *Čās* (*Čās*). *Čās* was developed from *Čās*, and from *Čās* we have both *Šās* and *Tās*, see Minorsky, *Hudūd*, p. 357. It is, of course, impossible to derive *Čās* from *Tās* (as, indeed, proposed by Bang-Rachmati, *Oyaz Qayan*, p. 714, on 310).—(7) "Sogdian." One would hardly expect a Sogdian to employ such a form of his national name (elsewhere well attested). The standard spelling is *syrdyk* (Freiman, *Sogdyjskiy Sbornik*, pp. 33 sqq.). Note that *syrdyk* is *sīrdik*, not *sūdik*. For the various forms of the name see Andreas, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1910, pp. 308 sq. ; Bailey, BSOS., vi, pp. 948 sq. ; viii, pp. 918 ; ix, p. 302, n. 1 ; JRAS., 1939, p. 111. On Barēq Saka *Sūdāna* (*d* : *d*, not *š*, acc. to Konow), see ZDMG., 90, p. 13. Kashghari has *sydaq*, i, 295, 391 ult. Mon. MPers. *sydyg*, BBB., p. 32 (462). On Chin. *Su-t'ō* (*s'ok-d'ok*), see Pelliot, J.A., 1934, i, p. 34.—(8) The inhabitants of *Čayānīyān*, on the *Čayān-rūd* (Minorsky, op. cit., p. 71). Their rulers had the title *Čayān-xudāh* (Marquart, *Erānkahr*, pp. 226 sq. ; Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 72 sq.). Possibly *c'm'y* (6) and *c'y'ny* (8) have changed places in our list ?—(9)

<sup>2</sup> Or *šom*, [*t'yk*].

Illegible. None of the names of countries or nations which could be expected here, seems to fit the traces (such as Xottal, Heftal, Xwākand, Xo-p'an-to, Xu-mi(-to), Xwārezm, etc.). One could manage with Xu-men 呼 閼 (*xuo-muan*, Karlgren, 85 - 809), temporarily the capital of Farghānu (Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 148), but probably too obscure to be included in our list. خوتان would suit ideally, if it were allowed

to read thus instead of جوتان, the name of the royal clan of the Qarluq acc. to Gardezi (see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 288).—(10) "Kashgharian," see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 567. Cf. also Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1939 p. 89.—(11) "Khotanese." *yrdnyk* is *xwādanik* or *xōdanik*, with an unexpected *ḍ*. Saka *hastana*, later *hāmna*, etc., Niya doc. *khotana*, Barfuq Saka *hastana*, *hastna* 𐰽𐰺𐰸 = *ḍ*), etc. According to a much discussed passage of the T'ang-shu "the various Xu-nations say Xuo-tan" (*xuāt-tān*, i.e. *xwātan*), see Konow, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1935, pp. 799 sqq. This, however, as well as *xwādan*, would be spelt *yarta-* in Sogd.—(12) "Kuehean," see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 566. See also the third part of the present work: the inhabitants are called *'kucyk*, but the language is *'kuc'n'y*.—(13) The people of *Argi*, *Ien-k'i*, Arg. Qarashahr, see *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 564 sqq.—(14) The inhabitants (-ak) of *yri'y* = *γ/χ/h(a/ə)rē/īdāy/χ/h*. The final letter is doubtful; it could be *k* or *β* or *'* or *n* (not, however, *r*; this saves us speculations about the "Three Towns", etc.). One is vaguely reminded of the town *Kāri-bāg(-kām)* which Professor Thomas found mentioned in Tibetan documents. He compares the name of the lake *Kāri-āo* and locates both in the Qarashahr region, see *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 825 sq.—In the Uiyur documents published by Radloff and Melov an *"ri'y il[i]"* is mentioned alongside of the *Uiyur ili* (nr. 43, p. 62, line 2): a misreading of *yri'y*?—(15) Not less obscure than the preceding name. The ending is either *'n'k* or *'k*. If we have to assume *kty* as the name of the country, it would be tempting to think of 𐰽𐰺 *kū-ḡi* (*kī'w-ḡi*, Karlgren, 1189 + 893), the ancient name of the indigenous population of the Turfan-Bishbaliq region, see Pelliot, *J.A.*, 1912, i, pp. 579 sq.; 1934, i, p. 111 n. This name, however, was hardly still in use at the time of our list.—If *kty'n* = *gātjan*-, cf. Tib. *Gu-zan*, *Gu-zin*, a name of Bishbaliq, according to Professor Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 822 sqq., *Tibetan Lit. Texts and Doc.*, i, pp. 119, n. 2, 132, 254?—(17) *s[y]k'ry* is a possible, but improbable restoration (cf. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 556). Fortunately, the *Sobir* (\*s[']pyry) are out of the question here.—(18) = *t/dāk/gū*. Cf. Tib. *Ta-gu*, *Sia-gu*, on the river of Čerčen (Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1930, p. 280;

Thomas-Konow, *Two Medieval Documents*, pp. 146 sq.)?—(19) Hardly to be read *inyet*. In any case, the name of the *Tangu* (*Si-hia*) would be spelt *t'akut* = Orkhon inscr. *takut*, cf. also Saka *ttamgāt-*, Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1939, p. 89.—Apparently we have to read *t'ant* = Saka *ttāgutta*, Städel-Holstein scroll, lines 9, 42, which Professor Thomas identified with Tib. *Sta-gu* (see above, nr. 18). Professor Bailey informs me that in unpublished Saka texts he has found evidence which seems to suggest that *ttāgutta* refers to Tibet and is an alternative spelling of *ttāmghatta*, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 542. We are looking forward with great interest to the full publication of this important discovery. We should have two forms of the name of Tibet in Sogdian, *t'ant* and *tup'wt-* (*Karabalgasun*, line 19; thus also to read in the inscr. of Ladakh, where the top of the second *w* is damaged; Müller: *tup'wyt*, Beavenistiu, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 504: *tup'nyt* or *tup'yyt*).—(20) The *Merkū*, who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, were living to the south and east of the lake Baikal, to the north-east of the Naiman, the northern neighbours of the Uiyurs of Turfan. The head of the Merkit was among the tribal chiefs whom Je-lū Ta-ḡi, the founder of the Qara-Xitai (*Si Liau*) dynasty, convoked at Bishbaliq, about A.D. 1125 (*Liau-ḡi*, transl. Bretschneider, *Researches*, i, p. 213). I do not know anything about their earlier habitations and history. They have conjecturally been connected with the *Mo-wi* (see above, Fragment VI, 9), cf. Marquart, *Erntahr*, p. 54; Minorsky, op. cit., p. 448.—(21) The *Mikri*, who lived in the mountains of the eastern Tien-shan, mostly around Hami. The Chinese ambassador who in A.D. 1220 travelled to Chingiz-Khan, met the "Mo-li-hi" and the "Mo-k'o-li", together with the Qirqiz, Naiman, and other tribes in the Tien-shan region, doubtless the Merkit and the Mikri(t), as recognized by Bretschneider, op. cit., i, p. 28. Still in Ming times the "Me-k'o-li" inhabited the mountains to the north-east of Hami, Bretschneider, *ibid.*, ii, p. 178. Professor Minorsky kindly referred me to Rashīd al Din, vii, 90, 166, ed. Bérézine: the *Mikrin/Bikrin*, different from the *Merkit/Mekrit*, lived in the mountains of the Uiyur country and were called *qayati* "mountaineers"; they were neither Mongols nor Uiyurs. He further drew my attention to the following passage (Piano Carpini, p. 645, ed. d'Avezac): *terra quaedam est in partibus Orientis . . . quae Mongol nominatur . . . quatuor quondam habuisse populos . . . unus eorum Yeka Mongol . . . secundus Sumongal . . . alius appellabatur Merkit . . . quartus Mecrit* (with unimportant variants).

## MIDDLE PERSIAN-SOGDIAN GLOSSARIES

Beyond doubt, Sogdian was the national language of the majority of clerics and propagandists of the Manichaean faith in Central Asia. Middle Persian, and to a lesser degree, Parthian, occupied the position held by Latin in the medieval Christian church. The founder of Manichaeism had employed Syriac (his own language) as his medium, but conveniently he had written at least one book in Middle Persian, and it is likely that he himself had arranged for the translation of some or all of his numerous writings from Syriac into Middle Persian. Thus the Eastern Manichaeans found themselves entitled to dispense with the study of Mani's original writings, and to confine themselves to reading the Middle Persian edition; it presented small difficulty to them to acquire a good knowledge of the Middle Persian language, owing to its affinity with Sogdian. How far this abandonment of the prophet's language went is shown by the fact that amongst the innumerable Manichaean manuscripts from Eastern Turkistan not a line in Syriac has been discovered. But Mani would have been the first to condone this seeming lack of regard towards his word. In fact, it would have been more to his liking had his Sogdian adepts abandoned the study of Middle Persian, too, and relied solely on Sogdian translations. For had he had his way his works would have been published in the form of a polyglot bible with at least twenty columns: "My religion is superior to former creeds in ten points. Firstly, the former religions were confined to one country and one language: but my religion shall be propagated in every country and every language, and shall be taught in the most distant lands" (*Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 295). However, although the Eastern Manichaeans, following their teacher's admonition, untiringly translated their books into the languages they could think of, they still went on reading and copying the Middle Persian editions of their holy writings. They also wrote in Middle Persian, with varying success. Of these late productions, which can be easily distinguished from genuine old texts by their standardization and lack of idiomatic vitality, we possess a great number of poems written for a special occasion (such as the enthronement of bishops, etc.), and some prose-writings amongst which the colophon of the *Mahmāmay*, the great collection of hymns,

ranks highest; combining in itself the most precious qualities a manuscript can possess, as a dated autograph<sup>1</sup> it forms the starting-point for any attempt at a classification of the Manichaean material.

To facilitate the study of the ancient writings in Middle Persian it was necessary to provide dictionaries, and it seems that a large number of such were in use. The few fragments which have come down to us belong to a score of different manuscripts and to at least three different types of dictionaries, to judge by the methods employed for the arrangement of the vocabularies. In all of them the words are arranged according to their initials, some taking into account the first letter alone (which must have been rather irksome for the student), some the first two, and a few the first three letters. In all fragments the explanations are given in Sogdian, a fact which supports the opinion expressed above on the nationality of the readers and copyists of the Middle Persian texts found in Central Asia.

As far as one can judge from the small number of pieces that have been preserved, these dictionaries were meant not to assist the professional translators in their work, but to help the casual reader to understand difficult passages. They are essentially glossaries, probably made from a limited number of texts and possibly appended at the end of the books in the same way as a modern glossary. It seems, however, that none of the glossaries was confined to a single text; for, wherever the material is extensive enough for reaching a conclusion, we observe that Parthian as well as Middle Persian vocabularies were included. Besides adverbs, prepositions, adjectives, substantives, and verbal forms, the glossators entered also some groups of words, such as two nouns coupled by the conjunction "and", substantives accompanied by adjectives, verbs with adverbs, etc. The Sogdian translation is often grammatically unsatisfactory, in so far as it would hold good only for a limited number of contexts. Thus, e.g. the translation of a Middle Persian present indicative by a Sogdian perfect (*b* 24) would be justified only in a vividly told story where a *perfectum praesens* could be employed in Middle Persian, but not in Sogdian. Or the employment of a Sogdian 3rd pers. *singularis* for a Middle Persian 3rd pers. *pluralis* (*a* 5) is correct in a passive sentence where the subject is a noun denoting inanimate objects, but only in that case. If, therefore, we should feel inclined occasionally to reproach the glossators for

<sup>1</sup> That the writer (Nakhwastī-Rōšn) was, indeed, a Sogdian, is made obvious by occasional lapses, e.g. 'y "and", line 120.



lack of grammatical precision, we have to admit that their translations fulfilled the purpose they had in view, viz. the explanation of certain passages.

To some extent the present edition is the result of my collaboration with Dr. W. Lentz. Together we established the text and explanation of the fragments a-f. However, our work was interrupted several times, and we never reached agreement on a final form of the edition. Since, for exterior circumstances, our collaboration came to an end without having produced the planned edition, Dr. Lentz suggested ~~me~~ me that I should proceed with it on my own, if I so desired. I accepted this suggestion as I thought it would be a pity to keep these fragments from the public any longer, particularly after so much labour had been spent upon them, and I have added to and omitted from our original commentary as I thought fit. Although naturally a considerable number of the explanations given here has been found by Dr. Lentz (as in every case of collaboration it would ~~be~~ impossible to say which particular item of an explanation had been found by whom), I bear the sole responsibility for the commentary in its present form.

With few exceptions I possess a complete set of photographs of the Manichaean, Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian manuscripts. One of the exceptions, I regret to say, is the group of texts published here (frags. a-f). Accordingly, I had to rely solely on my copies which had been made from the originals directly. On the other hand, the edition of those fragments, which I noticed only recently (frags. u, v, 10, x, y; two small pieces belonging to h {17-2~~3~~}, and v {rwh', -n'nd}), is based on photographs alone.

I must apologize for the apparent disorder in which the fragments are given here. It was originally intended to order them according to the manner of arrangement of the words, by starting with those where only the first letter of the vocables had been taken into account (a-c), and proceeding with the fragments in which the words had been arranged according to the first two letters, etc. But afterwards, whenever a new fragment was found, it was placed ~~at~~ the end of the collection without any regard ~~to~~ word-arrangement, in order to avoid disturbing the numbers (or rather letters) assigned to the original group of texts, all the more so since we had started using those numbers in quoting the fragments in our publications.

Each page of the glossary fragments contains two columns which are to be read across (at variance with the normal Manichaean custom). A line of ~~the~~ first column contains a Middle Pers. (or Parthian) word,

and its explanation in Sogdian if there is enough space for both; if not, the MPers. word is given in the first col., and the Sogdian equivalent in the corresponding line of the second column.

■ is necessary to indicate briefly the inventory numbers (etc.) of the fragments :—

- a: *M 109*. Intact page, 8.6 by 14.7 cm. Small writing.
- b: *M 111* and *M 725*, combined. The page was formed by gumming together the inscribed sides of two pieces of paper which had been cut from a Chinese roll. Slightly damaged. 12 by 18 cm. Medium-sized writing.—An affixed page contains an Uigur text of unknown contents.
- c: Two fragments which originally belonged to the same double-page, but do not fit closely together: *M 875a* (= lines 1/2, 9/10, 17, 24), and *M 699* (= the remaining lines). Few lines only are preserved.—The character of the text on the first page, obv., is not clear; it seems that groups of MPers. words, each distributed among two successive lines, are explained.
- d: *M 182*, *M 182a*, and *M 450*; three small pieces combined into a larger page, about 12 by 21 cm. Large handwriting.
- e: *M 124*. Bottom half of a page, 11.8 by 8 cm., damaged condition. Medium-sized writing.
- f: *M 614*. Damaged page, bottom part missing, 11.2 by 13.5 cm. Smallish, slightly cursive handwriting; from the same MS. as *g*.
- g: *M 835*. Fragment of a page, 9.2 by 15.8 cm., from the same MS. as *f*. Only the exterior column (i.e. the second col. of the *recto* page and the first col. of the *verso* page) is preserved.
- h: *M 752 a, b, c*. Three small pieces from successive pages of the same manuscript (here given as 1st, 2nd, and 4th frag.). And: *M 500 k* (here given as 3rd frag.), which probably formed one page with the 2nd frag. Badly preserved. Small, angular handwriting.
- i: *T i D*. Small fragment of an interior column, 5 by 5.5 cm.
- k: *M 501 y c*. Small scrap, medium-sized writing, 4 by 5.3 cm.
- l: *T i D 51*. Small scrap, medium-sized writing, 3.8 by 3.5 cm.
- m: *T i D 51*. Small piece from the centre part of a page. 5.9 by 3 cm.
- n: *M 252 b*. Small scrap, medium-sized writing, 3.9 by 5.1 cm.
- o: *M 145*. Bottom part of a page, 8.6 by 11.4 cm. Large spacings. And a small scrap: *T i a* (*rūh*[]) which seems to have formed part of the same page. Beautiful small handwriting.



- p: *M* 638. Small scrap, from the centre of a page. Medium-sized handwriting. 5.6 by 7.3 cm.
- q: *T i D* 51. Fragment from the centre of a page. 10 by 13.5 cm. Large spacings. Medium-sized writing.
- r: *T ii D* 77. Bottom part of a page, 7 by 2.5 cm. Small writing.
- s: *M* 503 γ q. Small fragment from the bottom part of a page. 7.8 by 5.4 cm. Small handwriting.
- t: *T ii D* 63. Small fragment from the centre of a page. 6 by 1 cm. Smallish cursive, irregular handwriting.
- u: *T i D*. Small scrap, from the centre of a page.
- v: *M* 41 K. Same.
- w: *T i*. Small fragment from the centre of a double-page. The attached page contains a purely Sogdian text.
- x: *T i D*. Small piece.
- y: *T ii D* 406. Badly damaged fragment of a double-page. A description of the contents of the attached page will be found below.

## FRAGMENT w

*Recto*

(1) ('')bcyrm	cmbj'ryh = string of a lute (cmb)?
(2) 'xšwzyhyt	wš'tk'm β(w)š
(3) 'mwrzyynd	prn'ndy' kwn'nd
(4) 'n'byš o pw ššyš	'myzšš(n) [o] wryš'h
(5) 'ndweyhynd	ššxšštyy βwš
(6) 'n'mwrz'yd	pw prn'n
(7) 'bzyn oo šwmyy	'nmyy o pw'rštyy
(8) 'bzynynd o šwm'nd	'bwg = pn'nc
(9) 'wp'y bwynd	ptywj'ndš
(10) 'm'xšyšt	m'msw
(11) ('')bnd o 'yβštyy	'wst o pcp'ryh
(12) ('')šzyyq'm	'zyh ryiy
(13) 'bwd 'stbr	šmb tk(wš) ]
(14) ('m')dg = [β](r)twy	'gyrd oo n'fršš
(15) 'b(yr)nz o pw ym (b)(n)	'bryšwm oo pwš
(16) '(mwr)d'd hwd'd	hrrwš mrrwš
(17) 'whryd = fryyšš	'yn oo p'nwšy'h
(18) 'pa'ngyh'h	pr wš'stgy'h
(19) 'g'ryyhyyd	pw 'rq βwš

## Verso

- |                          |                  |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| (20) 'ndwxyndr           | trytryh          |
| (21) ('')ywxyst'n        | xt'h ywāt        |
| (22) 'wb(x)t o n(w)yβynd | 'mwtg oo fōys    |
| (14 lines left blank.)   |                  |
| (23) 'ry'wyft[sic]       | 'xīng'wyh        |
| (24) 'fryn'm m'frynm     | 'ng'zyd oo py'tt |

(1) or [']bcyrm.—(13) tk(wt) [possibly complete].—(22) Or 'wb[.](x)t ? 'wb(y)st ? Also n(y)yβynd possible, but less likely.

*Commentary*: (2) The MPers. form occurs in *Mir. Man.*, i, see Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, pp. ■ sqq. Sogd.: "he is vehement, ardent, impetuous" (lit. "one whose desire is opened, loose").—(3) "They show mercy."—(4a) "Without hurting, amity," see *BBB.*, p. 53 (on 483).—(4b) Sogd. 2nd sing. subj., = "you should mix." Therefore *āmēzīn* probably participle of necessity.—(5) MPers. "they are being collected, gained, saved", Sogd. "it is collected, gained, etc.", see *BSOS.*, x, p. 105.—(6) "unpitied" (cf. *BBB.*, p. 75, on 606).—(7a, 8a) MPers. 'bryn- "to sew, tailor" is frequently met with in *Mir. Man.*, i. Parth. 'bjyn-, *BSOS.*, ix, 80. Cf. *ZII.*, ix, p. 214; Horn, *Gr. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 128 on NPers. *āzīn* : *āzīdan* "to sew". See also B. Geiger, *Archiv Orientalni*, x, p. 214.—Sogd. *icm*- was hitherto unattested. Cf. also this passage (from *M* 133): *m'yb/m'meg xxyy zw[w]/yrβ'ky' c'ne š[gr]/ng'xyy xep iwmngg/ky' zhyngng[c]/andwax nyw[δn]* (end of the page) "Wisdom is like a good well-working tailor who [makes] a royal Sundus-garment" (indices *BSOS.*, iii, p. 87).—(8a) — 3rd pl. pres., (7a) either noun ("cloth"), or MPers. 2nd sing. imp., Sogd. 2nd sing. opt. (or pres.).—(7b) "you turn away" (intrans.). MPers. *ānam* : *ānāft*, cf. the causative *ānām* : *ānāft*, *ZII.*, ix, p. 190 (also Pahlavi).—(8b) See below, § 4. Sogd. *pwnc* is not met with in any text, but has been borrowed by New Persian : *پانج*, *panānj* (*panānj*) "co-wife" (Asadi 111<sup>to</sup>, and 18 end where *panānj* should ■ read instead of *gōlānj*). -*nē* is Sogdian ending, and *pan-* is the regularly developed Sogdian representative of Av. *hapaθnī* = NPers. *rušnī* (see Bartholomae, *ZsR.*, i, pp. ■ sqq., *Mir. Mund.*, iii, p. 29, n. 3), cf. also Pashto *bān* "co-wife" (Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 15), Khwarezmian *پان* = *pan-āmi* "my co-wife", etc. For the phonetics, Sogd. *δβ'mpn-* = Pahl. *bānbīšn* has been compared, see Todesco, *BSt.*, xxvi, p. ■. It is interesting that Sogdian has borrowed MPers. *bānbīšn*, not, however, this form, but a vulgar one: *bāmbūāl* (for the vowel, cf.

the variants on Frsh. Pahl., xii, 4: *b'nbwān*, etc., for *m*, cf. Arm. *bambān*, and for the final *t*, cf. NPers. *kunikt* from *kunīn*, etc.). Sogd. *bāmbušt*, spelt *p'mpišt*, occurs, e.g. in the title of an Uyyur manuscript, LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, p. 32: *p(a)rikān bāmbušt* (ed. *bam bost*) = *p(a)rikān qatun*. Chinese 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏 *b'f'ang-b'uo-p'jušt* (Karlgren, 25, 759, 922), designation of the queen of Persia, see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 531, renders *bāmbušt* or *bānbušt* (not \**bānbuzwišt*).—MPers. *'bug* = *ašōy* "co-wife": this word, mostly showing initial aspiration, occurs in several modern dialects, e.g. NPers. (Dict.) هوو = *havū* (*havō*), Kurdish *hecou*, *heci*, *heri* (Jaba-Justi, 448, 456, cf. Bartholomae, *ZsR.*, i, p. 33, n. 1), Brahui (from Bal.) *hapōk*, see Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, p. 47, who quotes Anaraki *hawuk*, Bakht. *havū*, *habbū* (the words of the *hambōy*-type must be kept apart). It has been overlooked that this word, along with *hapaθnī*, is found in the Avesta-Pahlavi Frahang, in the much discussed gloss (ii, f): *hapse. apno. xarō*, which Bartholomae proposed to read *hapaθne afnawuhd*. But the last word, *xarō*, is evidently nothing but a Pazend form of our word *'bug*, whilst it seems possible to regard *apno* as a corruption of the corresponding Pahlavi spelling (*\*puk*; one letter only need 𐬛 changed).—(9) "They are victorious." *'wp'y* occurs in Sogdian: *'wp'y* *wn-* "to give permission", *VJ.*, 891. Therefore *'wp'y* = "superior": *'wp'y* *bc-* "to be or become superior", *'wp'y* *wn-* "to make somebody else superior to oneself = to give in", *prywj-* is familiar from Parthian, etc.—(10) MPers. "ploughed" (see *Mir. Man.*, ii), Sogd. "I ploughed" (1st sing. imperf., from *'ms-*).—(11a) "unbridled, perverted." Parth. *'badyft* is met with in unpub. fragments. On Sogd. see *BSOS.*, x, p. 103.—(11b) MPers. *'wst* usually = "firm", cf. Pahl. Psalter *'wsty*.<sup>1</sup> But Sogd. *pcpr-* (*ptāpr-*) is "to arrange, place, fix", intrans. "to be arranged, placed, fixed", cf. Chr. *pcprty* (3rd sing. perf. intrans.), *S.T.*, i, 61<sup>12</sup>. *pcprty* is hardly an adjective-participle with intransitive meaning (this would agree with Pahl. Ps. *'wsty* quite well), but rather a finite and active form, viz. 2nd, sing. opt. or pres. Accordingly, *'wst* may be 2nd sing. imp. (cf. above, *'bryn*; *hemyy*), from *'wst-* "to place" = Parth. *'wyst-*, etc.—(12) "greedy, lustful." MPers. *'zq'm* *M* 477 *R* 7. Sogd. *āzīrēš* is modelled on *'zyyq'm*; *-e* from *-ak* is compound ending.—(13) "look sternly?" Sogd. *stmb* (*'st'np* *Dhātāna*, 169, cf. (*'st'npyr-* *VJ.*, 39<sup>d</sup>, *Dhātā* 286), clearly = MPers. or Parth. *'stbr*, therefore Parth. (?) *'dwd* = Sogd.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sogd. *'wst* "firm", *SCS.*, 317, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pahl. *'wp'yt* = Skt. *īyāt* Hum Yashu (Unvala, p. 4)

*lārē* "look, observe, look after". *āβōš* 2nd sing. imp., from *ā-baoda*.—(14a) "prepared, ready, fit, stable"; *βrtwry*: *Dhyāna*, 27, 240.—(14b) See *BBB.*, p. III (c 37). MPers. *'gyrd* possibly "unploughed, untilled" (cf. Pashto *karāf*, etc.).—(15a) "Without trouble."—(15b) "Silk." Sogd. *pest*: *SCE.*, 218; *Dhyāna*, 54, 355. Cf. Ormuri *pīl*, *pēl* "silk", which is borrowed from Pashto (therefore possibly *l* from *t*), acc. to Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, p. 25. Etymologically different from Sogd. *pest* is NPers. *pōd* "wool" (*tār* = *pōd* = "warp and wool"), which I think is the same word as Parthian *pu(w)ēd* "boat, ship", Sogd. *prtyk'h* "skiff, ferry" in unpub. texts: "ship" > "shuttle" (cf. Fr. *navette*, MPers. *makōk*, etc.) > "wool".—(16) *Amurdād Harwadād* = *Harwōt Marwōt*. This interesting gloss is unfortunately obscure as neither of these terms is met with in a Manichaean text, so that it is impossible to discover what the translator understood by them. All the same the mere fact of this juxtaposition is valuable as it tends to confirm the old theory of an Iranian origin of *Hārūt* and *Mārūt*. The following observations may suffice here: (a) the MPers. forms of *Amaratāt Harwatāt* are better preserved than in Pahlavi; (b) the order of the words<sup>1</sup> is unusual for MPers., and inverted in Sogd. so as to conform with the normal order; (c) the "Sogdian" words are not Sogdian: *h* is impossible in a Sogdian word, and the regular Sogd. forms are *'rt* and *mr't* (see *Orientalia*, viii, p. 94); (d) the spelling of Sogd. is ambiguous. It could express *hārūt* or *hārūt* (not, however, *hārūt*), but *harwōt* or *harwūt* is more likely; (e) *Harwōt Marwōt* (if thus to be pronounced) were probably borrowed from the same source from which Arm. *Haurōt Maurot* are derived (see Dumézil, *Rev. Ét. Arm.*, vi, fasc. 2).—(17a) 2nd pl. imp.; *'wār*. *M* 97 b 18 "to do penance" (1) Not to be confused with *'wār* = *'wāyr* "to ascend".—(17b) "Custom, manner." MPers. *'yn* = NPers. *ā'īn*. Sogd. *p'n'wēk*, *Dhuta* 39, 164.—(18) MPers. adverb from *āfsānāy* = NPers. *āfsāne* "fable, story", therefore "in the manner of a fable, story", "narratively"; for the lengthening of the initial vowel, cf. MPers. *'brīst*, etc. (*Man. Henochb.*, p. 30, n. 3), NPers. *āfgāne* against MPers. *'bg'ng* "avorton" (from *āfgandan*), NPers. *āfdum* from MPers. *āfdum*, etc. MPers. adverbs in *-yh* are usually rendered by prep. *pr* + abstract in *-y* in Sogdian. The following passage is of interest for the meaning of Sogd. *wβ(')at*: *zurnyy z(wr)[nyy plrtyāt 'γnd o p(r . . . 'n)'m = wβety prtyβyrnd* "from

<sup>1</sup> See Benveniste, *BBOB.*, viii, p. 406.

time to time Buddhas (= propheta) came, and in the name of [ ] they revealed stories (?)” (from *M* 134).—(19) “He is inactive, workless.” For MPers., cf. Nyberg, *ii*, p. 6.—(20) “More sorrowful, depressed,” see *BBB.*, p. 60. The etymology proposed by Nyberg, *ii*, p. 100, for NPers. *andōh*, etc., cannot be accepted on account of Sogd. *nd'wz* (Man. *ndioze*), which proves OIr. *-t-*.—(21) Sogd. clearly two plurals (viz. of an adjective of “light stem”, *šw-*, and a subst. of “heavy stem”, *γwš-*), therefore *γwšyst'n* plural of *γwšyst*, which seems to be a corrupted or vulgar form of Pahl. *ayō(x)ēust* “metal”. Sogd. *šw-* has been studied, *BBB.*, p. 103. It seems that the Sogdian word has exactly the same range of meaning as MPers. Parth. *škyft* (Av. *skapta-*, NPers. *šigift*, etc.), namely “hard, adv. very”, further “astonishing, extraordinary, miraculous”, etc. E.g., Parth. *škyft durtmyn* “a hard enemy”, Pahl. *škptyk, škurptyk* = *škaftih, škofih* “hardship, distress” (Nyberg, *ii*, p. 216, separates these words from *skapta-*, *igift*), Sogd. *šryy* “x's” “a hard fight”, Parth. *škyft gws'd* “very extended”, etc. That the original meaning of Sogd. *šw-* was “hard”, is further confirmed by the appearance of this word in a number of modern dialects, e.g. NPers. *šw(x)* “hard (soil)”, Sanglichei *šw*, Wakhi *šw* “hard”, etc., see Morgenstierne, *IFL.*, *ii*, 414, and 28\* s.v. *hard*. I owe the explanation of Sogd. *γwš-* to Professor Bailey: *γwš* from OIr. *gaobra-* = MPers. *gōhr*, NPers. *gōhar* “substance”, also “metal”. Therefore, Sogd. = “hard substances (metals)”.—(22a) MPers. ptc. pass., Sogd. 3rd pl. opt. (= impf.). If MPers. *wbzt*, cf. Pahl. *wbzt* “apportioned” (?). *Skt.*, ix, 8 (p. 118 Tavadia).—(22b) Sogd. *fšys* is clearly the same as Buddh. *pš'ys, fš'ys, 'pš'ys*, *Dhyāna* 159, 349, 351, 371, 377, according to Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 46 = “apparition”, cf. also *pš'yskyn, Dhyāna* 215, “apparent.” In the *Dhyāna* text *pš'ys* is closely parallel to *γšnyrk*, which is defined by MPers. *nīšān* “sign, mark”, etc., cf. *BBB.*, p. 88. However, the Chinese evidence as set forth by Weller, *Mon. Serica*, *ii*, pp. 392 sq., suggests a wholly different meaning for both words (“limit, boundary, region, district”, etc.); possibly the translator misunderstood Chin. 境 *king*! But *fš'ys* also renders Chin. 影 *ying* which is not only “shadow” (Weller), but also “silhouette, form, image” (Karlgren, 393), hence in agreement with the translation proposed by Benveniste.—MPers. *šwerg* is unfortunately not clear. It reminds one of NPers. *šwery* (“value, essence, particle,” etc.), but could be analysed in more than one way.—(23) “Magnificence, splendour, beauty, brilliancy,” see *S.T.*, *ii*, p. 584 s.v. *zšgy* (cf. NPers.

*gašang* "beautiful, elegant" ?).—(24a) "I pray."—(24b) "He adorns" (Sogd.). MPers. 'ng'z- probably connected with NPers. *angāz* "instrument(s)" (Dict.), which is met with in Jew. Pers. (e.g. Ez., 4, 9, ed. Salemann, = *ālūt*, ed. Lagarde, = Hebr. *kaḥ*; Salemann gives wrongly "receptacle".)

## FRAGMENT 6

## Recto

(1) 'wɣwɣjynd	βjyδδ(nd)
(2) 'dwyrxynd	(u)'(w)y(nd)[ ]
(3) 'a'g'n	(pw) s'')[k]
(4) 'wyn'm	'wntn 'šy(')
(5) 'sm(')n	sm['](n)
(6) 'st'rg['](n)	(st'r)[yʔ]
(7) 'zn(')n	['z]'t'qʃ
(8) 'adh'g	qyrmyh
(9) 'jdh'g	qyrmyh
(10) 'qdn'y	n'k
(11) 'xtrmr'n	smbʃarʃ
(12) 'ps'ryān oo	(p)ayr'inadyy
(13) 'ps'ryān}	pʃarʃqy'
(14) 'wys[ ]	[p]ʃa'kt

## Verso

(15) 'yrkē oo	'xwākyy
(16) '[y]rkē oo	pʃrʃtʃdʃ
(17) 'spzn	xwāyp
(18) 'spāwn	xwāyp
(19) 'awddnd'n	xwrnptxwrkēndyt
(20) 'su'g'n	'[p]ʃ'mayt
(21) ['smiynd}	[p]ʃ'm'nd
(22) ['smiyhyt	[p]ʃamty' kty
(23) 'smg 'amg	pʃ'myḥ
(24) "yd oo 'ysδ	"yd oo "yʔ
(25) "yd oo 'yst'	"y'd oo 's't
(26) 'y'd q[wn]	['i]y' kwn'h
(27) "ynd	['y]sndsk
(28) 'wx oo oo m'm	['y'd oo 'i]y'h

(2) s'rynd[skw] ?—(4) Or 'šy(rn) ?—(7) Restoration uncertain.—(11) 'xtrmr'n: two points underneath m (i.e. 'xtrmr'n).—(14) Some form from Parth. 'wys'n'da ? Hardly 'wys'n'r'a].—(22) pʃamty': two points underneath m (i.e. pʃ'mdy').—(25) 's't: two points underneath 'Ain (i.e. 'ys't).

*Commentary*: (1) Sogd. "they mount (a horse, etc.)."—(2) "They shake (their head)," cf. *BBB.*, p. 11. Sogd. probably 3rd pl. opt. impf. Parth. *adwizs-*: *ati* + Av. *vaēg* incoh.—(3) "Numberless" (MPers. pl.: 's'g. *Mir. Man.*, ii. Parth. 'n's'g. Arm. *sak* also "number", Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, p. 300<sup>24</sup>).—(4) MPers. "of such, that name, fame," Sogd. "of such memory" — "the above-mentioned?" Or = "the late . . . ?" Hardly = "So-and-So", which in Sogdian is *t'mn'n*, and in MPers. *'w'hm'n* (Pahl. *wāhmān*, NPers. *bahmān*, etc.). Sogd. *'w'atn* = *wn'n* (Chr. *wn'n*, Man. *wudn*)?—(5) "Sky."—(6) "Stars."—(7) "Noble" (pl.). On MPers. *āzn*, Av. *āsna-*, see Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, pp. 253 sqq. The restoration *mf* [':] *f'g'* is rather dubious as such a word is not attested (*āzātāk* = *āzāte*, *āzate* "noble, free", is, of course, common).—(8) MPers.—(9) Parth. "dragon" = Sogd. "snake".—(10) MPers. "viper" — So. "dragon" (Skt. *nāga*). Cf. Lüders, *Sh.P.A.W.*, 1933, pp. 1020 sq., on Sogd. *kirm-* and *nāq* (*nāk*) in the animal cycle. MPers. *qdn'y* is obviously Greek *ἐχιδνα*, probably borrowed from Syriac *'kdn'* (but Syr. loan-words in Iranian usually have *-ā*).—(11) "Astrologers," cf. Nyberg, ii, p. 7, and Buddh. *smṛ(t)er-VJ.*, 22, 27, 59, 12<sup>a</sup> sq., SCE., 201. I should like to take this opportunity to explain a Sogdian word from a closely related sphere, namely *myδβy*, pl. *myδβt'* (NB. a "light stem") "minister". According to Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1920, p. 420, this is Skt. *mahādeva*: but in Sogdian *mahādeva* would surely be spelt *my'tyβ* or *my't'yβ*, pl. *my't(')yβt'*. It seems to me that *myδβ-* is Old Ir. *magupati*, borrowed by Sogdian from Parthian *magbyd* (*BSOS.*, iii, p. 25) = *mayβeδ*, with metathesis > *mayδeβ*. Although the institution of the *Mayβeδ* as a minister (of the crown) was most likely taken from the Sasanian state, nevertheless the word itself seems to be Parthian as is suggested by the absence of *u(a)* in the first syllable (MPers. *moypet*, *mayβeδ*, *mowβeδ*, *mōβeδ*). On the other hand, Sogdian frequently fails to preserve the vowel *u*; but *mayu-* = *micy-* in Sogdian (cf. e.g. LeCoq, *T.M.*, iii, p. 39).—(12) (13) MPers. "cooling, freezing" (NPers. *afsardan*; Pahl. *afsār-* also "to cool down (a fire)" = "to extinguish", Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, p. 84, who has a different etymology) Sogd. (12) "cooling" (trans. *psēr-* from *\*apasāraya-*, or intrans. *psir-* from *\*apasrya-*). (13) "being cooled, frozen". All forms from the base of Av. *sarata-* (cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 141; NP. *afsārdan* "to press" is probably a misspelling of *afsārdan*).—(14) "Institutions," etc., see *BBB.*, p. 86.—(15) (16) "Greeting." MPers. *ērkaš* lit. " (holding the hands) under the armpits", cf. *dast-kaš*, *Mir. Man.*, i, Av. *adairi kašacibya*, Pahl.



*dast êrkāš* (which need not be changed into *dast* [pat] *êrkāš*), see Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, p. 73. Sogd. (16) "with crossed arms", cf. *SCE.*, 400, and *prβtpt'š* "cross-legged", *Dhyāna*, 18. The verb, *prβyr-* (*pari bāraya-*), occurs in *Dhuta*, 225: *šatw pryβyr* "he crossed his arms" (*prβtyt* Kara-Balgasun, p. 22, frag. xi, 4, is not clear).—(17)(18) "Whip." Sogd. *zudēp* from *zīwāp-*, cf. Av. *zīwāwaya* [aštra], and NPers. *zēb* "whip, whiplash" (Fird. : Asadi, p. 8; Div. Nāsir-i Khosrou, 42<sup>12</sup>), Wakhi *rašēp* "whip" (Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 538). Closely related is Buddh. *'yut'yp-* "squint-eyed", see *BBB.*, p. 63. MPers. *asp-azan* "horse-whip", cf. Arm. *garazan*, *zarazan*. MPers. *'spw'n* (*-tīn* from *šyavāna-*?) occurs in an unpublished MPers. *'paw'n y šb* "spell against the fever" (*M* 781), where *šfšyr* "sword", *cyl'n* (see below, on *g* 1, 2), and *'spw'n* "whip" follow each other.—(19) "3-teeth". Sogd. *zurn-* = "blood" (but a separate word *\*zurn-* "food", or "banquet", is, of course, possible). *plzwrk* = Buddh. *plywrk-* *SCE.*, 23 (said to mean "dark-coloured"), or from *plywr-* "to lacerate, devour" (*R.*, ii, 63<sup>2</sup>, see *BBB.*, p. 91), cf. *'plyw'r*, *VJ.*, 313, 949. Therefore, Sogd. = "bloodstained teeth" or "blood-lacerating teeth" (? "laniaries"?). MPers. *'awd* could be *āwūb* "rubbed, blunted" (*erga* "molar teeth?"), or *awūš*, 1, "useless," 2, "not rubbed" (NPers. *sūde*) = "sharp teeth?" Speaking of teeth, I should like to add to my recent remarks on Sogd. *krw-šnd'k* "having defective teeth", *BSOS.*, x, p. 111: the word *krw-* still exists in modern Birjandi Persian, as *kabrā*, *kawrā* "toothless", see Ivanow, *JPASB.*, xxix, 4, p. 340. This makes it unlikely that NPers. *karu(e)* had been borrowed from Sogdian.—(20) Ptc. pres., pl. (21) 3rd pl. pres. (or subj.), (22) MPers. pret. pass. = Sogd. abstract from ptc. pass. + *kty* "became, took place", (23) iterative ptc., from MPers. *'sm-* = Sogd. (')*pš'm* both of which are unknown. It seems likely that the words are connected by etymology, notwithstanding the apparent discrepancy of the sibilants.<sup>1</sup> But MPers. *sucy* = *sucay*, Pahl. *sud* = *suy* compared with Av. *šud-* allow the derivation of MPers. *-sm-* from OIr. *-sam-*. Hence, *'sm-* = Av. *asama-* "to swallow, gulp" (NPers. *āšāmīdan*).<sup>2</sup> Sogd. (')*pš'm-* from *\*apa-šma-*? The appearance of an iterative, *'smg 'smg* ("by gulps"), seems to favour this assumption. On the other hand, one has to consider the Iranian base *\*sam-* "to send, throw forward", which can be established through the following forms:

<sup>1</sup> One could, of course, assume a base *\*šam-*.

<sup>2</sup> See also Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 252.



Sogd. *fašm-*, *fašamt-* "to send" (*BBB.*, p. 85), from OIr. *\*fra-bīma-*; Saka *hašda-* "message" from *\*fra-bata-*, Av. *šanmaoyō* "thrust" (*šanman-* [?] dissimilated from *\*šam-man-*), Av. *Arzō-šamana-* N.pr. "who throws himself into the battle" (cf. *arzō-kūla-*), and possibly Av. *frāšmi-* "messenger" (a different explanation of this word and of the related forms Pahl. *frāšm*, Av. *frāšmō-dāiti-* is given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, vi, pp. 593 sqq.; cf. also Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 65; *JA.*, 1936, i, pp. 230 sq., on Sogd. *nšmy* "west" [? "south"]; for Pahl. *plm-* see also Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 893 sq.).—(24a) 2nd pl. imp., (24b) MPers. 3rd sing. pres. (Sogd. pret.), (25a) 2nd pl. pres., (25b) 3rd sing. subj., (27) 3rd pl. pres. (durative), "to come."—(26) "remember, bear in mind" (imp.).—(28a) "Mind."—(28b) "Memory."

## FRAGMENT C

(1st page, R.)

- |                       |                  |          |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------|
| (1)                   | 'amg'n           | fn(y)[   |
| (2)                   | (d)r'wng'n       | [        |
| (Lines missing)       |                  |          |
| (3)                   | 's)[p]y(d)       | [        |
| (4)                   | d'ryg'[n]        | [        |
| (One line left blank) |                  |          |
| (5)                   | 'mwstyg'n        | [        |
| (6)                   | taw(q'n)         | t[swyt?] |
| (One line left blank) |                  |          |
| (7)                   | [. . .]rd[. . .] | {        |
| (8)                   | [. . .]r[        | {        |

(1st page, V.)

- |                 |           |                   |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|
| (9)             | ['y]w t'g | 'yw wlyy          |
| (10)            | ['yw ]    | l 'y]wnw('dy)     |
| (Lines missing) |           |                   |
| (11)            | ] ]       | (p)[myr'k '       |
| (12)            | ] ]       | 'ndrnyr           |
| (13)            | ] ]       | mryt[             |
| (14)            | ] ]       | [. . .]qδδa       |
| (15)            | ] ]       | [. . .]jyr[. . .] |
| (16)            | ] ]       | [. . .]x'n[. . .] |

(2nd page, R.)

- |                 |           |    |
|-----------------|-----------|----|
| (17)            | pu'bgz'dg | w[ |
| (Lines missing) |           |    |

\* Misspelling of *pfw'k*? Cf. *'nmyrh ZY pfw'kh* (= *padmardga*) P 2, 980.

(18)	(pdx)š(x)('wnd)	[
(19)	p'dyxs('n)	[
(20)	pyys'd	[
(21)	p's oo p'rš	[
(22)	pdg oo šryh	[
(23)	p . . [	[
(2nd page, V.)		
(24)	]	py'dg oo pšyy
(Lines missing)		
(25)	]	[.]k . . tyh
(26)	]	prpxyz
(27)	lg	't rytywšš
(28)	k')	pnyyg oo ck't
(29)	šn)	pt(y)ššynyš
(30)	]	[q]šn(w)ncy(')

(2) Or *dr'wag*(.)'n; *d* rather uncertain.—(3) Or 'd. .)w(.).—(11) Or *ššm*g'k.—(22) *p'd*? *pdr*?—(25) [.]kšyš. [.]kpxyš. [.]rēšš, d. .)šyš, or similarly.—(27) Possibly 'rytywšš as one word.—(29) [pšryš]n?

*Commentary*: (1/2) "Screaming demons (of wrath)?" *dr'wag'n* prob. from Parth. *dr'w-* = Pahl. *drāy-*.—(3/4) "White gold coins?" *d'ryg* = *δραρυγός*? OPers. \**dāriha-* was assumed by Herzfeld, *Alt Pers. Inschr.*, p. 135, who proposed "*aureus*" as original meaning (it is, however, difficult to accept the presumed OPers. "short form" *šari-* from *darniya-* which seems to be modelled on the first terms in -i from adjectives in -ra, etc., in composition; Av. *zairi-*, of course, is "yellow, of gold colour", not "of gold").—(5/6) *tas(s)šy* "a small coin (or weight)", lit. "a quarter" (*dāng*). Ar. *ṣassūḡ*, Arm. *t'aru*, etc. (also *Uyyur*, see Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, p. 61). 'mws-*yg-n* is not clear (different from 'mws "distressed, monk", see *BBB.*, p. 26 n.).— "Alone, single" (NPers. *gaktā*). For Sogd. *wš-*, cf. Buddh. *wš'wš* (cf. Pers. *gāndgūn*, etc.), *Dhuta*, 22, "various," or "one by one". With the addition of the suffix -ak, this word is met with in an unpublished Man. fragment (*T ii T 22*): *viimyk pr wšwšyt rnt' mry'r' kyy* "jy, i.e. "Eighth: amongst the various precious stones the pearl alone is born."—(10) Sogd. 'gyen- "worthy" is well known, and so is w's "place, seat, bed" (possibly connected with Av. *vaīdi-*, *vāiḍi-*, Pashto *wāla*, Yidgha *wolo*, Wakhi *wōd*, etc., "riverbed, irrigation channel," etc., cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 86; *IFL.*, ii, pp. 261, 548; see also Hansen, *Karabalg.*, p. 39). Therefore, 'gyenw'sy = having a

worthy place? " Suspiciously similar is Chr. 'zwnw'dgy', S.T., i, 84<sup>20</sup> (abstract of 'zu nio'dy', "sonship {υιοθεσία}" (lit. "the fact of obtaining the place of a son").—(12) Skt. *indranīla* "sapphire?"—(13) Probably pl. of *mry'*, *mryh* "wood". Not "emerald", which is spelt *mrktth* (pl., in an unpubl. text, T u D 77) in agreement with Skt. *marakata*-, Tib. *mar-gad*, Uyyar *mrkt* (e.g., Bang-Rachmati, *Ung. Jbb.*, xv, p. 399), etc.—(14) As a possible restoration, Professor Bailey suggests [qr]gδδn "amethyst" (Syr. *qarkēdnā*, etc.). One might also consider [z']gδδn = z'kδn'(')k "womb", SCE., 14, *Dhula*, 266.—(17) "Born by way of a Caesarean operation?" (*pati* + *nābay* "navel" + *zāday*?). *pn'bg* is hardly related to the word for "co-wife", which has been studied above (a 8). BQ. has *hanābe*, a blunder for *mvābe* or *manābe*. (18) "Honoured."—(19) "King, ruler."—(20) "He will adorn, or paint."—(21) "Watch." Sogd. *pārθ* from *pāθra*-, beside which we have Buddh. *p'ār* and (in all dialects) *p'ā*. In Sogd. it is usually "attention, respect, honour", but also "fast" (in unpubl. passages, hence Man. *nymyxip'p'ā*-, BBB., p. 9, "midnight fasting").—(22) "On foot, walking, runner." *pdg*, if Parthian = MPers. NPers. *paig*, Arm. *payik*, Syr. *paigā*, etc. Accordingly, Sogd. *firyh* may be an iterative ptc.-adj. (cf. above, b 23), from *fīr* = OIr. *fra-tur*-. Cf. Buddh. *fīr'vr* "to walk on" (impf. *fīr'vr*, frag. ii a. 23).—(24) Same meaning as (22). Cf. BBB., p. 54.—(26) "Setting." Probably from a phrase such as \**xwrbxyy pr txyz wβ'* "the sun was setting." Cf. *xwrbxyz* (*qyr'n*) "west", BBB., p. 139.—(27) See below, h 14.—(28) "Forehead." MPers. *pnnyg* cannot be compared to Av. *ainika*-, NPers. *pētānī*, etc. Parthian, *pn*- could correspond to OIr. *parn*- (cf. Parth. *pn*g "leaves"), or even to OIr. *paran*-. Hence *panniy* > \**parniy* > \**paranik* > \**paraniya*(ka), derived from \**parana*- "in front" (OPers. *paranam*)?—(29) Ptc. pres. pl., from *plyrβ*- "to grasp", etc.—(30) "Art, craft," see BBB., p. 69.

## FRAGMENT d

## Recto

(1) [']cyδ	c[ywyδδ]
(2) [']cc oon	{q}
(3) 'c oo en o	[
(4) 'oyd'[n]	[

(5) 'cw(m)[	[	]b[
(One line left blank)		
(6) 'qn'rgwm[nd]	(p)w	kws kyr'n
(7) 'qsm[	[	]βwt
(8) 'qwn oo o	[pw	'] (r)[k] (β)[w]t
(9) 'qwnn	{	
(10) 'qn'[rg]	(p)[w	kws kyr'n]
(11) 'qrwg	[	
(12) [	[	]x[ ]
(One line left blank)		
(13) ['r	]dg	srw]kyy
(14) ['nl'w'n pyd ]	'xaywnyy	βyy
(15) ['nl'w'n m'd]	[r']mrl'	twxβyy

## Verso

(16) {'rd'w']n	nyδ'yrt(yrt]
(17) ['nl'w pr'wh](r)	fr'n.]
(18) ['rd'w [rwdyn]	'rt'w frwrt'y
(19) ['rdywhyst]	['] (r)lxwstβyy
(20) ('rd[ywhyst]	[xwrt]ncm'x
(21) 'rdywh[yst]	[rt'] (x)[w]st'rwz
(22) 'rdygc'(r)	[']x'sw[']βyy
(23) 'rdyqr	[']x'[s]ryjyy
(24) '(rd)[yqr]	[']x'']sq[ryy]
(25) ['rdyqr'n]	(']x'sqryy[t]
(26) ['rdygyhyl ] ]	[tpt]x[w]ung βwt
(27) ['rdyq]	'(x)'s
(28) ['rdy](kr)[yh]	[']x[']sqcky'
(29) ('rxx) oo oo	s(m)[
(30) 'ryyz oo oo	'r[cyyc oo]
(31) 'rs o o o	[
(32) 'rw(ys) [oo]	[

(26) Or (m) [s (β)'.—(29) Reading very uncertain; ('rak) ?

*Commentary:* It should be borne in mind that the text as printed here consists mainly of restorations.—(1) "From him" (MPers. as postposition also "from").—(2) "Also from" (3). Sogd. m[s en] ?—(3) "From."—(4) "From you," or "from your . . ."—(5) "From me," or "from my . . ." Bartholomae's rule for the use of pronominal suffixes with prepositions certainly does not hold good for Man.

MPers.—(6) MPers. "unlimited", Sogd. "without side and direction (border, limit)". Cf. also Buddh. (*'pā kṛ'('n*, *Dhuta*, 58. For *kṛs* see Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 51.—(8) "Not acting, inactive." For Sogd., see above, # 19.—(9) "Akōman" (Evil Thought). Not attested in Man. texts.—(10) = (6).—(11) "Unskilled, inexperienced."—(13) Unknown. *-wjk-* reminds one of Uyyar *uīak* "letter, akṣara" which is spelt *wjk'k* in Man. Sogd. (*BBB.*, pp. 84). But "capital letter" is not a likely word to have in Sogdian.—(14) "The King-God," probably = the chief Man. deity (Sogd. *zrēβyry*, cf. Ar. *maliku 'alawār*, MPers. *īdā ī rōšnān*, etc.).—(15) "The Mother of Life."—(16) "Elect." Note the purely Buddhist term "*Tathāgata*" in the Sogd. translation. It is quite in conformity to Manichean ideas that every *electus* is assured of the redemption and freed from the bonds of metempsychosis: he is, indeed, a *tathāgata*.—(17) Sogd. "breath-", apparently rendering MPers. (*'rd'w*) *pr'wchr*, the first Man. element, cf. Greek (Copt.) *ἀήρ*, Lat. *aer*, Arab. *naṣīm*, Uiy. *tiutura* (*tin* = "breath"), Chin. *k'ī* "breath, air". Outside the series of the elements, MPers. *pr'wchr* also occurs as "air" in an unpublished fragment of Mani's *Book of the Giants*: *ima pyt herzštyd* [ ] *lā o yk dāt pd pr'wchr o yk* "Sām [stood] . . . before the sun, one hand (held up) in the air, the other. . ."—(18) First Man. element.—(19) = Av. *Aša-wahitta*. Not met with in Man. texts, therefore function in Man. system unknown. Without *-βry*, Sogd. *'rzwst* = third Man. element.—(20) Name of the second month; cf. Sogd. *zwrjnyc*, *Orientalia*, viii, p. 94.—(21) Name of the third day of the month. Cf. Sogd. *'rt'wzwt*, *ibid.*, pp. 90, 94.—(22) "Battlefield" (cf. above, on c 10).—(23) "Fighter," "bellicose."—(24) Fighter, soldier.—(25) "Warriors."—(26) The restoration of Sogd. ("killing takes place"), is perhaps not correct. Should Sogd. *'azwnc* "fight" be connected with *'azw'y-* (cf. *BBB.*, p. 63), one could perhaps restore [*n*]z[*w*]nng.—(27) "Fight, battle."—(28) "Fighting."—(29) If *'rzk*, cf. Pahl. *'lck* = *arzak* "free, released" (e.g. *GrBd.*, 50\*), Arm. loan-word *arjak* (Hübischmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 425, who over-estimates the value of the Pazend transcription). If *'rzz*, possibly = Av. *arzakā*, the name of the eastern *kīšwar*. The translation given by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, p. 202, is wrong. It is true that there is some confusion about *arzakā sarakā* in later Pahlavi books, but the most reliable texts place *Arzakā* in the east and *Sarakā* in the west (cf. Nyberg, *ü.*, 21, 203; note the confusion of

<sup>1</sup> See below, r 4.

the MSS., *Gr. Bd.*, 55, cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, p. 65). However, quite apart from the Pahlavi evidence, the Avestan texts suffice to demonstrate our contention. That in enumerations *Arazahi* always precedes *Savahi*, is, perhaps, not a very strong argument. But in *Yasht*, x, 67, *Mithra* is said to fly in his *min-chariot* from the *Kišwar* of *Arazahi* to the *Kišwar* of *Xvanirāša* (which is in the centre of the world), clearly from the eastern part of the world towards the centre. It is merely due to etymological speculations that the sun has been made to move from the west to the east by the interpreters of the Avesta.—Only few Sogd. words begin in *sm-*, e.g. *sm'n* "sky", *sm'ytyh* "consolation", Chr. *sm'nt* "blind", *sm'yr* "Sumeru", *sm'ctr-* "ocean" (Chr. *sm'nt* is probably a corrupt form of *smudra*: *smudr* > \**sumdar* > *sumnar* ? *S.T.*, i, 77<sup>o</sup>, read *sm'nt[ym]py*).—(30) "Tin, lead" (Arm. *arēd*, etc.).—(31) "A tear".—(32) "A rope" (cf. *S.T.*, ii, p. 603).

## FRAGMENT c

## Recto

- |                              |                       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) ['b      ]oo 'ngw[ ]     | ['b                   |
| (2) ['by      ]g oo pw δr[ ] | ['by'ng oo r[ ] δr[ ] |
| (3) ['bgryy]'g oo r'ynyh     | 'brwc oo frwwq        |
| (4) ['brw]'gyn oo y'lyncy    | (Blank)               |
| (5) ['g      ]r oo prβ'r     | 'gryknyy o pw ptešy   |
| (6) ['g      ]kwm            | 'yrtyst               |
| (7) ['gyn]'gryb'h      ]     | pr o'ky'ky'h          |

## Verso

- |                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (8) [      ]                | [.l'q]                |
| (9) ['gry](e) o kē'r ['tyh] | ['grynd'r o n[kē'r]q] |
| (10) 'g o prōβn             | 'gwb o kō' ['tyh]     |
| (11) 'gryft o pw 'kaye      | 'gryc o wβy[w]        |
| (12) 'gdnyft o 'yā'mudy     | 'gr'w o pē]           |
| (13) 'gr'wqwnyān            | šyr[ 'ktyh]           |
| (14) 'gr'w o s'rst          | [                     |
| (11) To be read 'zlyc?      |                       |

Commentary: (1) Sogd. could be "finger" or "honey", or possibly "assa foetida" (Saka *anḡuṣṣā*, etc., cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 913).—(2a) Numerous Sogd. words begin in *δr-*. I take this opportunity to supplement my note on Sogd. *δrt'yc*, *Fim.* 31,<sup>1</sup> *Man.* *δrt'yc*

<sup>1</sup> See also F. Weller, *Asia Major*, x, p. 332. Sogd. *lyrn'k* (in the same line) "luxuriant vegetation" (also *Dakṣa*, 257), should be compared to Yidgha *Ecina* "forest" (*IIFL.*, ii, p. 221). Cf. also *BBB.*, p. 104 (on *f.* 36).

"dung, manure". *BBB.*, p. 102 (on f 8): this word still exists in Eastern Ir. dialects, e.g. Wakhi *šort* "manure", see Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 321, and is attested also for Khwarezmian: *širts*.—(2b) Possibly "bridle", from Av. *aivi.šāna-* (Saka *byāna*, Pashto *mlāna*, etc.), which, however, is *βyδ'n* (*VJ.*, 1419), *βδ'nh* (*Dhuta*, 166), in Sogdian, see Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, p. 241. Or MPers. *aβiyāway* > NPers. *biyānak* "rushes" ("a plant used for weaving *būriyā*", *BQ.*) ?—(3a) "Weeping." Cf. *ZII.*, ix, §. 204<sup>2</sup>, *'bgyryy*.—(3b) "Flash, flame, lustre, brightness," etc.—(4) "Flashing, flaming." Sogd. ■ borrowed from Uiyur *yalinčiy* (*yalin* "flame").—(5) Sogd. "vehicle, chariot" (Skt. *yāna*).—(6) "Unseizability, unprehensibility."—(6) Elative of \**'yryyy*, which is probably the same word as Buddh. *'ny'rik*, *Vim.* 31, 89 (ed. *'zy'rk*) = Chin. 溼 *tsi* (see F. Weller on the passages), "muddy, juicy, rich, fertile."—(7) "Inactively, inefficiently." *-y'* abstract of *n'kī'rk* (see below, 9b), *kī'rk* Bahuvrihi compound, *k(r)k-* + *'rk* "work, deed".—(9a) "Or even." *'gryc* is MPers. ■ "if" + *c*-suffix. The rendering "or (even)" was probably taken from a passage similar to *Mir. Man.*, ii, 297<sup>1-2</sup>: *'gr . . . 'gr . . . u 'gr* (= *'gryc*) "*sic . . . sic . . . sic*".—(9b) "Ineffective, inactive, powerless," see above, 7.—(10a) Sogd. "damage, danger". Hence, MPers. *'g* = Av. *aka-* (or *aya-*), NPers. *dk* (for NP. *-k*, cf. e.g. NP. *tārik* from MPers. *t'ryg*).—(10b) Sogd. "(even) ■". Hence, *'gwb* = Parth. *'g* "if" + the suffixed particle Parth. *-wb*, which stresses the first word of a sentence. Cf. *'wh-wb*, *Mir. Man.*, iii, and the following line from an unpublished fragment: *mrđ-wb mrđ'n 'frdcm š'h 'yy*, etc. "Thou art the Man, the most exalted of men, the king," etc. (*M* 274). Possibly *-(w)b* = OIr. *-api*? One might also compare Sogd. *'cisty-p* (etc.), if it could be established that this suffix were different from the enclitical pronoun *-f*.—(11a) MPers. "not seized", or "unseizable", or, if *grift* here = "crime" (cf. *Air. Wb.*, s.v. *ā.garapta-*), "free from crime." Sogdian either *'kšyc* (cf. Av. *aka-* "hook", NPers. *ākag*, *ākang* "grapnel" ?), or *'xšyc* from \**xt-* (cf. *S.T.*, iii, p. 575, s.v. *'nδ'yšcy*) < \**'(x)xt-* (*BBB.*, pp. 54 sq.) "to pull" or "to draw near, attract" ?—(11b) Sogd. "at one time". Hence, *'gryc* Parthian = Man. MPers. *hgryc* (NPers. *kargiz*, etc.).—(12a) "Arrival."—(12b) MPers. "nice, splendid, magnificent," cf. above, a 23.—(13) "Acting in a nice, praiseworthy, decent manner" = "pious".—(14a) MPers. = (12b). Sogd. *'r'st* translates Syr. *p'y'* "*pulcher, decorus*", see

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *'wy-* ■ the text quoted below in the note on f 17<sup>2</sup> (p. 30, n. 30).

S.T., ii, p. 595. This translation suits all instances of MPers. 'gr'w (abstr. 'gr'yy), Parth. 'gr'w (abstr. 'rg'wyft), Pahl. Inscr. 'gl'y (= arā; abstr. 'gl'dyhy). In recent discussions on this word numerous non-existent forms have been quoted; in Man. MPers. and Parth. only the four forms quoted here occur (i.e. apart from merely orthographical variants). Cf. Man. MPers. 'rd'w: 'rd'yy, Parth. 'rd'w: 'rd'wyft, Pahl. Inscr. (and Ps.) 'l'y: 'l'dyhy.

## FRAGMENT f

## Recto

(1) ['sp](w)rzyqyn	sp(rzyh)
(2) ['](s)pyd(d)'r	š(n')sryh
(3) ['s](t)[.](n)w'r	qwndyryh
(4) ]se	[p](t) šβjnyh
(5) ]	spryac usnng
(6) ]	('šn)[ ] oo (c) . . (n)[
(7) ]	yxwageyqy'h
(8) ['šn'] (xt)'ryh	ptz'n'mndyh
(9) ['šn'xt o] m'p'y	'šn'xt oo ['šn'[ ]
(10) ['š](k)yft oo šxyh	'šk'tt oo t[βt- ]
(11) ['š](k)br'n oo βγwδt	'šfrz oo šr(p)[z- ?]
(12) ['šn'xt] oo ptyβyδ	'š(nw)myd oo xšn[
(13) [ ]	βn'jδ'rt
(14) ](wx)	'šknyd oo 'nxw(')[yt]
(15) ]	'škr(y)d oo [

## Verso

(16) ['](šqn)yān oo	('nšynd')[t
(17) 'šknhyyn	š'np[('w')rt[yyh]
(18) 'šn'z'g	f(šn)['ynyh ?]
(19) 'šnwbyryh	β[
(20) 'šnwbyrcn ooo	[
(21) 'škfs(vnd)	[
(22) 'škfsynd	[
(23) 'škng oo frxw'k	'š[
(24) 'škng oo 'wryzyh	'šng[
(25) ['š](k)ng oo prštyh	'ška(t) oo m[nxw'y !]
(26) ['š]tyrg oo ptyrk	'škmb oo [



(27) [']štyrg oo s(p)nync 'šky(b)[

(28) (']štyrg oo 'wjdyy 'š[

(29) 'št'h oo 'skw' '[

(2b) Very uncertain.—(3) Probably 'd[š]nuc'r or 'd[š]nuc'r.—(11) Or [']štyrg, br'a.—(13) [']štyrg, br'a.—(16) Reading extremely doubtful. (a) [']štyrg, br'a. (b) 'ndgyd' ['] Even 'ndgyd' (not quite impossible.—(27) Or possibly *synac*.

*Commentary:* (1) Probably "splenic" (Av. *spərəza*, etc.).—(2) MPers. (if correctly deciphered) " (white) poplar " = NPers. *isfīd(d)ār*, Pahl. *spyd'r* (e.g., *GrBd.*, 116<sup>20</sup>), etc.—(3) MPers. *astūnwār* would be "like a column", and for 'štynw'r one might compare Pahl. *stēnak*, etc. But the Sogd. word creates difficulties. In the published material there is only one Sogdian word to be found that begins with *kund-* (= Buddh. *kunt-*), namely *kunt'yk* "pitcher" (VJ., 437, 38<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, 1082, 1156, etc.; erroneously read *kurt'yk* by Gauthiot), evidently borrowed from Skt. *kundikā*. Now, the crucial letter of the MPers. word, n, is uncertain, and it is, perhaps, permitted to conjecture r instead. That would enable us to restore ['s](t)[h](r)w'r: MPers. *ostahr* (NPers. *istaxr*, etc.) "water-hole, pond" would agree nicely with Sogd. \**kund* = Skt. *kunda* "water-hole, cistern, pool, well" (MPers. -wār admits several interpretations).—(4) Sogd. *ššjnyh* can belong to Buddh. *nyšš'yā*, etc., see Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, pp. 236 sq., or (and this is by far more likely) to Buddh. *šš'yā* (CE., 461, = Chr. *šš'yā*, S.T., ii, "gain," which is evidently connected with Sogd. *ššrā* (see above, a 5). Hence Sogd. *ššrā* from OIr. *ššrā*, Sogd. *ššrā*, *ššrā* from OIr. *ššrā*, and Sogd. *ššrā* from OIr. *ššrā* (i.e. *ššrā*), to which we may add Sogd. \**ššrā* (NPers. *ššrā*) from OIr. *ššrā*.—Of course, Sogd. *ššj-* can also represent Av. *-ššrā*, *Air. Wb.*, p. 763.—(5) Both Sogd. words are unknown. *nsung* (i.e., *nsang*; Pahl. *nisang* = "little") is probably a fem. subst. For Sogd. *sprync*, cf. *sprync* below g 3. \**sparene* dissimilated from *spanene* "of iron" (fem. adj., in S.T., ii, also subst., "iron")? On the other hand, *sprync* = \**sprenj* could belong to the base *sparg*, cf. Khwar. lw. *isprenfik* "to blossom", see Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 662.—(7) Sogd. "discernment". As the MPers. equivalent one has probably to restore ['šn'x'ryh]. Sogd. *yxwng* which occurs below (g 4 sqq.) several times, is derived from *yxw'y-* "to separate, divide" (*BBB.*, p. 59), and seems to mean "discerning, faculty of

<sup>1</sup> Chr. *ššrā*, S.T., i, 12<sup>11</sup>, is probably a dialectical form of the same word (showing the same treatment of OIr. *ššrā*, e.g. *ššrā*).

discerning, reason"'.—(8) "Knowledge, cognition."—(9a) "He recognized, perceived" (for Sogd. 'p'y- see *BBB.*, p. 90).—(9b) Same. Sogd. f'in[s? Impf. of \*f'in-s- from OIr. \*fra-(x)ānāsa-?—(10a) See above, p. 21.—(10b) "Split."—(11a) Pl. of 'škr = βγωδ. Sogd. βγωδ clearly denotes some sort of "covering" (cf. Buddh. 'γ'ωδ, πγ'ωδ, etc.), and MPers. škār-<sup>2</sup> seems to represent OIr. \*skabra-, from the base skamb "to stem, prop". Hence, "a covering which is propped up," e.g. "roof", or "ceiling", etc.—(11b) The words are etymologically identical. Perhaps MPers. 'wz is the original of Talm. špry, špryyn "a tall wine-cup" (S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, pp. 208 sq.).—(12a) "He recognized."—(12b) "He propitiates" (etc.), a denominative verb, from MPers. knūm (knōm), cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 214. The Sogdian translator used a similar form, kn[wm-? By the way, it seems possible that Sogd. 'zān "absolution" continues OIr. \*zānāma.—(13) Cf. Sogd. n'j-, *BBB.*, p. 94 (b 60), where *Dhyāna* 40! should be added. According to F. Weller, *Mon. Serica*, ii, p. 382, Buddh. n'f- is "turn, roll". While it is naturally impossible to guess the meaning of βn'j- (i.e. abi + n'j-), one might conjecture "stumble", since the restoration of MPers. ['škrwyt] seems to impose itself. After [š], the number of MPers. preterites in -st which begin in 'š-, is rather small ('šst is too short). MPers. 'škrwyt is attested in *Alir. Man.*, i, see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 315 (the spelling 'škrwst, at the end of a line, is not a scribal error, but conforms to normal Man. rules of orthography). See also my note, *BSOS.*, x, p. 508. In NPers. we have not only škarfīdan (šig-), but also škarvīdan (Jewish Pers. škrīc-, *Ser.*, 8, 12 Lag.).—(14) "He breaks" (quoted *BBB.*, p. 59).—(15) "He hunts."—(16) MPers. "breaking", but the reading is unreliable. If Sogd. is 'nšyyš[ cf. Chr. 'tyōdy, *S.T.*, ii, "hidden" ? Buddh. 'nš'yp, *Vim.* 75, is "taking upon oneself" or "attraction", according to Weller, *Asia Major*, x, p. 349. This would hardly suit 'nš'yp- *Dhuta*, 45, 275, still less *Frag.* iii. 57, 67, where "to hide, bury" would fit excellently (to my mind, "rapprocher" and "appliquer" have not much in common; Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, pp. 52 sq.).—(17) MPers. "breaking up, destroying the enemy's army" (OIr. \*skanda(ya)ḡ. haēnā-). Sogd. s'n "enemy" renders MPers. hēn (Arm. hēn) "hostile army", hence MPers. 'škn- = Sogd. p[. .]r[. For the tentative restoration of p[('w')]r[yy, see *BBB.*, p. 78 (on 641), where a passage from *T M* 393 is quoted which I give here in full: (1) [w'n]kw c'n'kw ZY 'yū s'n p[('w')]r[('k) 'w'kw (2) 'skwty kwδ ZY ZK 'šw cp'yš ZY ZK

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 17nnk- "dissection" P 2.300

<sup>2</sup> Arm. skavotak would be \*škwz in Man. MPers.



For similarly spelt Sogd. words, see *BBB.*, p. 98 (on # 37). One can hardly compare *p(r)st* "lip(s)" (cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, pp. 239 sq.).—(25b) "He broke."—(26b) "Stomach."—(27b) "patient-" (see *Mir. Man.*, iii, s.v.).—(26-8) MPers. *'styg* is unknown, and the three Sogd. translations do not help us very much. The only hope, it seems, lies in restoring Syr. *'strk* "scalpellus", which was declared a mistake (for *ntrk* = Arm. *ntrak*, Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 206) by Fr. Müller. If *'styg* is "lancet", Professor Bailey thinks one might compare NPers. *usture* (Pahl. *usturak*) "razor", Salm *istidā* "he scrapes off" (tr. Skt. *likhet*). All these words, I believe, belong to the base \**st* which we have in Parth. *'wyst-*, Pahl. *'wst-* "to cleanse, wipe off" (cf. *BSOS.*, x, p. 509).<sup>1</sup> One could even go one step farther and postulate a base \**(s)ter* which could serve also for Sogd. *ptyrk* (26) and Sogd. *ptr-* "to wipe off" (*BBB.*, p. 74 n., *BSOS.*, x, p. 101; Benveniste compares Lat. *tero*). Hence (27) *epnync* [?] "an iron (instrument)?" However, all this is upset by (28) *'wjyndy*, which seems to belong to *'wjynd* (inf.) "to dismount" (*BBB.*, p. 60; the -n-form reminds one of Sogd. *zy'nt*, *šynt*, Parth. *'jgnd*, Syr. *izgaddā* "messenger", which is usually derived from Babyl. *algandu*, but has often been suspected of an Iranian origin; Pashto *zyāstā* is also "to hurry").—(29) "You should be, stay" (Parth. 2nd sg. subj., Sogd. 2nd sg. imp. or subj.).

## FRAGMENT 9

## Recte

- (1) (c)[y]'n oo} cyδayh
- (2) cyl'n oo oo xnyr oo
- (3) [. . . .] oo spryno
- (4) [y]xwangptz'nyyt
- (5) yxwangptz'nky'h
- (6) yxwangptz'nky'h
- (7) δ'icyq 'krty'h
- (8) cym oo oo yxwang
- (9) cym oo oo ptym
- (10) cybg oo amwq
- (11) cyryy oo oo skrtky'h
- (12) cyryst oo kryšδ'rt
- (13) (cy)rdr oo skrtyst(r)
- (14) cyhr'wynd oo krān'w
- (15) ptymxwjyyt

<sup>1</sup> Cf. NPers. *ustedan* "cleanse, wipe off, shave".

- (16) qrw'nmdyh  
 (17) [ ](t)t βw[t]

## Verso

- (18) cyrtwm oo (w)'  
 (19) cyg'myc oo  
 (20) cybyc oo {  
 (21) cyryys(t) [oo]  
 (22) c'yyān oo  
 (23) cyd oo oo r'mnd oo oo  
       (One line left blank)  
 (24) exāyd oo pešt'h  
       (One line left blank)  
 (25) clp' oo βwwq  
       (One line left blank)  
 (26) embyyān  
 (27) (cm)h oo ty'(m)  
 (28) emb oo wyn'h  
 (29) emb oo cmxwy oo  
 (30) emb oo cyngry' oo  
 (31) cm'm o[o ]oo

{12} Or xryd.—{15} Possibly (y) [= y'(sytr 1

*Commentary*: (1, 2, 3) NPers. *ēlān* is ("jube" and) "various iron instruments", cf. Sogd. *sprync'* (3)? See above on f 6, 27. MPers. *cyl'n* (cf. Pahl. *cyl'nl-*, Pahl. l'd. § 90), usually denotes some kind of weapon, probably "dagger", cf. above, b ■ (*ēlān* beside *kuštār* "sword"), and the Sogd. transl. *znyr* "sword, dagger" (Chr. *xyr*, S.T., ii, Ar.-Pers. *zanjar*, Wakhi *ziagār*, Sköld, p. 169, Khowar *khongor*, Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 668, etc.). Sogd. *cydnyh* is, of course, the same word which is also to be found in Saka: *oñon-* E. xxv, 408 (*kādara* = MPers. *kuštār* in the following line).—(4) "Those who know the reason (or: the distinction)." For *yzwng* (= *izwng*), see above, f 7. MPers. probably [*cymyšn's'n*].—(5) ■ "Recognition of the reason (the distinction)." MPers. [*cymyšn'xl'ryy*] and [*cymyšn'syšn*] ?—(7) "Lawful action."—(8) Pahl. *ēm* "reason, cause", and "meaning". NPers. *ēm* is exclusively "meaning, sense" (*mā'nā*).—(9) = (8)? For a discussion of Sogd. *plym*, see *BBB.*, p. 64.—(10) MPers. *cybg* occurs twice in *Mir. Man.*, i, pp. 196, 198 (*cybg*), in a list of human frailties. Sogd. *smwq*, otherwise unknown can perhaps be defined

with the help of NPers. *samuk* (Dict.) "conceit, foolishness".—(11) MPers. *štr* (= NPers.) is "triumphant, victorious, brave, overpowering, tyrannical" (cf. *GGA.*, 1935, p. 14<sup>1</sup>). That establishes the meaning of Sogd. *štrgyy*. (11) abstr., (13) comp., (18) superl., cf. Buddh. *y'γ* "brave".—(12) Denominative from (11)? Or else the preterit of an intrans.-pass. verb, representing OIr. *š(a)rya-*, with several bases *kar* to choose from. Cf., e.g. MPers. *pryry-*, *ZII.*, ix, p. 206, Pahl. *wt(y)l-* (*Kn.* i, 44,<sup>2</sup> cf. *GGA.*, 1935, p. 19), etc. ■ Sogd. is *kryš-*, one might prefer *kar* \* and explain *kryš-* from Av. *karš* (cf. *grwš* *BBB.*, pp. 101 sq.). The reading *xryš-* (NPers. *xarš* = *xarāt-* "to scratch"? Cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 515), is perhaps less likely.—(14) "Endowed with (beautiful) forms, looks," = "beautiful." The translation "(beautiful) form, looks, beauty", = proposed, *BBB.*, p. 93, is confirmed by all occurrences of the word (collected by Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 512 sq.). It is not an emotionally neutral word, and it is never used of ugly or disagreeable objects. This also applies to MPers. *štr*. In *Vim.* 87 Sogd. *kršn* renders Chin. 容 "form, looks, view, beauty".—(15) Sogd. "Those who seek the cause?" MPers. (*cymxw* 'A'n) ?—(16) "Acting, affecting, performance, execution." From Chr. (*pr*) *grwn* (inf.), *S.T.*, i, 63<sup>14</sup>, 68<sup>22</sup> (*kar-* + *wn-*?; cf. NPers. *kārkun*, *kārgar*, etc.).—(18) See (11).—(19) "Something, a little," cf. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 62.—(20) Probably *cy* + *byc* "but because". Cf. *m'byc*, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 298<sup>22</sup>, spelt as one word.—(21) = (12).—(22) "Mourning." MPers. *cy-* is always "to mourn, lament" (for a collection of passages, see *ZII.*, ix, p. 181 sqq.<sup>3</sup>; cf. *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 358). Cf. *M* 20c: *cymn* 'wd r'b 'y dyn 'wé w'ng 'yg 'w'ngyn, "the mourning and imploring of the religion, and its sorrowful voice." Cf. also Khwarezmian *atsiy-* (impf. *matsiy-*) "to mourn".—(23) "Always".—(24) "To taste" (2nd pl. imp. or pres.). MPers. *šaxš-*, Jewish Pers. *šaxš-*, NPers. *šaxšidan* (cf. *ZII.*, ix, p. 253; Geiger, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 412), etc., can hardly be separated from Sogd. *pcš-* (*S.T.*, i, 15<sup>4</sup>; Buddh. 'pc's', *SCE.*, 77). On Arm. *šaxš*, etc., see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 187.—(25) Sogd. *šwng* (*šwng*) = "pen, qalam", see *BBB.*, pp. 64 sq. It is difficult to account for MPers. *šp* which has the appearance of an Aramaic word. \**šalmā* > \**šalpā* > \**šalpā*? It is, ■ course, possible that there were several Sogd. words *šw(w)š* (cf. e.g., *BBB.*, p. 65, n. 1). There are

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., the proposal to change Pahl. *wt l'arš* (*wtāš*) is to be abandoned. The phrase is frequent in Pahl. Cf. *grw-arš* (*š*), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Not *ridar*, see *GGA.* 1935, p. ■. Hensford, *Alipera Inschr.*, p. 248, agrees with my reading, whilst Zaehner, *J.E.A.S.*, 1940, p. 41, has the wrong spelling.

<sup>3</sup> and pahl. *šp*, *šp* "mournful" *Kn* xv, 11, xv, 1 (49 po., 52, 2 ed. Antia).

several Aramaic words available which could be transcribed *clp'* (e.g. Mand. *šylp'* "whip"). One might even consider NPers. *šlpā(y)* (Bal. *šlphāday*) "centipede", which, of course, should be spelt *clp'y* (*cylp'y*).—(25-31) I do not know a single MPers. or NPers. word *čamb*, and the number of words that begin in *čamb-* is small (*čambār* "ring", etc., *čambak* = Skt. *campaka-*, NPers. dict. *čumba* <sup>1</sup> "stick, bar, mallet", *čumbak* "magnet", Sogd. *čmb'ryh* above, a 1). There is, however, the possibility of *m* replacing *č*, so that *čmb* "ford" (27) could belong to *čm-* "walk, stride, run" (31), cf. *čm-* *Mir. Man.*, iii, Arm. *čm-*, NPers. *čam-*, etc. Similarly, (26) *čmbyyhn* could be "walking", etc., or perhaps rather "lavatory" (cf. Arm. *čemiš*; for Pahl. *čamišn* see Šnš., iii, 9, and note, x, 5, ed. Tavudis; see also Pahl. *Vd.*, xviii, 44, p. 20<sup>2</sup> Sp.). Sogd. (28) *čyn'h* is (either "you should see" or) "lute", *čyn'* in an unpublished text (*M* 135), Skt. *vīṇā*, etc. MPers. *čmb* = *čem(b)*, *čem(b)* [?] borrowed from Chin. 琴 *k'in* > *g'jəm* (Karlgren, 386) "guitar, lute?" Sogd. (29) *čmzyy* is not to be compared to Buddh. *čnyty* (on which *BBB.*, p. 38), but may be a Chinese loan-word: "repentance", cf. Uigur *čamxat*, Bang-Gabain, *Index*, p. 476. Sogd. *čyn'gyr* could be the name of a musical instrument, cf. NPers. *čungal(e)*, etc. (see Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, p. 17; for the *-i-* of *čingarya*, see Av. *paō.čingha-*)?

## FRAGMENT A

## 1st frag., Recto

- (1) [            ]b'h  
(2) [b](s)tg'(n)[oo] šaty [  
(3) [            ](h)yn(d)

## 1st frag., Verso (blank)

## 2nd frag., Recto

- (4)            ](y)h  
(5)            ] šwt  
(6)            ](k)y'maty

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## 2nd frag., Verso

- (7) br[w]g  
(8) br[d  
(9) bry(d)[  
(10) brsw(m

<sup>1</sup> See Amdt, s.v.



- (11) brpš oo (š)mp(t)[yr ?] + 17 ?  
 (12) brynš 'ym[.] + 18 ?  
 (13) brgwd oo t̄wyp'šš + 19 ?  
 (14) brywš oo ryt̄ywwšš + 20 ?  
 (15) brmg o r'yycyq + 21 ?  
 (16) bry'n oo p̄t̄ayyz[ ] + 22 ?

3rd frag., *Recto*

(blank)

3rd frag., *Verso*

- (17) ? brm]yd oo r''[yt ?  
 (18) ? β[r]'xs'(')[m ?  
 (19) ? b[r]'n'd oo (x)w[  
 (20) ]brbnd oo t̄rx[  
 (21) ? ]brz(yn) oo s'o(q)[  
 (22) ? ](b)chyng'n o βγ[nyš ?

4th frag., *Recto*

- (23) lyh  
 (24) (k) ]t̄ryyt  
 (25) ? p̄t̄ay]yz'nd  
 (26) {br.}g = špyrt̄'kp'šy  
 (27) {b]rhy' = jwndty šry

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4th frag., *Verso*

- (28) bš[  
 (29) ■  
 (30) b(š)[  
 (31) bān[  
 (32) bānwg = mš(y)'[n]  
 (33) bān'n o ms  
 (34) bānbyd = ms  
 (35) bš oo βycy'h  
 (36) bš oo mšy'n  
 (37) ■ oo yuš

1st frag., *Recto* = 1st col.—2nd frag., *Recto* = 2nd col.—2nd frag., *Verso* = 1st col.—  
 3rd frag., *Verso* = 2nd col.—4th frag., *Recto* = 2nd col.—4th frag., *Verso* = 1st col.—  
 (2) Uncertain.—(11) šmpt̄y: very dubious (in particular, t); also imp. possible.—(12)  
 brynš'ym, as one word? brynš'ym[?] unsatisfactory.—(14) MS. dyt.—(18) Or š[r]'xs' ?  
 Initial letters covered up by manuscript note on the glass plate, hence verification  
 impossible.—(19) Possibly t̄rx[.—(20) Possibly t̄rx[.—(21) brzyš ? brzyr ? Sogd. could  
 ■ read s'cb[. or s'cβ[.—(26) Or špyr.—(37) Two points underneath w (= jw'nd(x).

*Commentary*: It seems likely that the 3rd frag. formed part of the same page as the 2nd frag., so that the lines 17-22 constituted the 2nd col. to the lines 11-16. In that case the 2nd col. line continuing line 12 should contain one Sogd. word only, a condition which seems to be fulfilled by line 18. The blank of the recto page of the 3rd frag. would agree with the blank of the lower part of 2nd frag., recto. However, the lack of sufficient photographic material prevents a definite conclusion.—(2) "Bound" (MPers. pl.).—(7) "Eyebrow."—(8) "Brother."—(9) "Cut."—(10) "Barsom-twigs."—(11) Sogd. poss. "lamp", cf. Parth. *lmwyr*. In fact, there can be no doubt that *lamprñp* has also entered Sogdian, since the word occurs in an unpubl. fragment: *cr'y ZY šmw[yr]* (T i a). But "lamp" is hardly suitable for *brpš* (= *brfš*? Hyperparthucism for Parth., etc., *drafš*, cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, a.v., on the pattern of *bar*: *dar*, etc.?).—(12) *brynz* might be "brass" ("rice" would be *wr-* or *gwr-*, see below, m 2) = NPers. *biring*, Arm. *plinj*, Pahl. *bring*, etc., cf. also *Man. MPers. bryning*, BSOS., ix, p. 81. However, it is perhaps advisable to take *brynz'ym* as one word = *brynzym*, particularly if we are allowed to regard *βr'za* [m ? (18)] as the corresponding Sogd. gloss. *brynz* could be "to roast", cf. MPers. *bryz*, BSOS., ix, p. 81, etc., and especially Khwar lw. *orenfēk* "to fry", Morgenstierne, BSOS., viii, p. 664. Sogd. *βr'za* = *\*braxa* could easily be explained as an inchoative OIr. *\*briza-*, cf. Bal. *brihta*, Pashto *wrū*, etc.—(13) If any reliance can be placed on the spelling, *brgwd* must be different from *brywd* (14). Proceeding on this assumption, we have to analyse Sogd. *fwyp'šš*. *pāš* could be "foot", and *fwy-* "quick", cf. Buddh. *fwyr* "quicker", VJ., 799, 1072, is the comparative of *fwy-*, and not of *\*fwyt-* = MPers. *taxt* (cf. Buddh. *wytwyt-*, etc.). But "nimble-footed" does not seem to suit MPers. or Parth. *brgwd*. On the other hand, *p'šš* could indicate *pāš* (*šš* = *θ* as often) "arrow", Buddh. *p'šš* VJ., 251, *šr'wmp'šy* "bow-shot" SCE., 135, Yaghobi *pāt* "arrow" (Gauthiot, *Gramm. Sogd.*, i, pp. 140 sq.), Shighni *pāš* "arrow, bullet" (Sköld, p. 166), etc. Hence, *fwyp'šš* could be compared to Av. *zōtixi.štu-* "archer". As regards *brgwd*, there is the possibility that Tajiki, Parachi, Yidgha, Sanglechi *yūlak*, *yōlak*, etc., "bow, pellet-bow" (Morgenstierne, *JIFL.*, i, p. 255; ii, pp. 212, 394), originally belonged to a *t/d > l* dialect, so that one might assume Parth. (or MPers.) *\*gōš* "bow".<sup>1</sup> Therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Or is *yūlak* connected with NPers. (Pahl.) *pōi* "ball"? NPers. *pōi*: MPers. *pōš*: East. Ir. *yōl-*: Skt. *pōla* as NPers. *naī*: MPers. *naš*: East. Ir. *naī*: Skt. *naśa* (and *naśa*: *gūda*)

<sup>2</sup> and Ossel. *fat*.

bar-gōš = "bow-carrier", "archer"? Cf. Av. *baraŋ.aoθrā*, Parth. *br̥dichr*, MPers. *ʾsknhyyān*, etc.—(14) Sogd. probably "face-cover", "veil" (cf. *ʾr̥ r̥y̥t̥yōšš* above, c 27 = "and a veil?"). Parth. *br̥yōd* recalls Lat. *paragauda* "lace, laced garment", Talm. *pargōšā* also "curtain", Arab. *burgūd*, etc., which apparently reflect OIr. \**para-gauda-* or *pari-gauda-* (from the base of Sogd. *-yōšš*, etc.). For the various forms, see Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, pp. 209 sq.; Arm. *St.*, p. 128; Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, pp. 45 sq.; Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 227. However, OIr. *para/i-gauda-* would be \**par̥yōš* in Parthian. To explain *br-* we have to assume that the word was reborrowed from some Aramaic dialect, e.g. Mandaeen *br̥gōd* (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, p. 47, n. 2; cf. *ibid.*, p. 20, n. 2).—(15) "Weeping."—(16) "Roasted" (NPers. *bir̥yān*). Cf. Chr. *p̥nyz-*, S.T., ii (q.v.). Av. *naēza-*, *Vd.*, xvi, 17.—(17) "is weeping."—(18) see (12).—(17-22) The reader is requested to bear in mind that this fragment possibly belonged to a different part of the dictionary, e.g. words in [']*br-*.—(19) "Door-reed?" "Carrying a flute, reed, or qalam?" Or even "wearing reeds", cf. Av. *yō oahantī naēzā* (Pahl. tr. *qanyā = nay*) "who is wearing [ ] garment made of) reeds?" One might also consider NPers. dict. *barā* "the henna plant" if *barān* should be a wrong form, and if the word is not Aramaic in origin. Cf. Syr. *pru* "juniper!" There is, however, not the slightest reason for assuming that anybody could mistake *juniperus* for *laurencia inermis*. The Iranian word for juniper is Av. *haparasi*, Bal. *ap̥ars*, etc., see Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, pp. 40 sq.<sup>1</sup> In NPers. we have not only forms in *-m* (*avirs*, *aris*, etc., see Geiger, *Etym. Bal.*, no. 5; Hübschmann, *Pers. St.*, p. 12), but also some which continue *-bhl* (ss. indeed, assumed by Nyberg, ii, p. 22), namely *vuhl*, *abul*, *bul*, *ab̥hul*, Syr. *bhl*, most of which are given as "juniper, juniper-berries", and "pine-cones", see Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, pp. 6 sq. Hence, the correct MPers. form was \*(h)ab̥hul > NPers. *vuhl*, *bul* (cf. *varnī* compared to *bā*); *ab̥hul* > *ab̥hul*, *ab̥hul* > *abul*.—(20) Parth. "bolt, barrier" (= NPers. *darband*). If Sogd. *tr̥k*, one might hesitatingly compare NPers. *tarak* "a moat", etc. If Sogd. *tr̥a*, this might be a form from the base *tr̥(n)k*, cf. e.g., NPers. *fadrang* "door-bar", *BSOS.*, x, p. 101, where NPers. *tarayde* = *turungfide* (from Sogd. *trayd-*) could have been mentioned.—(21) Parth. "cushion" (NPers. *bālīn*)?—(22) "Naked" (pl.)? *brahnay* > *barahnay* > \**barhanay* > *barhenay*? The unexplained *-r-* of NPers. *barahne*, etc., can be compared to the equally mysterious *-r-* of Sogd. *br̥ywer*.—(25)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Yidgha *porazro*, etc., Morgenstierne, *IFL.*, ii, p. 274.

See (16).—(26) Sogd. -p'3- made me think of restoring [brz]ng = Syr. *brnq* "ocrea" (but the initial consonant is not clear). *špyr*—cf. Buddh. 'šp'yr- "grotto", *Dhyāna*, 362?—(27) MPers. *brhy* is evidently Aramaic *bar hayyē* "son of life", or (cf. *bar kyānā*, etc.) "living (being)". This is apparently a term employed by Mani himself whose partiality to the word "life" is well known. It is unlikely that *brhy* should refer to the "First Man", the son of the "Mother of Life", because the counterpart to *emwī dhayyē* would be *brā dhayyē*; on the other hand, the son of the "Mother of Life" could reasonably be expected to be called "Life" (or "the Living"). Sogd. translation: "living fruit." The glossarist mistook *br-* for the ordinary MPers. vocable *bar* "fruit". NB.—The spelling *jic*(<sup>1</sup>)*ndy* expresses the same as *jic*<sup>2</sup>*ndy*(*y*), it need not be meant to indicate the gen. pl. of \**jic*<sup>2</sup>*nd* (which, in fact, does not occur; *mir*<sup>2</sup>*ic*<sup>2</sup>*ndy*(*y*), *S.T.*, ii, is to be read as one word).—(28-37) There were at least twenty entries 𐭪𐭫𐭮 (ten in each column), which is rather surprising: in all published texts not more than four words in *bā-* occur, viz. MPers. *bāyšk* "physician", and *bāyškyy*, MPers. *bābyd* "priest of an idol", and Parth. *bān* = NPers. *baṭan* "part of the body, branch"<sup>3</sup> (*bāstn*, *S.31*, is, of course, a misreading of *nāstn*). Similarly, while we find a wealth of such words in NPers. dictionaries, there is not a single satisfactory vocable of this initial in the whole of the *Shahname*, for "*baṭātan*" is, of course, *P.*, and one might have some doubts about *bat* "clasp, clasp, hoop", in view of Av. *fābān* . . . *arə.pābān*.—(33/4) Sogd. *mr* = "also", viz. "this word has the same meaning as the preceding?" One could assume that similar words in the preceding lines of the (missing) second column had been fully explained, and that the glossator did not think it worth his while to repeat himself. We might reconstruct the lines in this way:—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (32) <i>bāwng o mdy</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>n</i>     | [ <i>bānyh</i> <sup>2</sup> = <i>pty</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>pt</i> ] |
| (33) <i>bān</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>n</i> = <i>ms</i> | [ <i>bānar</i> o <i>šyapt</i> ]                                   |
| (34) <i>bābyd</i> o <i>ms</i>                     |   |

MPers. *bābyd* was explained, *BSOS.*, viii, pp. 583 sq. \**bān* "temple" was probably one of the words mentioned by the glossator. If this can be derived from \**baṭān*, one might similarly explain Parth. *bān* "part" from \**baṭān*, or *baṭān* = Arm. lw. *baṭān*, *baṭān* "part" (perhaps starting from the plural: \**baṭānān* > \**baṭānān* > *baṭān*,

<sup>1</sup> See also below, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Also Pahl., e.g. *P.T.*, d, 110<sup>2</sup>.

hence sing. *bašn* > *bašan* > NPers. *bašan*).—(32, 35/6) Sogd. *βycy'h* is "medicine, remedy". *mδy'n* is not attested, but could represent an older form of *myδ'n* "middle", possibly with a specialized meaning: "middle" > "means" > "remedy" (cf. e.g. Germ. *mittel*). On the other hand, if *mδy'n* is, indeed, "medicine", it would be more attractive to derive it from the base of Lat. *medicus*, cf. Av. *vī.mad-*. We have, therefore, MPers. *■* and *bānuq* = "medicine", cf. Pahl. *bāk'n* "medicinal" (Bailey, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 230); *baš* from *baš?*—(37) Probably different from (35/6). Sogd. *γnš* is certainly not the same as Buddh. *γnš-* "to pull", *BBB.*, p. 54 (*γnš'kh*, if from *γnš-*, is also ruled out). *■* = Av. *bāsi-*? "Mane" would be *bāš*.

## FRAGMENT I

*Recto*

- (1) *nyš(t)'k* [
- (2) *nyr'myy* [ oo
- (3) *nyš'hyn* o *kmb*['reyk]
- (4) *nyzwm'nyy* o [
- (5) *nyš'yān* oo
- (6) *n(y)* [

*Verso*

- (7) *ky'k*
- (8) [*nyr'pt* ? ? o] *w'z'm*
- (9) [*nyby'n*] oo "kmb
- (10) [*nyys'n*] o 'wstyn
- (11) [*nydrxt* o β] 'trync

(12) Or *nyš(t)'x*.

*Commentary*: (1) Possibly connected with OPers. *nštrm-*, etc., cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, p. 76, and Sogd. *prw'nš ZY 'pht'w'nš* "orders and recommendations" (in an unpubl. frag.). If *nyš'tx*, this might be a compound in *-ax(w)*, cf. MPers. *wyst'x(w)*, see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 89, and MPers. *wšyd'x(w)*, see *BBB.*, p. 25 n., 248. Professor Bailey's explanation of the latter word, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 230, as *\*wišdāxw* from *\*wištāxw* is, perhaps, not convincing. I should think that on the contrary, MPers. *\*wišdāxw* would become *\*wišdāxw* as every MPers. word of the type " " turns up as " ". Hence, it seems necessary to interpret *wšyd'xw* as *wišdāxw* = "open mind" = "confidence" or "joy" (cf. NPers. *gūšād-e-dū*, etc.).—(2) "You put down, keep down."—(3)

MPers. "corporeal". As to the spelling, see BSOS., III, p. 86.—(4) "Skill." Cf. G. Messina, *Žāmāspik*, p. 51, n. 3. Frequently met with in Man. MPers., Parth., and Pahl. *nēzu-mān*, lit. "sharp-minded", cf. Av. *naēza-*, etc.—(5) "Prayer," etc.—(6) Imperf. of Chr. 'wz'm-, S.T., i, p. 174.—(9) "To suppress, curb, restrain," 2nd sing. imp. 'kmb<sup>1</sup>: cf. Buddh. *nk'ap-*, SCE., 98, *Dhyāna*, 9, *pk'ap-*, R., ii, p. 68<sup>12</sup>, etc. Parth. *nhynj-* *Mir. Man.*, III. However, it is, perhaps, wiser to restore [nydry]nj, since the admissibility of the spelling *nyhynj* is subject to doubts, i.e. vowels being reduced in front of -h.—(10) "I should place."—(11) "He suppressed, subjected," etc., imperf. of *βtr*(')ync-, BBB., p. 60. Cf. also BSOS., x, p. 101.

#### FRAGMENT k

##### Recto

- (1) 'bwt(s)l'm oo
- (2) 'bwd oo [
- (3) 'bwrg o p[w z'tvy ?]
- (4) 'bwg o p[n'ac ]

##### Verso

- (5) ](y)šyyān
- (6) ]t'pyc
- (7) w] (yδ') anyk
- (8) ]ky'h

*Commentary*: (1) "Balm, balm of Gilead." MPers. *ābursām* = Arm. *apursām*, Syr. *apursāmā*, etc., also in Chinese, most likely from Iranian. See B. Lanfer, *Sino-Iranica*, III, 429 sqq. The Iranian (Arm. Aram.) word is probably a Greek loan-word, viz. a shortened or contracted form of *ἀποβάλαμα* (or by haplology). The name *Abursām* is probably different in origin (< *Apursān*; see my paper in the forthcoming *Jackson Memorial Volume*).—(2) Either *āβōδ* = a 13, or *āβād* "unconscious".—Probably Parth. "childless", *āβūray* from *āβuhray* = Av. *apušra-*. Of course, it might as well be *āβūray* "pregnant" (cf. Meitner *ocūre*, Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, p. 38), but the usual Parthian word is *brbchr* (also *'byatn*, *Mir. Man.*, III, from MPers.). Naturally there is a wide choice of other possible translations, e.g. "without a tower", "without borax", "dam (*āβ* + *wary*)", etc.—(4) "Co-wife," see above, a 8.—(5/6) Probably incomplete.—(5) "Their form?" Cf. BBB., p. 93.—(7) "Astonishing."

<sup>1</sup> One hesitates to mention Buddh. "k'βtk- "false, wrong", in view of "y'βtk-.

## FRAGMENT I

## Recto

- (1) "mw(r)[z-  
 (2) "mwj(d)[ o  
 (3) "mwjd • [

## Verso

- (4) k ]š'mndy  
 (5) k ]rδqyy  
 (6) ]w'mudy(y)

*Commentary:* (1) MPers. *āmurz-* "to show mercy", see above, a 3, 6.—(2,3) Parth. "mercy". Parallel forms from the two West Mid. Ir. dialects are often placed beside each other by the glossators, cf. e.g. above, b 8. They also employ etymologically connected Sogdian words with preference (if such are available).

## FRAGMENT 2A

## Recto

- |         |         |              |
|---------|---------|--------------|
| (1) [gw | ]yydn   | (m)[.](y)[   |
| (2) [gw | ]šbryy  | gwdync a r[  |
| (3) [gw | R ]bryy | gwinac [ o   |
| (4) [gw | ]n)     | (nβ)[.](δ')[ |

## Verso

- |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| (5) [gwpt. . . . ]  | wytw(δ)]'r        |
| (6) [gw             | ]m'qyc gwin'u [ o |
| (7) [gwyšn o ] srwq | gws(pnd o         |
| (8) [gw             | ]'. . . ]n (δr)[  |

*Commentary:* (2a) Restore [gwšw'r o yw]šbryy ?—(2b) Most likely to be read *gwdync* (i.e. addition of a point) = NPers. *guriŋ* "rien". Sogd. r[ysk] (*Ancient Letters*, v, 10)? NPers. *guriŋ* "wrinkle" has probably *k-*, see Morgenstierne, *BSOS.*, viii, p. 659.—(3) This could be "mosquito", lit. "cow-fly" (cf. e.g. Pashto *yu-mašā*). -nac = *manf.* from \*b/*manf-*, cf. NPers. *munf* "fly, bee", Oss. *binjā* "fly" (-i- from -a- as in *findtā*), but see Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, p. 41, who quotes Abdu *bené* (with a different etymology): the last form suggests rather b/*manf-*.—(5) Sogd. "to speak" (perf.).—(6a) Sogd. incomplete.—(6b) "Doubt".—(7a) MPers. ["speech, address, homily, discussion"]. Sogd. *srwq* = Pahl. *šrwk-*, Av. *sracuh-*, etc., Skt. *śloka* in spelt *śr'vka*(') in Sogd.—(7b) "Sheep."





*Commentary:* The words *ruh'* (1, 2) and *in'nd* (5) are on a separate scrap of paper. If this can be fitted closely to the main fragment (it is impossible to determine this without the aid of a photograph of the main piece), we have probably *ruh'h* in (1, 2) and *in'nd* in (5). Before I found the separate scrap, Dr. Lentz and I had restored [*ruh' hy'h*] or [*ruh' dhy'h*], and *s(k)en* in (5).—(1) Sogd. "Spiritus sanctus". MPers. either Syr. *rūhā*, or *rūhā* + x.—(2) Sogd. "vireus electus (spiritus)" = (1) This is a contamination of "Living Spirit" (MPers. *wāzē* i *zīhrēn*, etc.), and "Elect Spirit" (Parth. *wejyl w'd*, etc.). The latter phrase is originally a rendering of Syr. *rūhā dquḏā*, the Manichaeans having acquired the habit of translating *qdā* by "to select", in particular *qaddēs* and *ethqaddā* = *wiḥād*, *wiḥid* "to elect, to be elected" — "to enter (or be made to enter) the Manichaean Church" = "to take holy orders." On the other hand, Man. Sogd. uses *wasce-* for *qaddēs*, and *wasys-* for *ethqaddā*.—(3) "Greedily." In Sogd. one would expect *pr' ruyky'*. For further information, see *BBB*, p. 71; *HSOS*, x, p. 103. Chr. *ruē-* (*S.T.*, ii, see p. 604) = *ruē-* from *ruzd-*? For *ē* from *zd*, cf. *βyz-*. The base of *aruyd-* was probably *ruē* (rather than *ruē*) = Skt. *ruē*.—(3b) "He coveted."—(4) MPers. "you cause to grow." Sogd. *ruēdn-* causative, from OIr. *\*ruḍanya-* (cf. Av. *porasanya-*, etc.)? Normally, Sogd. *ruēd-nyy* = "growing".—MPers. *ruyyny* could also be the abstract noun of *royēn* "quantity of copper" (*r'uyyn*, *Mir. Man.*, ii), hence Sogd. *ruēdnyy* = *rūēdnr* "of copper" (cf. fem. *ruēdynch*, *SCE*, 229)?—(5) MPers. *royānd* = Sogd. *rōdānd* "they grow" (subj.). If Sogd. to be read *in'nd*, as alternative translation = "they rise," one might point to Av. *gim upairi viš raodaḥ* where Bailey, *BSOS*, vii, p. 84, translates "to mount".—(6) MPers. *roeršnū* "manner (of going)" is not a complete word, but the second part of a compound, cf. Pahl. *raeršnūh* = Av. *-tāt-*. Sogd. *saerene* etc. -adj., "going".—(8) An unusual spelling of *peβut-* "to smell" (*BBB*.)? *paēβūt-* > *\*patsβūt-* and through assimilation to the following voiced fricative > *\*pad:βūt-*? It is an undecided question how far (if at all) Sogdian participated in the general Eastern Iranian depalatalization of *č* (> *ts*, Saka, Pashto, Khwarezmian, Ossetic, etc.); cf. e.g. Chr. *mc'* = *matsū*.

## FRAGMENT p

## Recto

- |                       |        |
|-----------------------|--------|
| (1) [tm . . .] = pt'm | [tm-   |
| (2) [tmbw]r o tpwwq   | tm(b)[ |

(Four lines left blank)

(3) [tngy]y = tnyty'q t[n-

(4) [tn- ]h [tn-

Verso

(5) [tp- ] t(py) = 'n(š)[

(6) [tp- ]yy tpsnwq = .[

(Two lines left blank)

(7) [tī- ? ]q (blank)

(Two lines left blank)

(8) [tc- ] tc(r) [ o

Commentary: (1) MPers. probably some form from *tm*, *tmyn* "dark(ness)" (*Mir. Man.*, i), similarly Sogd. from \**apa-tāma-*, poss. "darkening". Professor Bailey kindly draws my attention to Saka *pātāma* = Skt. *āvaraṇa*, *pātām* "to obstruct, eclipse".—(2) Apart from the two words mentioned under (1) there were hardly any MPers. or Parth. words in *tm-*. We have to assume *tmō'r* for (2b) and *tmō'w* for (2a), but this spelling does not conform to the normal orthography; as a rule, we have *tmō'r* in Parth., and *tmō'w* in MPers.—The restoration [tmō'r] is, of course, not certain, but very likely. Arab.-Pers. *tumbūr* is "guitar, lute", Pahl. *tmō'w*, *tmō'w* = *tambūr* is "lute" acc. to C. Sachs *apud* J. M. Unvala *ad Husr. Rét.*, 62, but Nyberg, ii, 223. translates this as "tambourine". Cf. the similar (and poss. somehow connected) word Arm. *taril*, "a string instrument." Gr. *raβdla*, *raβhla*, Syr. *taβlā*, Ar. *ṭabl* (Hübischmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, pp. 252 sq.), NPers. *tabire*, Parth. *tybyl* = *taβilan* (*M* 10) "a tambourine". It is difficult to account for Sogd. *tpō'wq*: of NPers. *tabūk* "a large wooden platter", which, acc. to Asadi s.v., is similar to a tambourine? One has also to consider Arm. *t'mbuk*, etc. (Hübischmann, *op. cit.*, p. 154).—(3) "Depression, distress" (cf. *BBB.*, p. 60).—(5) Reading uncertain. If = *taf(f)ay*, cf. Av. *tafnu-*, NPers. *taff*.—(6) "Annoyance," etc. As a loan-word, *tfancy* occurs in the second Man. letter, line 13 (see below). From Av. *tufaa-* "to become heated".—(8) "Palace," etc., see *Mir. Man.*, iii, s.v.

## FRAGMENT q

Recto

(1) [dxš]g = βj(n'h) dxšg o [.]gy[.]n

(2) [dxšg] = (δxš)ny[.] dx(l)g o pxš[.](y)

(3) [dxšt'a]a 'zprtqryyt

(Several lines left blank)

## Verso

- (4) [d](m)dyf[t = .]wrik[ ] [ ]  
 (5) dmdyft [ ]  
 (6) dmdw"g [δm](d)w"β[ ]

(Several lines left blank)

- (7) dn(w)wg o z(n)w(q) dnd[n" = ]  
 [ ] [dnwg] = j(n)wwq [ ]

*Commentary*: (1, 2a) "Characteristics, mark, sign," Pahl. *daršak*, Sogd. (1a) from Av. \**airi.znā* = Skt. *abhijñā* (cf. Sogd. *jñ*\*, etc.). Sogd. (2a) hardly borrowed from Skt. *lakṣaṇa*, more likely some form from the base of Pahl. *daršak*, Av. *daršta-*, etc., viz. *dazt-* "to brand, mark" (i.e. *dag* + *-s-*, cf. NPers. *dāy* "mark", etc.). Pahl. *daštak*, Gr. Bd., 16<sup>4</sup>, which Nyberg (ii, pp. 50 sq.) derives from Av. *dazšta-* "mark", is probably a diminutive of *dašt*, hence "a little plain". In the more elaborate chapter on birth (Gr. Bd., 109<sup>4</sup>), we have *dašt* instead: *pas bawēš ēyōn ka dašt-ē, andar waztēš būm gūt wēnīy uš dahān, axiš rōyēš dašt pāy* [ ] *ašārīy handām* "thereafter it is like a plain, in it the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth grow up, and from it the hands, feet, and the other extremities rise up" (111<sup>1-3</sup>). From this passage it also becomes clear that the word read *tarsih* by Nyberg is a clerical error (*tly'yh* 16<sup>1</sup>, *tlyy-yh* 16<sup>2</sup>, for *tlb'-yh*, see *tlb'* = *tarbā* 109<sup>14</sup>, *frapih* 110<sup>1</sup>). The following word "eydštakih", 16<sup>4</sup>, is *wiškūtakih*, cf. *wiškūt* = Av. *šri]vata[ta*, Vd. vii, [ ] (for further passages see Zachner, BSOS., ix, p. 318).—(3) Sogd. "those who purify (themselves)", cf. Pahl. (as *daštān*) *pāk bē būtan*. One would, perhaps expect \**zprjgrj*. It seems clear that we have to restore the equivalent of Av. *dazhtauaiti*, Pahl., NPers. *daštūn*, Arm. *daštan*, but the restoration of [dzit'n]n is hardly admissible, on account of *-rt-*.—(4-6) If the restoration [δm]dw"β[ ] is acceptable, this would indicate Sogd. *šamd* = Parth. *damd* (to the exclusion of *damaš*, *dmaš*). *-md-* is a very unusual group of consonants.<sup>1</sup> Parth. *damd* could belong to *dam-* "breathe", cf. Bailey, BSOS., vi, pp. 597 sq. One could also assume: Parth. *damd* > NPers. *dand*, and hence explain *damdēst* as "foolishness, irresponsibility," (cf. Asadi, pp. 28 sq.), and *damd-wāy* = Sogd. *šamd-wāš* as "speaking foolishly", or "speaking mutteringly" (NPers. *dandīdan*: *lundīdan*, cf. Horn, Gr. Ir. Ph., i, 2, p. 57).—(7a) "Chin, jaw": Skt.

<sup>1</sup> In Parth. and MPers., not in Sogd.

ānu-, Bal. *zanūk*, Parachi *zanuk*, Pashto *zana*, NPers. *zanax*, etc. This is, I believe, the first time that the authentic Persian form *d-* is attested. In the Avesta we have *zānu.drājah-*, acc. to Bartholomae, and *srō.zana-* "with leaden jaws" (*AIW.*, wrong). Chr. *znyg*, S.T., i, 5', is probably to be read *znyc*; Buddh. *zn'kh* *VJ.*, 1106, 1261.—(7b) "Teeth."—(8) Sogd. *jnucq* might be "knee" = *z'nuk*. Cf. Av. *znu-*, MPers. *znuc*, Pahl. *znuk* beside *z'nuc/k*. In that case it would be necessary to pose MPers. *\*dānūy* < OPers. *\*dānu-* = Ir. *\*dānu-*, cf. Pashto *zangūn* < *\*dānu-* (but see Morgenstierne, *KVP.*, s.v.). NPers. *dangādang*, *dangal*, quoted by Morgenstierne, are prob. Turkish. To avoid ascribing three different words for "knee" to MPers., one could also explain Sogd. *jnucq* as a side-form of *znuc*, with reduced vowel (*zānu* : *znu*, cf. γάνυρ : γνάθος). Or cf. Av. *tīti* *šnūta-* (Pahl. *sn. šnuk*)?

## FRAGMENT 8

## Recto

(1) 'ndrw'dgy(ft)	cyndr[
(2) 'hyzyrd b'wg	pw pckwyδ(ywn)[. .]h
(3) 'yws oo 'wzyy	's oo 'xwyrδ
(4) 'rd'w frwrdyn	'rt'w frwrtyh

## Verso

(5) ['r'm ? ]lhr	wy(r)m(n)'w(y) fombδ
(6) '(')[wn]o w'nw o 'w o kw	('zyc) [oo] 'rw ms
(7) 'wwd 'ngw'n	wδyδ 'nc'y(n)
(8) 'dy'n o wyδ'ytyy	'w'gwn = m'yδ

*Commentary*: (1) "Between-leading" (cf. Parth. *w'd'g*) = "intercession" ? Sogd. *cyndr-* = Parth. *'ndr-*. "Intercessor" is *'gnydyg* in MPers. (Parth. *'ndrbyd* *W.-L.*, i, p. 95', has thus been translated, but Sogd. has *prcydy* "seeking").—NB. "atmosphere" is *'ndrw's* in Parth. = *'ndrw'd* = *andarucāy* in Pahlavi, which, therefore, is not connected with Av. *vayu-* (as proposed by Nyberg, *ii*, p. 11).—*'ndr]w'd* [*gyft* could as well be derived from Av. *gāh* "to blow", cf. *Yt.*, xiii, 46, *yaf* *antaro vātō fravāiti*.—(2) As stated, *BBB.*, p. 109, *b'wg* is (not "nature, essence", but) "seeds, grain of seed". From an unpubl. Parth. fragment (*M* 726) we learn that *drxt* "trees" bear *b'r* "fruit", and *kyšf'n* "cornfields" *b'wg*. In the Parthian original of the Uiyur text published by Bang, *Ung. Jbb.*, viii, pp. 248 sqq., we find *b'r* 'wδ *b'wg* for *šwin tūš*; hence, *b'wg* = *šwin* "grain, seed", cf.

Müller, *Pfahlnsch.*, pp. 32, 38. Cf. also the following passage (from *M* 763, unpubl.): *dh̄yd b'w̄y 'w wr̄ygr wr̄ybyy* "he gives seeds (to sow to his farmer)".—As regards our gloss it seems that the Sogd. word translating *b'w̄y* is *-ywn*[, apparently connected with Av. *yawa-* "corn, grain" (cf. Buddh. *'ywn*, *Vim.*, 78, Reichelt "cornfield", but Chin. 林 *lin* "forest, grove", see Weller on the passage). Sogd. *pw* = Parth. *'by*, hence Parth. *xyrd* = Sogd. *pskyrδ*? A "heartless = barren seed"?—(3a) Parth. *'ywr* is "agitation, commotion, turmoil, tumult, rebellion", etc. Sogd. *'wryy* is difficult. In *Vim.*, 148, we have *'wyātk* "confusion", but this seems to be a clerical error, instead of *'ywātk*. Further, there is *'wz'k* *'pyh pr'n'k* "a . . . water insect", *SCE.*, 146, but here the Chinese text is not clear: there are two otherwise unknown Chinese characters which acc. to Pelliot could be substitutes for characters meaning "tormenting". Unfortunately, however, the Sogdian translator's knowledge of Chinese was far inferior to that possessed by modern Sinologists, so that it is impossible to guess what he made of those characters. In such a case it is, perhaps, wisest to disregard the Chinese original altogether. E.g. one could assume that *'wz'k* referred to *'p-*, not to *pr'n'k*, viz. "an insect in *'wz'k* water." This is suggested by the occurrence of *'wz'p*, *Vim.*, 130 = Chin. "water", and by the following Man. passage: *I mryz* [*'wzlyy*] *wm't'gy wbyy c[y]ndr III kpyt'k wm't'nd* (from *M* 127) "Once upon a time there was a large *'wryy*. And in it there were three fishes" (two of which are caught by a *kpyy'sy* "fisherman"). Here, *'wryy* is clearly "pond, fish-pond", or "lake" ("river", as the obvious etymology might suggest, is perhaps less likely). Hence, Parth. *'ywr* (1) "turmoil", (2) "lake" (cf. Av. *āyawa* (val)-?—(3b) *'s* could be (1) "come" or "rise", imp., Parth., (2) "millstone" (NPers. *ās*, etc.), (3) "myrtle" (Aram. *āsā*, etc.), etc. Nothing to suit Sogd. *'wryrδ* which strongly recalls *'yuryr* "manger", *VJ.*, 17<sup>b</sup> (cf. NPers. *āzur*, etc.). *'wryrδ* = 2nd pl. imp. of *\*'wryr-* from OIr. *\*āwāraya-* "to feed?" But at the most, *'s* could be 2nd sg. imp. (not pl.). If the words agreed closely, one would perhaps not hesitate to connect *ās* with Skt. *aināti* (cf. Av. *ānit-* and *kahrkāsa-*).—(4) See above, *d* 18.—(5) Sogd. "world of quiet, tranquillity". Buddh. *wyrmn'w'k* (etc.), "nirvāṇa, nirvāṇakara," see *S.T.*, ii, a.v., cf. F. Weller on *Dhyāna*, 341. Parth. [*'r'm*] *šhr* = "paradise" (cf. *šhr* *'r'm*, *M* 4, *b* 1, etc.).<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Av. *yawa-*, *yawā-*.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt *ywr*, e.g. *W.L.*, i, p. 114 (lv, R 5e). Also MPers. cf. *'ywrnt*, *Mtr. Man.*, i.

<sup>3</sup> One could also restore *'ywrnt*, cf. *Mahr.*, 284: *'ywrnt wzd wbyh 'r'm*.

<sup>4</sup> Sogd. *'wz-*: cf. *arāze* "lake, swamp" Minorsky. *Hudūd*, 56, 185, and Arm. *awazn* "pond", etc.

- (6a 1) MPers.-Sogd. "thus, so".—(6a 2) Prep. "to(wards)".—(6b) "Also I".—(7) "There I shall find rest," or "remain".—(8a) "Then,"—(8b) Parth.-Sogd. "thus".

## FRAGMENT g

## Recto

- (1) [wyr]y'd oo prāt'yūt o o wyr[y]g[n oo prāt'yūyt]  
 (2) [wyr]āt oo prāt'y o o wyrwr o nyrq[  
 (3) [w]yr'agr oo prāt'yūyy oo wyrwr oo šy'[wk oo ?]  
 (4) wyrwmdyy oo šy'wky' oo wyr oo mrtxmyy  
 (Several lines left blank)

## Verso

- (5) } . . . . . ng oo wy. r. o . . . . . xw.yy o

Commentary: (1a) MPers. 3rd sing. subj., Sogd. 3rd sing. pres. ind., (1b) pres. ptc. pl., (2a) MPers. preterite, Sogd. 3rd sing. imperf., (3a) Sogd. pres. ptc., Parth. noun of agency, "to arrange, order, adorn."—(4) "Man," (2b) "male," cf. *w'gyer*, *Mir. Man.*, i.—(3b) "Remembering," (4a) "power of recollection, memory." Cf. Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 511. *šy'wk* might have a suffix *-ūk*-, or we have to add a point: *šy'wz*-. A suffix *-wz* seems to occur in *Man. r'mr'twz-šygy*, and in *š'twz*, but *š'twz* could also be a compound: *š't* + *'wz* "mind" (cf. Parth. *š'dm'ng*, etc.). Hence, *šy'wz*-from Av. *uti-* + *awhrō*?

## FRAGMENT i

## Recto

- (1) ]yš'(m)[  
 (One line left blank)  
 (2) ['m]bs'n = 'ngr'mnyy[  
 (3) ['m]bs'n o 'xty'q[  
 (4) [']kwetyh oo '[  
 (One line left blank)  
 (5) ] oo 'βd o k] oo 'β[d =  
 (One line left blank)  
 (6) ][.]t o ptrātyy oo (

## Verso

- (7) ]jwndyyβryy  
 (8) ]ir šβr'  
 (9) ]βwšβm  
 (10) ]šβ'nyt  
 (11) ]s'(n)[



*Commentary:* (2/3) 'mbs'n = Pahl. Paz. *ambasān* "opposed, adversary, inimical". On Sogd. 'xy'q, see *BBB.*, p. 104.\* (2) misspelling of 'nyr'mnyy = Buddh. 'nyr'ma'y "calumniator", *SCE.*, 145 (cf. 'nyr'm- *SCE.*, 243), from the base *gram-* (cf. *BBB.*, p. 78 on Sogd. *γr'ndyy*).—(4) On Sogd. "kwoc", see *BBB.*, p. 105 (on f 74); cf. also *Dhuta*, 272.—(5) "Miraculous, astonishing." Av. *abda-*, Pahl. 'pd, etc. Sogd. cf. Man. *krjy'w*, Buddh. *kṛ*, Chr. *q(r)z*.—(6) Sogd. "erect, high" (cf. *ptrz-* *Dhuta*, 219, *ptrzy*, *S.T.*, i, 45<sup>14</sup>, Buddh. *ptr'yz-*, and Man. *ptrt-*, *BBB.*).—(7) Probably incomplete ([*muert*] 'jiendyyβryy ? and possibly different from A 27 (here -βryy "bearing" ?)).—(8) Sogd. "four doors". An interesting point of grammar: four δβr' (here and *H.R.*, ii, 97<sup>5</sup>), but twelve δβrt' (*ibid.*, 97<sup>10</sup>).—(9) Sogd. "scent-holder", cf. *VJ.*, 14, 94.—(10/11) Incomplete.

## FRAGMENT ■

<i>Recto</i>		
(1)	]	𐭠
(2)	](')r	𐭡
(3)	]yy	𐭢
(4)	]ʾnt	𐭣
(5)	]ken'k	𐭤
■	[nyh' o ](x)w]δq'r	[
<i>Verso</i>		
(7)	]b	(Left blank)
	(Two lines left blank)	
■	]	𐭥

*Commentary:* ■ "Alone, by oneself."—(8) "Fear."

## FRAGMENT ■

<i>Recto</i>	
(1)	byb(x)𐭠
(2)	byb(')𐭠
(3)	b[
<i>Verso</i>	
(4)	𐭡b) βwt
(5)	𐭡β)wt oo
(6)	]β)𐭠

\* 'xy'q is "judgement" (x/w, 'y/w "judge").

*Commentary:* (1) Could be, e.g. Av. *bēisora-*, or some Parth. word in OIr. *dui-* (not, of course, Av. *bīfna-*, of which the MPers. form *dufr-* can perhaps be recognized in Parth. *dufrg*, *Mir. Man.*, iii).—(2) = *byh'[r]* = Skt. *vihāra* (NPers. *bahār*, cf. *BSOS.*, x, p. 94)? Less attractive: *byh'[c]* = irregular spelling of *byh'c* "outside, apart" (e.g., *W.-L.*, ii, p. 553, *R* i 11).

## FRAGMENT W

## Recto

- (1) h(w)[
- (2) hw[
- (3) hm'(x)w(nd
- (4) hgjyn[
- (5) hn'r[
- (6) [h](nd')(xt

## Verso

(Some incomplete words only)

*Commentary:* (3) ■ Parth. *A'm'xwnd* "unanimous", *BSOS.*, ix, p. 83.—(4) "To stimulate, rouse, resuscitate." MPers. [h]gjyn'g 'y *hemryn'n*, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 314<sup>2</sup>. MPers. *hagiēn-* probably = Pahl. *hangēē-* (NPers. *angēz-*). A case ■ violent metathesis, cf. NPers. *hargiz*: (Man.) MPers. *hargiz*, Sogd. *fuzar*: MPers. *farruz*. NPers. *bīdār*: MPers. *viyrāō*, etc. Therefore, *hangēē-*: *hāzēn-*: *hagiēn-*. Which is the original form!—(5) "To direct (one's gaze)."—(6) "To measure, examine, judge."

## FRAGMENT Z

## Recto

- (1) qwr(d)[y]
- (2) qwr(b)[g
- (3) qwrbg [
- (4) qwlg = ptk[
- (5) qwδ'rkr = cr[mkryy ?]
- (6) qwdqyb[h o

## Verso

- (7) lyrt
- (8) ]ht βwt
- (One line left blank)
- (9) ]ft'ws
- (10) [qwd'm = kō(')m 'yw[er]
- (6 Orndf.

*Commentary*: (1) Cf. below, y 13.—(2/3) "Hut" (*Mir. Man.*, ii; *Arm. krpak*, etc.).<sup>1</sup>—(4) This could be the MPers. to any of the following NPers. words: *kōlak*, *kōle*, *kulk*, *kule*, *kulle*. Cf. also Pahl. *kwlk* = *muk* = Av. *skaiti*-, *Vd.* 14, etc.—(5) *qwd'r*- possibly = Tajiki *kulvōr*, Wakhi *kulvār*, etc., "mussuck, knapsack" (*Morgenstierne, II FL.*, ii, pp. 398, 526; *Lentz, Pamirdial.* i, p. 171). Hence, *kūdārkar* (*kulārkar*) "a mussuck-maker".—(6) "Short" (adv.), or "like a child".—(7) Prob. incomplete. *Hardly* = Buddh. *ḥṣy'wa*, *VJ.*, 1495, *ḥṣ'ywa*, *Dhuta*, 273 (see Benveniste, *JRAS.*, 1933, p. 42).—(10) "Which (of several)." *ywtr* = Chr. *ywtr*, see *S.T.*, ii, s.v. Instead of *qwd'm* (cf. NPers. *kudām*), one could also restore *qd'm* and reverse the order of the pages.

## FRAGMENT y

## (1st page, Recto

- (1) (qd){  
 (2) (q)(d)(bz){  
 (3) qdyā(ng) o [

(One line left blank)

- (4) qhryz'n o m[  
 (5) qh(yd) oo q[  
 (6) q(h)t oo q[  
 (7) q(h . . )o k.[  
 (8) (qh).t.[

(One line left blank)

- (9) qwr[ ]r (β)wṭ  
 (10) qwp[ (qw)s oo [  
 (11) qw[nyān o 'k(k)(r)ky' qwp'n = γ(r)ṭ]  
 (12) q(w)u(y)ān'n pte''(qṭ)  
 (13) qwrđyl qwrw'nyyḥ  
 (14) qwnyāngr = 'krty'krtyḥ

## 1st page, Verso

- (15) [qw] o] (p)ok(β)ṭ(y)  
 (16) [qw + x + ]yr oo y'm  
 (17) k ]wδβyδ'nyy  
 (18) ]tmryk (β)wṭ  
 (19) ]nc''w  
 (20) [qw]ylg = p(wm)'k  
 (21) k ]wn[ . . β]wṭ  
 (22) [qw . . .](g) o jang p(ak)

<sup>1</sup> See also A. Sidiqi, *Pers. Fragment.*, p. 73.

(23)		](gw)u'b
(24)	q[w](z)	k ]δrβy
(25)	[qw. .].wγ(t')k(r)[.]	(q)w(m)[. . .](nn)gr'k
(26)	(qwd)'b	pr[.](k)[. . .] (β)wt
(27)	[q]wdyhn	γmk(r)[yy]h
(28)	qwδ u hrg	"my p(r) twδyh
(29)	qwd'mg a γrδ	mrywadyy (β)[wt]

2nd page, Recto, 1st col.

- (30) dyl [  
 (31) gryhcg o (β)[  
 (32) an'wm[  
 (33) n'z'g 'y[  
 (34) gwā 'wd w(y)[n  
 (35) xwn oo xwn(y)[yh  
 (36) a[  
 (37) rg o r'k[  
 (38) lyā(p)[

(5) *ghwδ* not impossible, *ghw* (*ghr*) improbable.—(8) *ghā* ? *ghā* ?—(16) Either —[gw]gr, or [gw . . .]gr.—(17) Could be *gho* *gho* *nir*—(18) Or *](mrykβw)*.—(22) *pe*.]k, i.e. *pe*[y]k, *pe*[w]k, or even *pe*[']k very unlikely, although not completely excluded.—(23) A tiny *d(r)* on top of the rather mishapen *w*. Intended to be a correction, = *y/gr/dn* ?—(25) *](agr'k* ? *](gr'k* ?—(30) Or *qr'δ*.—(38) Division of the words uncertain.—(32) *a* above the line, on top of *w*.

*Commentary* : In the preparation of this text only an unsatisfactory photograph was used. The reading of the badly preserved manuscript could be much improved with the help of the original. The second page, of which a specimen only is given here, is not the fragment of a dictionary, but seems to contain glosses of various terms, without alphabetical order.—(3) I thought of connecting *kāšīnāy* (?) with NPers. *kīšnā* "a kind of pulse, ervum" (Parth. *kāšīnāy*: MPers. *\*kayīnāy* > *\*kayīnāy* > *\*kēīnāy* > *\*kīīnāy/k* would be well within the bounds of possibility), but this is obviated by Syr. *kūšnā* (Arm. *k'uīnāy*), and the forms with a middle -r- enumerated by Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 319. Perhaps *ghyāng* is an older form of NPers. *kāšne* (*kāīnā*) "fungus" ?—(4) "Canales, drains," cf. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 84.—(5) If *ghyd* = "he decreases" ? One would expect *k'h*-. If *ghw*, = NPers. *kāhar*, Av. *kadrea-*, etc.—(6-8) Pers. *kāh(a)* > NPers. *kāt* (Arm. *kat*) "drop". Pahl. *k't* (*kā*) = Av. *usadastā*, Vd., 1<sup>st</sup>, is not clear. *kā* was probably mentioned in (7) or (8). Ar. *jāhbad* is *gāhbad* (*gāhbad*) in Pers.; or *kāhbad*?<sup>1</sup> That the much discussed Arm. *kāh* "imple-

<sup>1</sup> It is usually given as *kāhbad*.

ments, fittings", is indeed \**kahr* (as suggested by Ar. *qāḥramān*), can be proved with the help of NPers. *kāle*, *kālā* (Fird.; on *kālā*, see also Ivanow, *JRAS.*, 1923, p. 372) "household effects, fittings"; *kāl*- from *kahr*/*l*—(9) "Blind."—(10a) "Mountain."—(10b) "Drum," or "side".—(11a) "Action."—(11b) "Mountains."—(12) "Performances, arrangements." See above, b 14.—(13) "Blind-hearted."—(14) "Performer, executive."—(15) "Bent, crooked." Sogd. *pačkaβde* (cf. "kmb" above, i 9), is uncertain.—(16) *quljyr*, = NPers. *kiwēr* "salt desert". Sogd. *γ'm* could be "pane" (not attested; NPers. *gām*, etc.). Another suitable word is Buddh. *pr γ'mh*, *VJ.*, 1324, "forcibly," acc. to Gauthiot.—(17-19) Incomplete.—(20) Sogd. is not \**pus'k* (the regular form is ('')*ps'k*), hence *quljlg* not from Syr. *kūlā*, etc. Professor Bailey kindly drew my attention to Saka *kūlīroi* = Skt. *arjaka* "basil" (cf. Lüders *apud* Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, vi, pp. 166 sq.).—(22) Sogd. *jung* borz. from MPers. (*BSOS.*, ix, p. 84)? *pak/fak* is unknown, *pusk* "purification", *fs'k* "training", *fwz* "mile", *ps'k* "coronet."—(24a) "Jug."—(24b) A Sogd. base -*βrβ*- (= *βarβ*) is known from Chr. *wytrbnyne* (?), *S.T.*, i, 37<sup>1</sup>.—(26) *qwd'b*, = NPers. *kōdāb* "syrup".—(27) This might be an older form of NPers. *kudīn*, *kudīne* " (a *gāzur*'s) mallet, beetle" (also Arab., see Fraenkel, op. cit., p. 259; Pahl. *kwtynk* = Av. *vada-*, *Vd.*, xiv, 7). Sogd. lit. "making round, roller", if *γr* = Buddh. *γiers* "round" (also Chr. *γiers* "around", *S.T.*, i, 19<sup>1</sup>); regarding the spelling, cf. Buddh. *pyra'y* (Benveniste, *JA.*, 1933, i, p. 221).—(28) This is a most tantalizing gloss. To start with, it was an unfriendly act on the side of the copyist to spell his first word *qwd*, against the rules, so that we cannot be sure whether *kwd* is meant or *kwel*. If it is *kwd*, cf. NPers. *kōd* (Arm. *koi*; cf. also the Pahl. transl. of Av. *ydnhuya-*) "stack, heap of corn or dung". For the explanation of *kōd* Persian lexicographers use NPers. *tōde* "heap", which it would be tempting to identify with Sogd. *tudyh*. If it is *kwel* = "pit, sink, drain," see *BSOS.*, iii, p. 84. As regards *hrg*, it will be recalled that Bartholomae once wrote a paper of seventeen pages on suitably spelt Pahlavi words (*Mir. Mund.*, i). But of all the vocables mentioned by him only *halak* "foolish" merits consideration (for *l/r*, cf. e.g. Man. MPers. *rrz*, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 87, Welsh Gypsy *ricer*, J. Sampson, p. 316). Other words are \**harray* (thus in Bal.) "saw", \**harg* = Av. *haraka-* "refuse" (NB. "tax" is *hr'g*, not \**hrg*, see *Orientalia*, iv, p. 291); but cf. Niya doc. *harga*, Arm. *hark*. Burrow, *BSOS.*, vii, p. 788). Of these words, *harg* "refuse" seems most suitable in connection with *kwōd*, be it "a heap of dung and refuse", or "a pit and refuse". Turning

now to the Sogdian translation, we observe that the identical word *twδyḥ*, spelt *twδ'k*, occurs once in *Dhyāna*, 343, as a rendering of Chin. 影 *jīn* "shade", etc., but corresponding to Skt. *skandha* (cf. Demiéville, *J.A.*, 1933, i, p. 209 n.). It would be wrong to arrive at the conclusion that Sogd. *twδ'k* meant anything like "shade, shady, dark", etc.; for the translator may well have been aware that Skt. *skandha* was intended, and therefore may have employed any of the other traditional renderings of *skandha* among which those meaning "aggregate, multitude, collection, heap" are most prominent (e.g. Chin. 聚 *jūn*, Chin. 衆 *ṣung*, Uiyur *yükmaḳ*). This would agree with the meaning of NPers. *tāde* (see above). Thus we may assume that the Sogd. gloss means "refuse on a heap", but no corroboration is available for this translation of "my"; one can hardly compare Buddh. *pw* "m'yk, DN, III = Chin. 鮮 *siēn* "fresh, clean".—(29) Sogd. *mrywḍy* is "lump, clod, ball", Buddh. *mry(')wakk*, SCE., 205, *Prag.* iii, 80 aqq. *yrδ* either is an adjective (less likely on account of the lack of a vocalic ending), or forms a compound with *mrywḍy*. It could be the compound form of *yrδ'kḥ* "throat" (SCE., 98, 125) and *y-m-* could mean "throat-lump" = "Adam's apple." Although there are other possibilities (e.g. *yrδ* = NPers. *gil* "clay", or *yrδ* = Av. *gərəδδ* [*kərəda-*, hence "gallstone?"), this interpretation seems preferable on account of the identical compound Yidgha *yurto-kūza*, Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, p. 213, "Adam's apple" (*yurto* "throat", NPers. *kūlūz* "lump, clod of earth").—(30) MPers. "heart".—(31) Parth. "pit, prison", cf. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 83. Restore *β[nd-]*—(32) MPers. "the coquettish one of".—(33) MPers. "ears and eyes".—(34) MPers. "blood".—(35) MPers. "vein".—(36) Sogd. "phlegm". This word, apparently borrowed from a Prakrit form of Skt. *śleṣman*, occurs frequently in Uiyur medical texts, see Rachmati, *Heilk, Uig.*, ii, p. 443 (read *liṣp*, *liṣip* in the place of *liṣp*, *liṣip*). Professor Bailey informed me that 𐰽 is attested also for "Tokharian", as *leṣp* (*Toch. Grunm.*, p. 229). Wakhi *liṣp* Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 528.

## TRANSLATION FROM KUCHEAN

It is generally held that most of the Sogdian Buddhist texts are translations from Chinese, see e.g. F. Weller, *Acta Orientalia*, xiv, p. 134. We have, however, the colophon of a Sogdian text, the "Intoxicating Drink Reviling Sutra" (Reichelt, ii, pp. 69 sq.), which states that the book had been translated from Sanskrit. A further example of translations from a non-Chinese source is furnished by the following fragment which contains the end of a Buddhist book and a colophon (*T i a*: bottom half of a page, only half lines preserved; Sogdian writing of the older type). Owing to the fragmentary state of preservation an interlinear translation only has been attempted here.

The title of the book (xi, 22 sq.) is, unfortunately, incomplete: |aon'k sm'r'kã pãkã [? pwa]k'. Sogd. sm'r'kã corresponds 𐰽 Skt. *smṛjñā* or possibly *mīmāṃsā*, 𐰽 Chin. 觀 or 思 or possibly 思惟 (Eitel, 76<sup>a</sup>), see F. Weller, *ibid.*, p. 137, and his note on *Dhyāna*, 28. Since Sogd. pãkã = 法. I thought of identifying the Sogdian title with the 思惟要略法 *Sī-uei-iau-lüe-fa*, B. Nanjio, nr. 1373, but Professor H. W. Bailey, who kindly looked up the Chinese Tripitaka for me, told me that the Chinese did not agree with the Sogdian.

Also the name of the Kuchean ('kucyk, see *BSOS.*, ix, p. 566) monk who translated the text from Kuchean ('kuc'n'y) into Sogdian (sywōy'w), is incomplete: |a-rakṣita cf. Buddharakṣita, Sarvarakṣita, Aśokarakṣita, three famous teachers of Buddhism, from Kucha (see Müller, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1918, p. 581); Prajñarakṣita, the translator of the *Maitrisimit* (born at Il-Balīq, near Kulja); Punyarakṣita (pwny'rkṣ'yṣ, in an unedited Sogd. colophon, *T.M.* 450), etc. His further epithet, myrn'k or myrz'k, is also not clear. The reading myrn'k (with Skt. *nātha* ?) is perhaps less satisfactory than myrz'k: this might be an additional Sogdian name ("Mithra-son", "Sun-son," "Sunday-son", *Mihr-zād*), or else a patronymic, i.e. "the son of Mir". Similarly, the name of the father 𐰽 mentioned in the brief note at the end of the "Intoxicating Drink Reviling Sutra", which indicates the proprietor of the manuscript: *rcmṣk BRY pwtly'n yrcytk* = the Master P., son of S. For Sogdian names with *mīr*, see above, p. 6, and *BSOS.*, ix,



¶ 554, n. 2 (Pers. *Mīrā*, of course, is out of the question here). In both cases it seems likely that the translator was a Sogdian by birth who lived in the Kuchean country.

*Recto*

- (1)                    𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰚𐰚𐰚𐰚  
                         .. and ..
- (2) 'ny's s(')ct prh'kk[. . . .]  
fight is necessary, armour . . .
- (3) ny't'yt ZK'n yeny dy'n[. . . .]  
taken (pl.). Of this that Dhyāna- . . .
- (4) škr'gn'k mty'm'k cn(n) [. . . .]  
pursuing man with . . . .
- (5) m'ny 'krt'rk 'yδ β(y)[. . . .]  
mind absolutely this dis[tribute . . . .
- (6) sym'n 'wy yypδ CWRy(h)[. . . .]  
all in themselves . . . .
- (7) ZY γ'r'yt ZY 'gpyr's'yt[. . . .]  
and guardians and protectors. . . .
- (8) ntyy s'ct pr'ymyδ p(r)[ynh cnn]  
And he must in this[way with]
- (9) 'gw'rδkwy m'ny ZY d'en[. . . . .]  
sincere mind and with. . . . .
- (10) kyn 'w'wytk p'(zny)[. . . . .]  
a spirit free from hate. . . . .
- (11) CWRy(h) sym'βnt n[. . . . .]  
the body's terror-fetters (?) . . . . .
- (12) r'm'nt s'ct 'kr(ty + . . . . .)  
always he must do . . . . .
- (13) yw wykn 'šrmnkut'nch[. . . . .]  
He for these Māra- . . . . .
- (14) 'wy'm L' βyrt un'[kr + . . . . .]  
does not find hospitality. so . . . . .
- (15) sy ms yw wyδ'(s)[ about 10]  
also for him the astonish- . . .
- (16) pcyw'k 'krt.[ about 11]  
obstacle made. . . .
- (17) yw m'n 'w'r'ma[ about 11]  
the mind becomes quiet. . . . .

(End of page)

## Verso

(First lines broken away)

- (18) 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰚  
 (19) [ . . . . ] 'kḥ mync ḍrm'yk t'p"  
       . . . . -related Dharma seal (?)  
 (20) [ . . . . ] 'γw rtydy rm γypḍ žw'n  
       . . . . is. And with his life  
 (21) [ . . 'y]w my'urn s'et ḍryty (punctuation-marks)  
       . . . he must hold . . . . completely.  
 (22) [ . . . y]w'n'k im'r'kḥ pḍkḥ  
       This (?) Saṃjñā-Dharmāḥ-  
 (23) [t pwt](k') 'γw 'kwcyk myr'ā'tk  
       Sūtra (1) the Kuchean Mīr-son (?)  
 (24) [ . . . . ] 'rkt'yḥ ḥmyn'cnn 'kw'c'n'y  
       . . . s-rakṣita, the Śramaṇa, from the Kuchean  
 (25) [zβ't] s'r prw ryzdy'w zβ't  
       language into the Sogdian language  
 (26) [prw's](t)w ḍ'n c'wn wypyln  
       has [translated], out of  
 (27) [w'tḍ'r'] žcnydy ḍrywztyh  
       friendship for all living beings  
 (28) [ZY c'wn pwt](y)'kḥ prn 'γyḍ'k  
       and the wish for the rank of Buddhahship.  
 (29) [pyḍ'r taw Z]Y prw pḍkḥ L' 'krt'k  
       [And whatever has] not [been] done lawfully  
 (30) [ . . . . . ] 'kt ywty wḍ'yḥḍ'  
       . . . you yourself should put it in order,  
 (31) [about 10 + ž](w)'nyh γwyc'ky  
       . . . freedom from the life of . . .  
 (32) [about 11] left blank  
       [you will obtain].  
       (End of page)

*Commentary:* (2) *prh'kk* "equipment, outfit", also "armour", cf. *VJ.*, 39<sup>a</sup>; from *prh't-* "to prepare, arrange".—(5) Cf. Benveniste, *BSOS.*, ix, p. 496.—(7) *γ'r-* "to watch", *SCB.*, 538, cf. Klimčitsky, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vi, p. 22; Avestan *kar-*. For *'ypyr-*, cf. *Dhyāna*, 16.—(10) *kyn*: in view of F. Weller's remarks, *Soghd. Vimalakīrti*, pp. 51 sq., it should, perhaps, be mentioned that *kēn* "hatred, revenge" is quite a familiar word in most Iranian languages.—(11) *sym'βat*: hardly

Skt. *śimā*.—(14) *'icy'm*, meaning uncertain, possibly to be compared ■ Chr. *icy'm n'fc* (S.T., i, 81<sup>16</sup>) = *yw'm n'fc* (ibid., *passim*) "strangers, guests"; but cf. *icy'm* in the *Ancient Letters*, iii, 7 (ibid., 3, '8*kw*, ■ probably Turkish *adgū*).—(16) On *pcyr'k*, see *BBB.*, p. 59; cf. also Weller, *op. cit.*, p. 41 ("border" ■ hardly admissible).—(19) *t'p'*: possibly different from Man. *tāpe* (< *tāpak*) "seal"; might be Skt. *tāpa-* (or *tapas-*).—(22) The restoration [space + *rt'y y*] *wn'k* should ■ considered, but *wn'k* may ■ the final of a compound word "-making".—(26-7) For the restoration, cf. Reichelt, ii, 70<sup>14</sup>.—(28) Cf. S.T., ii, p. 548 (viii, 10), where we have "γδγ against "γγδ'k (see *BBB.*, p. 91). The translation "Buddha-lakṣana" is, perhaps, not satisfactory. Cf. also: *ZKw ry'nty' prn βyr* "He (i.e. :yt = *Jda*) obtained the rank of Arhat-ship" (*T i a*, unpublished). In Uyyur we have: *burxan qul* and *arxant qul* (in Sogd. the abstract is used).—(30) *BBB.*, p. ■ (on 736); cf. also Weller, on *Dhyāna*, 18. *w(y)δ'yr-* = ■ = regulate, arrange, adjust, repair. Man. *m'n wδyr'mndyyh* = mental adjustment.

## IV

## FRAGMENTS OF THE SOGDIAN KHWASTWANEFT

It has often been suggested that the famous Turkish Khwāstwānēft (latest edition by Bang, *Muséon*, xxxvi, pp. 137-241), had been translated from a Sogdian original, cf. e.g. *BSOS.*, viii, p. 586; Schaefer, *Morgenland*, xxviii, p. 105. The following two fragments offer valuable confirmation for this hypothesis. The first of these (T I D a; rather sm) Sogdian writing of the later type, no distinction between ' and n, hardly any between g and β), contains the Sogdian version of Chapter XV (C) (pp. 164 sqq., Bang). This, the final chapter of the Turkish Khwastwaneft, does not seem to have formed part of the original edition of the Confession Prayer, but constitutes a separate unit, complete in itself, which has been added to the bulk of the text as a final comprehensive summary. At least the text which preceded this chapter in the Sogdian fragment does not agree with the preceding Turkish words, end of XV (B), although the bad state of preservation of the Sogdian fragment does, perhaps, not permit definite conclusions in this respect. The Turkish translation (printed between the lines of the Sogdian below), follows the Sogdian closely, often *mot à mot*; there are some slight divergences towards the end of the chapter. The first person singular of the Sogdian has regularly been converted into the plural in Turkish, cf. *BSOS.*, viii, p. 586, and *BBB.*, p. 12.

That the division into fifteen chapters of the Confession Prayer for Laymen belonged already to the Sogdian edition is shown by the second fragment which contains a much shortened version of Chaps. X and XI (T I D: lower part of a double leaf, very clear Sogdian writing of the later type; the fragment consists of two pieces which can be fitted together: to effect this one of them is to be turned over; the appendant page contains a fragment of the *Wazarkān āfrīwan*, cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jeru*, p. 71).

## FRAGMENT 1

*Recto*

- (1) [...] ..[
- (2) [...] kītr(t)[
- (3) [...] r pr RBkw z-'rcwky' . .yi.. (')ys.[
- (4) [krmšcyn γ]w'no'cy p(š)cy'mskwn βy mnd(')[r yyrz']

- (5) *hw'stw'nyβt* (y)w'ny 'n(z)[-n'm'nly]  
(Two lines left blank; lines 5 and 6 are written in coloured ink)
- (6) *'yny s'nk* (!)w'stw'n(yβt)
- (7) *mnat'r yyr-* βy = knpy ZY w'nk(r)[y 'ym ZYms]  
tāñrim āgsüklüg yazuqluy biz
- (8) (s)ricēy ptyk'nw 'skw'm o pr "z'nβ:r' [kw nwβzn'y]  
ötākēl birimēi biz toxlunčsuz nvutsuz
- (9) (')[zy ? 'nβ](n)ty = pr 'im'r wy'βty [ZY 'kry' ZY pr]  
suq yāk üčün saqinčün sōzin qilinčün yimā
- (10) čmy [wy](n) o [yāč]y ptycl = z-β'ky (w)['β o δaty']  
kōzin kōrūp qulqaqin āsidip tilin sōzlāp elgin
- (11) βry'z o p'δy "ym p o cw pr wysp[ar (ē)]-mnw . . . . .]  
sunup adaqin yorip ūrkū āzüksüz
- (12) (')[z-](y)r'm ZY δβg'm o pnc mēδ'apnt [about ■ or less]  
āmgātirbiz ■ tāñri yaruqin
- (13) pnt'ny kw'r (sic) s'r o pr '(š)kw' ZY nβt[c' z'y oo]  
qaruq öl yirig
- (14) pnc z-nk'ny (δ)[r](w)kyuo δ'm s'r = pnc z-nk'ny [ptyno δ'm s'r]  
biš türlüg otuy iyačiy (trs.) biš türlüg tūlkīty
- (15) = ma knpy ZY w'nkry 'ym = pr 'δ' cy[š'pt o 'βt]  
yimā āgsüklüg yazuqluy biz on čaxšapatqa yiti
- (16) δβ'r = 'δry l'py = nycō(š'k) (š) n'm δ'r'm o [pyšt 'kry']  
pašīqa üč tamyaqa niyošak atin tutarbiz qilinčün
- (17) L' (')k(r)t' [ken]m o (pr) [ryw]šnt' βy(y)[št . . . . .]  
qile umazbis yimā yaruq tāñrilārkā . . . . .  
(End of page miming)

## Verso

- (18) . . . [
- (19) ](y) βks'nt[k]  
yimā yimki pačaq
- (20) ['βrywn] (p)'tyk [cyt'pt] (L') p't kw(n)[m]  
alqā čaxšapat tutu umadimiz ārsār
- (21) [pr ']sp[urny'k ZY 'sply'k ?] o (c)w pr wysp[w š-mnw o']  
nomēa törüčā (trs.) nāčā
- (22) [rtw] (rtw) o myδ m[y](š) [o] (m')y [m'y o] arδ arδ [cn mn']  
kūn sayu ai sayu (trs.)
- (23) [kyr'n knpy βw](t) o pr'ysty o pr(?) mn' (?) [about 7]  
āgūt'dāmūz kargāt'dimiz ārsār (trs.) . . . . .
- (24) [(c)nyyδ 'nz'n pr(ya)[ty o rywēnt']  
yaruq

- (25) [βy'yāty ðyny ZY] 'ri'wly þny pyn-m s'r p(r)(ymyð)  
 tāñrilarkā nom qutūa ariy dīntarlarqa [cf. I end: amti  
 (26) ['zu n]m o krmācy'no yw'n(w)('cy]  
 mān Raimast Frazend ] suida yazuqda bošunu  
 (27) [pāikwy'makton mast'r ? y]l'yð (?) oo  
 ötünürbix manastar hirza.  
 (28) [ywo'xw'nyß] yw'ny 'nz-'n'm'ne[y]

(Line 28 written in coloured ink; afterwards several lines left blank; traces of some lines towards the end of the page.)

*Translation of the Sogdian*

. . . . (2) . . . the least . . . (3) . . . with great compassion  
 . . . (4) I say: pardon! forgiveness for my sins! Oh God, forgive  
 my sins! (Title) Khwaštwañeft, confession of sins.

(Title) This is the Saṃgha (?) Khwaštwañeft. Oh God, forgive  
 my sins. Failing am I and sinning, indebted and a debtor, instigated  
 by the greed-breeding (?), shameless Greediness, in thoughts, words  
 and deeds, by the looking of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the speak-  
 ing of the tongue, the grasping of the hands, the walking of the feet,  
 since at every moment I hurt and injure the five elements . . . the  
 Buddhagotra (which is) in the dry and the wet ground, the five-fold  
 plant beings, the five-fold animal beings.

Again: Failing am I and sinning against the ten commandments,  
 the seven pious gifts, the three seals. By name I am ■ auditor,  
 but I am unable to perform the actions. Against the light gods, . .

. . . (19) I am unable ■ observe the [Yimki], the fasting, the  
 prayers and hymns, and the commandments completely [and without  
 fail]. ■ at any [time], any moment, any day, any month, any year  
 there was a failing or an omission from my side, if through my [forget-  
 fulness anything] has been omitted from this confession—for this  
 I, by name so-and-so, say: pardon! forgiveness for my sins! in the  
 presence of the light gods, the glory of the religion, and the glory of the  
 electi. Forgive my sins! (Title) Khwaštwañeft, confession of sins.

*Commentary:* ■ ktr-, cf. S.T., i, 26<sup>1</sup>.—(6) s'nk (community)  
 uncertain.—(8) swty, probably adjective, if we have not to supply a  
 preposition ■ the end of line 7. swty = Turk. *ǰāki* = "debtor,  
 under obligation". The translation "obligation" would suit also  
 swtyft, better than "servitude", BBB., p. ■. ptyk'no = *birimči*

(Kashghari, i, 72<sup>a</sup>) = Chr. *ptygn* S.T., i, see *BBB.*, p. 89. The connected Sogdian word *pwrc* has been borrowed by Turkish, *borç* (چرچ).—  
 (8) Unfortunately the Sogd. equivalent to Turk. *todunčuz* (*tutunčuz* ? Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, v, § 336), is not clear. One would have expected ('')*pw-'np'r*, cf. *pw-'mb'r*, *BBB.*, p. 98. For words with '*nβr*', see *Frag.* iii, 77, *Padm.* 16, 34, Reichelt, ii, 69<sup>21</sup>. Another possible reading is ''*z-'nβrz*], cf. Buddh. '*nβ'rz*', Chr. '*mβrz*' and '*brz*'.—(10-11) Cf. *BBB.*, pp. 38, 79, where a similar passage from the *VJ.* (878 sqq.) is quoted. In the *VJ.* we have ''*y'yr* instead of ''*ymp* = Turk. *yort*; ''*ymp* connected with *yβs*-, *yβt*-, *ymbn*, etc. ?—(12-13) By keeping to the order of the words of the Sogdian version too closely, the Uyghur has mis-translated this passage; one would expect: *quruq ol yiridki biš idāri yaruqin . . . , dmqdārbis*. The Buddhist term *pw'tny kot'r* which replaces *rywēny'kh* = *yaruq*, has entered the Sogdian text after the Uyghur translation had been made. *BBB.*, pp. 32 sq., lines 482-489 contains an elaboration of our passage: *pr wypaw jmnw ''zyrm dβyām pnc mrd'xpnāḡ . . . rwēny'k . . . pr hēkc' nβc'h z'yy . . . pnc d'rwkync d'm pnc ptync d'm*.

## FRAGMENT 2

*Recto*

[*z-mykw pr cβ'r ''βryon p'tyk*]

*onunc tōrt alqā*

(1) *cu ZY-'my wypny [mydy]*

*kūnkā*

(2) *kw cβ'r βy'y'kw [sic] z'r*

(*tōrt tūrlūg tāhūlārkh*, cf. viii C)

(3) *pr 'z-pty-' s'cδ't*

*ariy kōūūlūn tōrū bar ārti*

(4) *pkysty u rty cu MN*

*alqansy. yimā*

(5) *yw't pnc pckwyr m'ny o*

*qotqmatō ārmāgūrūp*

(6) *ZY MN (ky)āty pr'k'nty*

*Verso* (first lines missing)

(7) [ . . . ] *prymyδ yw'aw'cy*

(8) *krmāwyn plāky'm*

(9) *oo oo zi-mykw pr*

*bir yigirmine*



- (10) *pmydy ḡr' r = cw (ZY)-'my*  
*yiti tūrlūg puāi*  
 (11) *s'cḡ'rt o kw ḡyns'r*  
*tōrū bar ārti arly nomqa*  
 (12) *ptwysty o rty cw 'yaw*  
*ančulašiq. yimā . . . ārsār*

*Translation*

. . . Tenth : on the four prayers which it was my duty to offer in purity to the four Deities every day. [ ] for frailty and lack of the fear of God, or [because I thought it more important to] plant and sow [I neglected my prayers, etc.] . . . for this I say : pardon ! forgiveness for my sins !

Eleventh : on the daily gifts which it was my duty to offer to the Church. If the . . .

*Commentary :* (1) cf. *BBB.*, p. 61 (f 10) : *wy' wy(spny) mydyt* ?—(2) The four Deities are enumerated in the Turkish version. Cf. also *in Byy'q*, M 14, V 12, used for the four *tamyas* of God, Light, Power, and Wisdom. See further, *BBB.*, p. 66.—(4, 12) For *ptwyst*-, see *BBB.*, p. 78. The meaning proposed by Bang for *ančula-* (on the passage, p. 215) agrees excellently with the Sogdian equivalent.—(10) The "seven-fold alms" are here defined as a daily obligation on the side of the *auditores*.

### "Sulphur" in Sogdian

A PASSAGE in the Sogdian edition of the Manichaean *Book of the Giants* relates what punishment the angels meted out to the *ylyavres* (Sogd. *kwyšt*, cf. *βγγšt*, etc.). They apply "ʾr nʾšt ʾāyy 1-2]wqʾt " fire, naphtha, and ? ". It is *a priori* obvious that the third, damaged word is "sulphur", and further confirmation (although not necessary) can be found in a similar sentence of the Middle Persian *Kawān* where we read: *pā 'dier npt 'wd gwgyrd* "with fire, naphtha, and sulphur" (both fragments are unpublished). Middle Persian *gwgyrd*, NPers. *gwgird*, Pahlavi *gwkt* (see BSOS., IX, p. 90), suggest an Old Iranian word \**gaukryta-* which in Sogdian should appear as *yōkət* or *yōkt*. Therefore we have to restore [ʾ]wqʾt. This word can now be recognized in *yukt*, Frg. iii, 16, 19, as translation of which I am ashamed to say I proposed "frogs" quite recently (led astray by a similar Persian word, BSOS., III, p. 95).



ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN. Edited by ERNST HERZFELD. Vols. vii-ix. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1934-8.

The latest volumes of this valuable periodical contain again a vast wealth of interesting material. Most of the articles have been contributed by the editor, Professor E. Herzfeld, himself. It will be sufficient here to give the titles of the various papers, with occasional remarks on the contents.

vii, 1-6: A silver dish of Artaxerxes I (with four plates). The cuneiform inscription on the rim of these four beautiful dishes has given rise to serious doubts against the authenticity of this piece of plate, voiced by H. W. Schaeder, *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1935, pp. 489 sqq. Its Old Persian is incredibly vile, and there is at least one word which appears to be due to an erroneous retranslation into Old Persian of a Modern Persian form: *sa-i-ya-ma-ma*, obviously = Pers. *šim* "silver". In later papers Professor Herzfeld has defended the admissibility of this spelling (*A.M.*, viii, pp. 5 sqq.; *AltPers. Inschr.*, pp. 296 sqq.). Since at the time of Artaxerxes Greek *ἀργυρος*, the prototype of MPers. *ašm*, NPers. *šim* "silver", was "bullion", not "silver", H. proposes the former meaning also for the suspect *sa-i-ya-ma-ma* of the dishes. However, as similar inscriptions on various objects of art usually indicate the material of which these are made, not the accidental state of the material before its treatment, one might prefer to think that the author of the inscriptions wanted to use a word for the material of the dishes, viz. "silver", and was compelled to invent it as the word for silver was not available for him (it occurs only once in a recently discovered inscription). The spelling *sa-i-ya-* for *si-* can be explained from the knowledge that NPers. *i* is the regular equivalent to any Old Persian group of sounds which is spelled *consonant + i + ya*. There is no reason to cast doubt on the genuineness of the first vowel of Pahl. and Man.MPers. *ašm* (*AltPers. Inschr.*, p. 298); no inverse spelling of such a type, unthinkable for Man.MPers., is attested.

vii, 9-64: Median and Parthian. Mainly with the help of etymological explanations of local names Professor H. attempts at a determination of the dialectal peculiarities and differences of Median and Parthian. According to him, the language of the second ("Arsacid") version of the Sasanian inscriptions is Middle Parthian, but the "North-Western" dialect used by Manichaeans is Middle Median. Whilst nobody will quarrel with the former conclusion, objections of a

historical as well as dialectological nature can be raised against the latter. Mani sent his disciple Ammo to Abarshahr, the centre of Parthia, because he was acquainted with the *pahlawānīy* = Parthian language. The mission of Ammo forms the starting-point for the creation of the second Manichaean language: *ergo*, the correct name for this language is *pahlawānīy*. The inconsiderable differences between inscriptional Parthian and Manichaean Parthian (such as *ux-* from *xu-*, ending of abstracts *-yft* from *-ypy*, i.e. addition of an unetymological *-t* in the later dialect) can easily be explained as due to disparity in linguistic age; for the Parthian tongue as represented in Sasanian inscriptions was orthographically fixed about half a millennium before Mani's time (pp. 44 sqq.). In determining the date of the origin of Parthian writing, H. makes use of Sogdian material. In his view Sogdian writing is a descendant of Parthian, whilst the reviewer prefers to regard Sogdian and Parthian as mutually independent provincial developments of that Aramaic style of writing which had been introduced by the chancelleries of the Achaemenian empire.

vii, 65-73: Myron Bement Smith, Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzān, a dated Seljuk ruin. With six excellently executed plates and a plan of the ruins at Buzān, or Buzān, to the east of Isfahan. The date, given by a Nashī inscription, is H. 528. In an annotation (pp. 73-81) Professor H. gives a valuable list of the earliest known Nashī inscriptions (with some new material).

vii, 82-137: Xerxes Areios. A contribution to the study of Median history and Achaemenian military affairs (Heerwesen). Having enjoyed the privilege of living in Xerxes' harem for several years, Professor H. felt it incumbent upon him to defend the Great King's dignity against indelicate etymologies of his name (p. 84). For *ariān-* "male, stallion, (perhaps) hero", usually regarded as the second part of the compound (nom.) *Xšayāršā*, he substitutes an otherwise unknown word *\*ršāh-*, translated as "recht" (p. 136) and derived from Iran. *rač-*. Linguists will find it difficult to agree with the proposed derivation, in view of the irregular formation of *\*ršāh-* and the unexplained length of the second vowel of *Xšayāršā*; these difficulties which jeopardize the new explanation, have been noticed by the author (p. 135, n. 2), but not overcome. As parallel formation H. quotes (p. 134) Assyrt. *nu-mi-ti-ar-su*, the name of a Median chieftain, rendering *\*rahmat-rš-* or *\*rahmyat-rš-*; however, the presumed participle *\*rahmat-*, derived from a noun (*rahma-*) instead of a verbal stem, will hardly be given credence.

The discussion opens with an interpretation of the well-known gloss Herodotus, vi, 98 . . . *Ξέρξης ἀρχός*, *Ἀπραξέξης μέγας ἀρχός*. I do not agree with H.'s opinion that the Greek owed to Persians this explanation of Xerxes' name (p. 89). The similarity in the rendering of the two names (the names being like each other only in Greek) rather suggests a Greek as the author of the gloss. However that be, the word *ἀρχός* has led Professor H. to a discussion of the Iranian Ares, *Vrθrayna*, and of texts relating to him, in particular *Yasht*, xiv (pp. 90 sqq.). His study of this *Yasht*, built to some extent upon Hertel's ideas, is an instructive specimen of the method employed by Professor H. for the interpretation of Avestan texts. Characteristic points are: liberal use of the possibilities of the legendary "Arsacid text" and the highly hypothetical "Avestan poetics", large-minded treatment of grammatical niceties and philological rules (e.g. *vārafa* from *raz*, pp. 93 sq., 135), ruthless emendation, implicit trust in the value of etymology, and exaggerated application of the "principle of mutual elucidation". This method, hardly paralleled in other branches of historical or philological studies, is bound to produce the most astonishing results. Its main drawback is the divergence in results which of necessity follows its application by several scholars so that, e.g. what to Professor Herzfeld appears to be a legionaries' ditty (on the Prussian discipline but ineffectiveness of the objectionable "Jambudvīpa-kerlehen", p. 101) may seem a shamanistic text on rituals or a learned discussion of law questions to other scholars.

The following pages (113 sqq.) contain further suggestions in favour of H.'s theory of the dependence of the Avestan Kavi legend on facts of Median history. In connection with these problems the opening words of the Pahlavi text "Khoston and his page", previously studied by Professor Bailey (*BSOS.*, vii, pp. 70 sqq.), are corrected. It may be useful to point out that there is no need to change the unanimous reading of the manuscripts: *Ērān vinārt kawūtīk rūk-ē* (*PT.*, i, p. 27). These words mean "a page from the county of Ērān-vinārt-Kawūt", i.e. a *kūrah* of Isfahan (ایرانوتارت کواذ), read ایرانوتارت کواذ, see Marquart, *Ērānkahr*, p. 28, n. 1).

viii, 1-3: Karl Bergner, "Report on unknown ruins of Achaemenian times in the Persepolitan plain" (with a map and eight plates). Three groups of ruins in the middle Kur valley, two of them remainders of ancient dams. In an annotation (p. 4) Professor Herzfeld recalls Herodotus' story of an enormous irrigation system in Eastern Iran

(iii, 117), which has been carefully analysed by the late Professor Markwart (*Wehrst.*, pp. 8 sqq.).

viii, 5-51: The silver dishes of Artaxerxes and the gold foundation document of Ariaramnes. The problem of the authenticity of the silver dishes has been touched on above. Similarly, the genuineness of the famous inscription of Ariaramnes has been doubted; several scholars regard it as a fabrication of late Achaemenian times, whilst Professor H. writes in favour of its full authenticity. The main point in the rather heated discussion of the problem is the undeniable fact that the language of the Ariaramnes inscription is grammatically debased and far less correct than the Old Persian used in the monuments of his great-grandson Darius. Even if one accepts Professor H.'s point of view that already at the outset of the Achaemenian period, even before that date, the Old Persian language of our grammatical handbooks was more or less a dead language and that the actually spoken language was changing into an early stage of Middle Persian, even then one imagines with some difficulty only how Darius' Aramaean scribes possibly could be so successful in their restoration of handbook Old Persian from the changed spoken language, without their being able to rely on clerical or linguistic tradition. At the end of his article H. has given a clear *résumé* of his views on the history of Old Persian (pp. 46 sqq.). It is interesting to note the date suggested by him for the origin of Iranian from Indo-Iranian. The old name of Tabaristān, *Patixšār* = *pati* + OP. \**Hwāra* " (the mountains) in front of *Hwāra*", can have been created only by the immigrant Iranians who appeared in Media from 836 B.C. onwards and hardly arrived in Parthia before 900 B.C. The phonetical change of *pati* + *hwāra* into \**patiš(h)wāra* can have taken place only at a time when \**Hwāra* was still \**Sicāra*, i.e. a pre-Iranian form. Ergo in about 900 B.C. the "Iranians" who immigrated into Persia, were still "Indo-Iranians" (pp. 46 sqq.). To the reviewer this argument seems to be based on a mere *petitio principii*: why should the change of Iranian *h* into *š(h)* in certain positions not have remained a feature of the living Old Iranian dialects?

viii, 53-5: M. Duchesne-Guillemin, Note sur la provenance asiatique d'un tambour égyptien. Namely, "le tambour sur cadre de l'espèce quadrangulaire," which occurs first pictured on a Nihavand vase, about 2200 B.C. (see Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Hist. of Iran*, p. 7).

viii, 56-77: Xerxes' ban of the Daiva cult. Professor Herzfeld, to whom we owe already the discovery of several Xerxes inscriptions



(particularly the "foundation document", *Pers. Harem*), here publishes a further inscription of this king, of 60 lines, undoubtedly the most important Xerxes monument so far available. A full Accadian and a nearly complete Elamite version have also been discovered. A transliteration of the three texts will be found in the author's later publication, *Alt Pers. Inschr.*, III, 27 sqq., photographs, *ibid.*, plates III-xii. In § 3 (13-28) we have the first list of satrapies under Xerxes' rule, with the noteworthy mention of the *Dahā* "Dān" (26) and the *Akaufātiya*, convincingly identified with the medieval *Kāfē* (*Kōc. Qufā*) in Kerman (see Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 31). The introductory formula is the same as in Dar. NR, a § 3, except for line 15, *dahyāra tyāšām adam xšāyātiya āhām* [sic] *tyā adam aqrūyām*. Curious is *abru* = *abara* (17), besides *abara*, *abara(n)tā*, and *abaraha* in the same sentence in other inscriptions: *patiyaxšāiy* (17) instead of *patiyaxšāiy* is merely a misprint. The Greek satrapies are given as *Yanū tya* [i. *tyaiy*] *drayahyū dārayantiy utā tyaiy paradrays dārayantiy*; it seems preferable to take *paradrays* as an adverb and *drayahyū* as a loc. sing.

§ 4 (28-56), the centre-piece of the inscription, deals with difficulties which Xerxes had to face at the beginning of his reign. There was a rebellion in one of his provinces which he quelled (29-34). In some provinces (or province) *Dairas* were worshipped; he destroyed their temples, banned the *Daira* cult, and substituted the belief in Ahuramazdā (35 sqq.). These events are interpreted by the editor as the compulsory introduction of Zarathushtra's teaching, the pure Ahuramazdā religion, into those provinces of Iran where the ancient Indo-Iranian belief in *Dairas* still persisted. On the other hand, since the provinces where these measures were taken are not named, we have to consider the alternative that the inscription refers to the suppression of non-Iranian religions in some parts of the vast Achaemenian empire (hence *dairā* = "false gods"). At any rate, the occurrence of the word *dairā* with distinctly pejorative meaning will form a valuable point in future discussions on the history of religious movements in ancient Iran. 31-2 *ayud* should perhaps be read *āyauḍa*, either Nom. sg. masc. from *āyruḍa* "rebellion" = Parthian *āyōz* ("there is [= 'there was'] a rebellion in these provinces which [*tyaiy* inst. of *tyā*] are mentioned above"), or 3rd impf. of *ā + yauḍa* "to rebel" (*hyā* left out after *nipišū*? "There is amongst these provinces one that revolted"). The second solution seems preferable in view of the singulars in the following sentences:

ara [sic] *dahyāram* and *-sim*. 38 *ptiycbym* could also be read *patiyaza(n)-bayam* = Av. *-zombaya-*. 39 *yd'iyiś* (*yd'iyiś*, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 28, is misprinted), if not blunder for *yd'is(a)* (50) = *yadaiša* = Av. *yazaiša*, can be regarded as an imperfect spelling of *yadiyuiša*, 3rd pl. opt. pass. (= Skt. *ijyeran*), with the *-ša* ending of *akunaraša*, etc. 41 (etc.) *artāca brzmai*: since there is no possibility of explaining *-tā* as conjunction here (against Herzfeld, p. 69, and H. Hartmann, *GlZ.*, 1927, p. 148), one might consider *artāca* as an early contraction of OPers. *\*artā hačā* (cf. *θāi*, etc.) = GA. *atā* *hačā*, all the more so if any value can be attached to the Elamite transcription *'r.ta.ḫa.ci* (cf. also Hartmann, op. cit., pp. 146 sq.). *brzmai* is best explained as nom. sg. of the adjective in *-iya-* from *brzma-*, therefore possibly = Av. *brasmanya-*. One might translate: "I worshipped Ahuramazdā, holding Barasman (twigs) according to the Holy Law."

viii, 75-102: Arabic inscriptions in Iran and Syria. Discussion of the Arabic inscriptions on various monuments recently published by M. André Godard (*Athār-e Irān*, tom. i, fasc. 1), from Lajim (Mazenderan), Abarqūh, Murīgha, Nāqanz. An interpretation of the difficult Pahlavi inscription on the tomb tower at Lajim (A.H. 413) is here attempted for the first time: the Pahlavi ductus closely resembles the writing of the Egyptian Pahlavi Papyri. Several hitherto unknown Arabic inscriptions from the Seljuk period, mainly from Isfahan and Aleppo, are quoted.

viii, 103-160 (first part), ix, 1-79 (second part): The art of the Near East during the second millennium B.C. With 11 plates and numerous illustrations in the text. An archaeological study, based mainly on seal pictures and ornaments.

ix, 80-9: *Axcarata- Xvarnah-* = *Naphtha*. Avestan *xvarnah-*, OldPers. *farnah-*, NPers. *farr(a)*, the royal glory of the Iranians, means simply "the eating", according to H., and *axcarata-* "without eatables". Therefore, *Axcarata- Xvarnah-* should be "the eating without eatables", or (with a slight but hardly permissible turning) "the devouring (flame) which is not in need of food", viz. a burning oil-well. Similarly, OIran. *\*nafta-* "Naphtha" (a word of which the Iranian origin is by no means assured) is simply the same as OIran. *nafta-* (Av. *napta-*) "wet", which M., in common with Bartholomae (and others) derives from  $\sqrt{neb}$  (p. 80). On the other hand, *\*nafta-* is "somehow connected" (p. 89) with the name of the Indo-Iranian god *Apām Napāt-* "the son (grandson) of the waters". As these two explanations obviously exclude each other,

H.'s conclusion is that *Apām Napāt* "alludes to naphtha". In view of the established connection of *Apām Napāt* with the *Axarata Xararah* on the one hand, and the rather nebulous allusion of *Apām Napāt* = naphtha on the other, H. finds the cult of burning oil-wells established as a feature of the ancient Iranian religion. The reviewer finds it difficult to accept the general conclusion as well as the etymologies offered here. It will be noted that the Pahlavi passage quoted on p. 80 (GrBd. 128<sup>2-11</sup>) while dealing with burning oil-wells does not indicate that they were regarded as divine manifestations (the first words are: *ātaš ī plmki rāy pātāk*; *pātākīh* forms part of the preceding sentence; further on read *ayōrēnd* "they date", 128<sup>6</sup>, instead of *hilēnd*, *pat āurastur nihufian* "to cover with ashes", 128<sup>8-9</sup>, not "to blow into a flame with fans"). They are mentioned merely as a curiosity of natural history.

ix, 91-168: Khosrau Parwēz and the Tāq ī Vastān. With twelve plates. In a series of articles M. Waldmann had suggested that the famous relief sculptures in the second grotto of Tāq ī Bostān should be ascribed to Pērōz, not to Khosrau Parwēz as is usually done. With a great number of historical and archaeological arguments H. convincingly vindicates the current opinion. After a detailed and highly interesting discussion of the various means available for the dating of Sasanian monuments (crowns, crests, etc.; of particular import: notes on Hephthalite coins and the Khwarāsān Khwarreh, pp. 150 sqq.), H. arrives at the conclusion that the sculptures are from the 21st-37th years of Khosrau II.

ix, 169-177: Bronze "patent letters" granted by a king of Abdadana (with a plate and a historical map showing North-Western Iran in about 900-700 B.C.). This bronze tablet had been referred to in *AML.* ii, p. 117. Its Babylonian inscription, presumably from the ninth century B.C., mentions privileges granted to an Assyrian by a king of Abdadana. Through a careful analysis of the nomenclature of Assyrian historical records M. shows that Abdadana is to be localized in the southern part of Garrā, the region of Bijār.





ESSAI SUR LA LANGUE PARTHE. Son système verbal. D'après les textes manichéens du Turkestan Oriental. By A. GHILAIN. Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol. 9. Louvain, 1939. ■ belgas.

The study of the grammar and vocabulary of Middle Iranian has not kept pace with the publication of new material. Neither Manichaean Middle Persian nor Parthian, neither Sogdian nor Saka can boast a complete dictionary, and the number of grammatical essays on any of these languages is depressingly small. The present work, which has been submitted as a *thèse* to the University of Louvain, is therefore highly welcome. It offers a complete survey of the verbal system of that Middle Western Iranian dialect of Manichaean texts which in earlier days was called "North-Western dialect", or "North-Western Middle Iranian". Happily, this clumsy denomination has now been superseded by the more or less generally accepted term "Parthian", viz. that dialect of the province of Parthia which was raised to the rank of the language of administration under the rule of the Parthian (Arsacid) kings, and which the Manichaean emissaries used as a missionary language because at their time (about A.D. 300) it formed the *koory* of the north-eastern provinces of Persia. We are fortunate enough to have the correct name of this language mentioned in a Manichaean fragment, as *pahlavānīy* = Parthian. The problems connected with this name and its history have been set forth by M. Ghilain in the introduction to his book.

The introduction contains also a more satisfactory classification of the Parthian Man. texts than had previously been attempted. M. Ghilain has been able to distinguish two different strata of texts: those of the third and fourth centuries, composed by authors who spoke Parthian, and later Turkestanian texts, written at a time when Parthian was a dead language used solely for ecclesiastical purposes. The recognition of this fact has enabled the author to discard a number of troublesome forms as unauthentic.

The survey of the verbal formations follows the usual division into three main chapters: present stem, past participle, inflection. M. Ghilain has been able to mention a number of hitherto unpublished forms, a fact which greatly enhances the value of his book. He has done his work with commendable care, and so conscientiously that it is difficult to find a verbal form which he has not recorded. The only verb that seems to have escaped his attention is 'skrf-' to stumble" = NPers. *šgarfīdan*, cf. also Pahl. and Man.MPers. *škarv-*, *škarv-*, Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, p. 315, and further Skt. *skhal-*, Arm.

szul-, etc. Some additional remarks: p. 56 *ʾrsn-*: cf. the causative *ʾrsn-* "to make descend, to let fall" (see the Publ. forms quoted by Zachner, *BSOS.* IX, pp. 892 sq.). p. 56 *brm-*: read *bram-*; here Avestan *bram-* in *brāsat gimō Yt.* 19<sup>a</sup> "Yima wept [sic]" should have been quoted; Saka *bram-*, Bailey, *BSOS.* IX, p. 78. p. 57 *tern-*; Arm. *teran*, etc., see Andreas in Rothstein, *Lachm.*, pp. 144 sq., Bailey, *BSOS.* VI, p. 593. p. 58 *ʾryst-*: Pahlavi  = *ʾrystn* explaining  = *kphon-tu*, *Früh. Pahl.*, p. 68 (Syriac *kpar* "purgavit"). Ibid., *gē-*: the etymology is supported by Arm. *garšim* "to abhor", see Meillet, *Gramm. Comp. Arm.*, 2nd ed., p. 39; cf. NPers. *gaš* "pleased, proud", p. 59 *ʾx-*: the alternative explanation is to be rejected on account of Saka *khās-* (= *xāza-*), *khasta-* "to drink", p. 66 *wz-*: a reference to Saka *bugay-* would have been desirable (see *Mir.Man.*, iii, s.v.). p. 67 *steb-* was clearly pronounced *astāb*, cf. NPers. *sutōh*. p. 69: for *M I 343* read *wʾst[wʾnyš]*. p. 71: one might be inclined to find *ʾdan* in Av. *apastananhō*, *Yt.* 19<sup>a</sup>: *ʾapa.disinnāi dāuru apastananhō gatō.arəza(w)he* (dat. of comp. *gatō.arəzah-*) "who killed *Arəzō.kamana* . . . (by) robbing him of his mare when he turned away after he had come to fight". p. 73: two roots *ram* are to be assumed (1) "to have pleasure, or peace", (2) "to move" (as in Saka *itrām-*, *narām-*, etc.). p. 74 *nydʾr-*: cf. Pahlavi *nīdrār-*, see *BSOS.* X, p. 105, n. 3. p. 76 *ʾrʾw-*: my explanation has been misquoted; the root is presumably *ʾrū* in Av. *ʾrūta-*, *ʾrunt-*, etc., *ʾrūšyant-* (fut. pte., hardly denominative). Further, Saka *grute*, *upgrute*, *K.* m. 7: xxiv, 15, NPers. *xarās-* possibly from \**xrāus-* (not \**xraus-*), but other explanations have been proposed (see Benveniste, *BSOS.* IX, p. 515); connection with Av. *xrafsra-* is not possible. p. 79 *ʾzyrəsp-*: cf. Sogd. *zyrēfš-*, *Dhāt.*, 257. p. 81 *ʾras-*: cf. p. 49! p. 82 *ʾwngs-*: a discussion of Man.MPers. *ʾwngys* (*Mir.Man.* ii) and of *ʾwngs* in the Paikuli inser. would have been of value. p. 82 *parmūs-*, *parmāw-*, *parmīdan* are evidently connected with Av. *aməyama-* and *arəz.mīrāmahi* (for the latter Parth. *ʾamw-* is of interest). p. 84 *pdyn-*: Parmit dissects *paḏm-*, see Morgenstierne *IIFL.* ii, pp. 406 sq. p. 91 *ʾwcin-*: besides Saka *b(ā)ṛān-*, cf. also Chr. Sogd. *wyru[x]ṛāṛ*, *S.T.*, i, 16. p. 92 *bʾ-*: read Skt. *bhās-*, *bhāṣā-* instead of *bhās-*. p. 97 *whur-*, *whyrd*: in favour of the derivation from *√fār* one might point to Saka *āphār-*, *haphār-*, etc. p. 124 *nyʾbq*: cf. Parth. Inser. *nyʾpk*, etc., see *BSOS.* X, p. 105, n. 3.

Excellent registers facilitate the study of this important essay.

## Mani's Last Journey

THE most detailed account of Mani's last days is contained in the Coptic "Narrative on the Crucifixion" (Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, pp. 42 sqq.). As I had occasion to point out before,<sup>1</sup> this "Narrative" had been quoted by the Christian Jibrā'il b. Nūh in his anti-Manichaean book which was still available to al-Bērūnī (*Chronology*, 208<sup>19-22</sup>).

During the brief reign of King Hormizd<sup>2</sup> Mani went to Babylon,<sup>3</sup> where he stayed until the accession of Bahram I. After some time he left Babylon and slowly travelled down the River Tigris, visiting his communities on the way. He reached Hormizd-Ardašir (Ahwāz, Sūq al-Ahwāz), one of the four chief towns of Susiana, from where he started on a journey to the north-eastern provinces of the Sasanian empire. But he was forbidden to go there and compelled to turn back to Susiana. From Hormizd-Ardašir he journeyed to Mesene, thence up the River Tigris in a boat to Ctesiphon. From the capital he went to "the Pargalia", where he was joined by Baazr. He travelled to Kholassar, and from this town he reached Belapat, where he was destined to die. The route taken by him on the journey from Kholassar to Belapat is not known, as there is a gap in the manuscript. While the situation of "the Pargalia" remains unsettled,<sup>4</sup> that of Kholassar (Khalasar)<sup>5</sup> is well defined by a comparison of the itinerary given by Isidorus Kharacenus with the Arab geographers (journey from Ctesiphon to Holwan):—

<i>Isidorus.<sup>6</sup></i>	<i>schœni.</i>	<i>Arabs.<sup>7</sup></i>	<i>fars.</i>
Selucia		al-Madā'in	
		Raghadā	7
		an-Nahrāwān	4

<sup>1</sup> *OLZ.*, 1933, col. 224.

<sup>2</sup> His surname "the Brave" (MPers. *štr*, cf. *BSOS.*, IX, p. 848, n. 3; the ideogram *th* misread *tes* by Markwart, *Catalogue*, p. 10) has been mistranslated in the *Homilies*, 42, 18 ("the good king": the MPers. word has both meanings).

<sup>3</sup> *Man. Hom.*, 42<sup>24</sup>, 26: "the Assyrians." Cf. *Cephalaia*, 186<sup>19</sup>, "Babylon the city of the Assyrians" = 187<sup>15</sup> "the country of the Assyrians". See further Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 15, n. 3, Chevreton-Pelliot, *Tradé Man.*, 146, n. 1. Also Sogdian *suryk* = Babylonian. *ZDMG.*, 60, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Unconvincing Schneider *apud* Polotsky, *Man. Hom.*, p. 44, n.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Schneider, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Stathmoi Parth.*, 2, 3.

<sup>7</sup> To Raghadā: Ya'qubi, *k. al-bulān*, 330<sup>26</sup> sq., Qudamah, 193<sup>18</sup> (etc.); to Holwan: Ibn Khurdadbih, 18<sup>11-13</sup>, Qudamah, 197<sup>17</sup> sqq., Ibn Rustah, 163<sup>17</sup> sqq.



<i>Isidorus.</i>	<i>schœneni.</i>	<i>Arabs.</i>	<i>fars.</i>
Artemita-Khalassar . . . . .	15	دیر سرما	4
		Dastagerd . . . . .	3
End of Apolloniatis (33 sch. fr. Seleucia) . . . . .	18	Jalālā . . . . .	7
		Khānīqā . . . . .	7
		Qasr Širin . . . . .	6
Khala . . . . .	15	Holwā . . . . .	5
	48		48

Since the distances given agree exactly for the whole of the journey, they are likely also to agree for any part of it. Hence Artemita<sup>1</sup> is to be identified with the دیر سرما (برمه، مارما) of the Arab Geographers, half-way between Baghdad and Dastagerd. A further point is provided by the similar description of that town: διὰ μέσης δὲ ταύτης περὶ ποταμὸς Σίλλα (*Isidorus*) = wayaharīquhā nahr<sup>2</sup> kabīr<sup>3</sup> (Ibn Rastah, 163<sup>4</sup>). We owe to Isidorus the information that this Greek city of Artemita νῦν μέντοι καλεῖται χαλάσαρ.<sup>5</sup> It is unlikely that Mani travelled from Kholassar to Belapat (*Bēlābād*, *Bēh-Lāpāt* = *Jundaisābūr*, *Vahī-Audiok-Sāpuhr*,<sup>6</sup> between Susa and Sushtar) by the same way he had come, i.e. via Ctesiphon, the Tigris, Mesene, Ahwāz. This would have involved a considerable detour. That he preferred a more direct route, striking across the plain to the foot of the Persian hills, is suggested by the following Parthian fragment<sup>4</sup> (*T ii D 163*, hitherto unpublished)<sup>7</sup> :—

## Col. A

- (1) [b]wyd[  
 (2) hr[wyō b[tr]’dr’n

<sup>1</sup> On M. Kiepert's map (*Formae orbis antiqui*, fol. v, *Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Armenia*) Artemita is placed too far to the north-east. For further information see the text accompanying his map, p. 7, col. a. The number given by Strabo (500 *stadia*), although clearly rounded off, agrees well with Isidorus. 500 *stadia* are 88·8 kilometres (55½ miles), 33⅓ parasegēs at 5,940 metres are 89·1 kilometres. The 1XX1 *mp.* given by the *Tah. Peul.* should be corrected to 1XX1 *mp.* (= 90·3 kilometres = 508 *stadia*). Isidorus's schœneni is here evidently the same measure as the Arabic paraseg (while in Persia proper 4 sch. equal 3 par.).

<sup>2</sup> In spite of this statement one might consider the Arabic name a corruption of, say (*Karkhā*) d'Artemita > \*d'artemita > \*d'artemida > \*d'artedima. Such a form, if thought to contain *daīr* "monastery", could be spellت دیر etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Minorsky, *Ġulūd*, pp. 381 sq. He stated *BSOS.*, LX, 643, the name contains "Antiochia", not "Antiochia".

<sup>4</sup> A small piece from the centre part of a page. Text written in two columns. There is nothing to show the original sequence of the columns; instead of ABCD as given here it might have been CDAE.

<sup>5</sup> [Restorations], (damaged or doubtful letters).

- (3) [ . . . ]sy' gw(x)[ 'y oo ma pty]g  
 (4) ['](w)h w'cyd kw pd h w  
 (5) (j)m'n [kd] qy(r)[b](kr) 'm  
 (6) (t)[y]spw[n] (š)bry(s)[t'n] 'zgd  
 (7) ['wš] 'd (b)'t (šh)[r]d'r  
*(lines missing)*

## Col. B

- (8) kw mrym[ 'ny 'w m[n w'xt ?]  
 (9) kwš byd pd t[  
 (10) 'g'm ny 'w(r) byd w'c[  
 (11) 'w[  
 (12) hyr'x'h h.[  
*(lines missing)*

## Col. C

- (13) '(r)g'wy(š) oo 'w  
 (14) [about ?] r 'dgd 'b'w  
 (15) [kd] (')ndr (gw)x'y pd bytdyy  
 (16) *(broken off)*  
 (17) ]m 'b'w wjydg  
 (18) g](w)xy  
*(lines missing)*

## Col. D

- (19) 'b[(r)wm[y' ?  
 (20) ]t oo 'wd[  
 (21) b(w)[d hym ? oo] (')wm prw'[n . . .]  
 (22) 'bjrw'ng 'a dw'šys  
 (23) 'mw(c)[g 'wd prw'[n] (šw)hmn  
 (24) ky gr[ . . . ](rd)'rb[ . . . ] br . .  
 (25) wyfr'[št h](y)m oo (kd) 'wš

It is difficult to give a connected translation of so fragmentary a piece. "[A] . . . becomes . . . the brethren [asked Mani: come<sup>1</sup> to] Gaukhai. [Further, Pate]kins thus relates: *at* that time when the Pious One (i.e. Mani) left the city of Ctesiphon and together with King Bāt . . . [B] . . . that Mar Mani [said] to me: do not come<sup>2</sup> again with his . . . time, then tell . . . he should

<sup>1</sup> Some such word could perhaps be recognized in ]sy' (if complete). Cf. sy. "to appear" or "come", Gbilsin, p. 91. *mw'* might be 3rd sing. subj.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is not clear; one should have m' 'w.



and joined the Manichaeans. Furthermore, Mani had been ordered to come into the presence of King Bahram in the company of Bāt, who, however, had wisely preferred to leave Mani when approaching the royal residence, Belapat. To judge by the title given to him in the Parthian fragment (*šahrdār*), Bāt must have been a sub-king and a person of some consequence. He was hardly a Persian, but possibly a Babylonian or an Armenian.<sup>1</sup>

No such place-name as *byddyy* is known to me. Probably we have to add a point to the second *d*: the resultant *bydryy* is plainly a slightly irregular <sup>2</sup> spelling of Syriac *byt-dry* = *Bēth-Darāyē*, in Arabic *Bādarāyā*. Together with *Bāh-Kusāyē*, Upper, Middle, and Lower *Nahrawān*, *Bāh-Darāyē* (which was a Nestorian bishopric from not later than A.D. 420 onwards) formed part of the Sasanian province of *an-Nahrawānāt*,<sup>3</sup> or *Bānifās-Khorrou* (?),<sup>4</sup> to the east of Ctesiphon on the left bank of the Tigris. The name has survived in the modern *Badrai*, on the Persian frontier, due north of an-Nukhailat, about thirty miles distant from the nearest point of the Tigris. The ruins of *Bēth-Kusāyē* (*Bākusāyā* in Arabic) which usually appears coupled with *Bēth-Darāyē*, are to the south-east of Badrai, on the river of Changulak.<sup>5</sup>

The name of the town or district of *Bēth-Darāyē* which Mani visited was *gux'y* (*guxy*) = *Gaukhai*. This is evidently the same as Syriac *guky*,<sup>6</sup> Mandaeic *g'uk'y*, Ar. جوحى or جوح. The latent effort to determine the exact position of this district was made by Schaefer

<sup>1</sup> A century later, the *nakspet* of the *Sakans* bears the name of *bat*. He played a rôle in the political life of Armenia after the murder of King Pap. For further references see Hübnermann, *Arm. Ges.*, 32, and *Just. ar.*

<sup>2</sup> The normal spelling of the ending *-dy* is *-y* in Syriac, *-yy* in Mandaeic, but *-y* or *-yy* in Jewish Aramaic. The peculiar spelling *-dy* cannot be ascribed to the type of Aramaic used by Mani, as the few available scraps suffice to show (see Burkitt, *Rel. of the Man.*, pp. 111 sqq.). In loan-words *-y* replaces Aram. *-dy*, as e.g. in *Armen'y*. Cf. also Man. MPers. *myān'gy'n* "Messenians" = *mānān'y-ān* with a Persian suffix (as in Pahl. *HRWM DFK*); in Pahl. both forms occur: *myān'y* Pahl. *Ed.*, 17<sup>a</sup>, and *myān'dyk'n*, *Or. Ed.*, 207<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Maqdisi (Muqaddasi) 133<sup>12</sup>. Elsewhere this term is applied to the three districts of *Nahrawān* only (Ibn Khuradbeh 131<sup>7</sup>, Qudamah 235<sup>13</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khuradbeh 61<sup>2</sup>. On the institution of this province by Khosrou I, see Noekdeke, *Tabari*, p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sachau, *Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien*, pp. 28 sq.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., *Acta St. Maris*, 67<sup>1</sup>, ed. J. B. Abbeloos. In an earlier article (*Orientalia*, v, p. 85) I unfortunately followed Fluegel's identification of *Jōhā* with *Coche* (one of the towns of al-Madā'in) without having inquired further into the matter. Most authors correctly distinguished the two localities (the Strange, *Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, p. 42; Sachau, *loc. cit.*, p. 29; and others). According to Schaefer *Jōhā* stands for *Coche* as well as *Gaukhai*. It seems to me now that it always refers to *Gaukhai*.

(*Islam*, xiv, pp. 22 sq.), according to whom Gaukhai (*Jāhā*) lay in the centre of Mesene. His theory, however, is not favoured by the statement in the Parthian fragment that Gaukhai lay in Bēth-Darāyē, i.e. considerably more to the north. According to Yaḡut s.v. "*Jāhā* is the name of a river on which an extensive *kūrah* is situated in the Sawād of Baghdād. . . .<sup>1</sup> And it (= river) lies between Khāniqīn and Khūzistān". The latter sentence gives an excellent definition<sup>2</sup> of the situation of Bēth-Darāyē. The rather vague term "Sawād of Baghdād" covered Bēth-Darāyē, but excluded the regions of Mesene which were counted to either Wāsiṭ or Baṣra.

Apparently *Gaukhai* was originally the name of a river in Bēth-Darāyē, preferably the river of Badrai itself, which with a number of small streams loses itself in the swamps to the north and north-east of Kut-el-Amara. From the river this swampy region also took the name of Gaukhai. Occasionally, a Nestorian bishopric of Gaukhai is mentioned (Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 29) which probably was identical with the bishopric of Bēth-Darāyē. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih* 30<sup>14</sup>, mentions "the land of Gaukhai" as comprising Bādariyā and Bākusiyyā (and another district). Ibn an-Nadīm (*k. al-fihrist*, 340<sup>3</sup>) states that the founder of some obscure sect was a native of Gaukhai, "from a village on the Nahravān (canal)," i.e. from Lower Nahravān, the district immediately bordering on Bēth-Darāyē in the west. We also find the name of Gaukhai applied to the whole region of the swamps which accompanied the lower course of the Tigris, roughly from Kut-el-Amara to Qurna, particularly by the source common to Ibn Rustah (95<sup>12</sup>, 2<sup>o</sup>) and Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih* 40<sup>12</sup>, 14, 51<sup>1</sup>). However, both authors say that in their time these swamps had long since ceased to exist and turned into a desert; for during the reign of Khosrau Aparwēz the Tigris had left its old bed in Gaukhai and chosen a new channel through the province of Kaškar, and new swamps had formed between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra.

<sup>1</sup> I have left out the following clause: "On its eastern bank are the two districts of Rādhān." This statement cannot be reconciled with the remainder of Yaḡut's article (nor, for that matter, with anything else). De Strange (*ibid.*, p. 36) defines ar-Rādhānī as "the district round al-Madīn which stretched eastward from the Tigris to the Nahravān canal". In the Sassanian division of Babylonia Upper and Lower Rādhān formed one *kūrah* with Chesiphon, Kalwādih (near Baghdād), Nahr-Bin, etc. (Ibn Khurdadbeh 6<sup>1</sup>-B). Maqdisi (54<sup>1</sup>, 116<sup>3</sup>) counts ar-Rādhānī to Samarra, not, however, to Baghdād. Therefore, these two districts lay to the north of Baghdād, probably near the Nahr Rādhān between the Shatt al-'Aḡaim and the Diyala (cf. Syr. *Rādhān*, Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 56).

<sup>2</sup> But a miserable one if *Jāhā* were *Cocks* (as was assumed by Flügel, *Mani*, p. 122, and is still maintained by Schaefer, *ibid.*, p. 23, n. 2, for Yaḡut's article). It would be like saying: Westminster lies between Bristol and Yorkshire.

We may assume that the name of Gaukhai properly belonged only to the northernmost part of the original swamps, but that its use was extended to cover the whole, perhaps erroneously, perhaps in view of the absence of another comprehensive term for the whole of the region.

Comparing the Parthian text with the Coptic "Narrative", one can hardly escape the conclusion that Mani's journey to Gaukhai took place after his last visit to Ctesiphon, i.e. while travelling from Kholassar to Belapat. The absence of any reference to Gaukhai in the description of his journey up the River Tigris from Mesene to Ctesiphon indicates that the name of Gaukhai had a less wide application in the third century than later on, and that it was employed only for the middle reaches of the river between Badrai. The itinerary Kholassar-Badrai-Belapat shows that Mani travelled overland by the shortest imaginable route, probably following the ancient high-road from Sardes to Susa ( $\eta$  δδὸς  $\eta$  βασιλείης, Herodotus, v, 52) the last part of which was used also by Alexander in his march from Babylon to Susa through Sitakene, 331 B.C. Owing to the decline of Susa and the other cities of northern Khūzistān this most important highway of the Achaemenian empire fell into disuse in later centuries, except possibly for the last two or three stages. In Muslim times one travelled from Baghdad to Sūs (and further on to Jundaisābūr = Belapat) via Wāsil, reaching the ancient road probably at Tib (13 leagues from Sūs).<sup>1</sup>

The object of Mani's last journey was to pay a farewell visit to his communities before his death, which he felt approaching (cf. *Man. Hom.*, 44<sup>17</sup> sqq.). The commencement of the Parthian fragment suggests that from Gaukhai he had received an especially urgent invitation. Close bonds united the prophet and the communities of Gaukhai; for in all probability<sup>2</sup> Mani was a native of Gaukhai. It was only

<sup>1</sup> See the itinerary used Ibn Rūstah, 185<sup>12-13</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schneider, *ibid.*, p. 23. Gaukhai is mentioned in the opening words of the chapter on the Manichaeans in the *z. al-fihrist* (328<sup>1</sup>) where one expects to find the name of Mani's birthplace stated. However, the decisive words are hopelessly corrupted. Fleischer's restoration of the text (accepted by Flügel in his edition, and followed also by me, *Orientalia*, v, 84 sqq.) is no longer tenable. It involves (1) a wrong name, Qunāh instead of *dar* Qunāh, (2) the existence of a "bishop of the Arabs" in Gaukhai in the third century (an absurdity), (3) the misstatement that originally Mani had been a Christian bishop (similar although less important fabrications are occasionally found in purely Christian sources, e.g. *Chronicle of Seert*, cf. Sachau, *ibid.*, p. 38, and Bar Ebrāyā, *Hist. of the Dynasties*, 120 n. 53, Salhani). Although the correct restitution of the passage eludes me, I should like to propose *النهرين من نهر جوتي* (= *an-Nahrāwīn*) in the place of *الريان من اهل جوتي*. According to al-Beruni (*Chronology*, 208<sup>1-2</sup>), who quotes Mani's own writings, the prophet was born in the

fitting that the last place Mani visited before his death was the one from which he had started on his life's journey.

I take this opportunity to publish another Parthian fragment (*T ii D 163*) which belonged to the same book as the text given above, and to republish the Middle-Persian fragment *M 3* which was first made available by F. W. K. Müller (*HR.*, ii, pp. 80 sqq.). Since the first edition the page of *M 3* has been completed through the discovery of a small scrap (*T i D 51*) which originally formed part of it.<sup>1</sup>

*T ii D 163*

*Recto page, second column*<sup>2</sup>

(1) ]wxyb(y)[y ]d

(Two lines left blank)

(2) nš ptyg 'n nys'n dyd

(3) ['w]d w'o['d] wyn'm

(4) (qy)rbkr ['](b)r pdr'zt

(5) 'wd cw[nd] (r)wc tygr

(6) ]t 'wm

(lines missing)

*Verso page, first column*<sup>3</sup>

(7) p(d)m(w)[g ]wzrg .[

(8) dyrd [ ] kw p(t)

(9) 'drg'wyf(t) pd {ʔʔ'}(h)yg'n

(10) br fr'x 'dyhyd u 'zyhyd

(11) 'dy'n qyr(d)[y](r)<sup>4</sup> mebyd (')[d]

(12) 'dy'wr'n ky {pr}(x)<sup>5</sup> t prw'u

(13) š'h 'nd[yš']<sup>6</sup> u rsk

(14) [']wd n(b)[yn ?

Translation: "Furthermore, Patecius<sup>7</sup> saw another<sup>7</sup> sign and

village of مردین on the upper کونی canal. However, the canal of Kōthā lay far to the west, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. It is tempting to restore ڪوئى and explain it as a transcription of Qanthai peculiar to al-Beruni. As to مردینو (otherwise unknown), this is obviously corrupt and should be brought into agreement with 'bramy', the name of Mani's birthplace according to Theodor bar Koni (see Schaefer, *ibid.*, p. 23, n. 3); hence to be read روميا or روم. ?

<sup>1</sup> See *EDMG.*, 90, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The first column is missing.

<sup>3</sup> The second column is missing.

<sup>4</sup> Only the point on top of the r is visible.

<sup>5</sup> Or possibly 'nd[ydyd].

<sup>6</sup> On the spelling of this name in MPer. see Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> 'n = 'ny is very rare, cf. *HBB.*, s.v.



spoke (thus): I see<sup>1</sup> that the Pious One (i.e. Mani) has got up and for several days the Tigris ..... (lacuna) ..... garment .... great .... held .... that majestically he enters and leaves<sup>2</sup> the wide Royal (1)<sup>3</sup> Gate. Thereupon Kerdēr the Magbed (Mōbed) planned with his friends who served before the king, and .... jealousy and cunning. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

## M 3

(Recto) (1) 'md k3 'n nwhs'dg (2) 'yg trkwm'n 'wd kwštyh (3) d(h).r<sup>5</sup> 'wd 'bzxy' 'y p'rsyg (4) '[mwšt] bwd hym oo 'wd š'h (5) n'n xwnln'bzmbwd oo 'wš (6) dat 'hawne nyšwat oo u (7) 'dyd hndps'nyg'n 'wš'n (8) gwpt kw m'ny 'md 'wd pd (9) dr 'yštȳd oo 'wd š'h 'w (10) xwd'wn pyg'm pryt'd kw (11) 'yw m'n p'y d' 'n xwd 'w (12) tw 'y'n oo 'wd xwd'wn 'h'e (13) 'w 'yw kwstg 'yg wyng nšt (14) oo d' š'h dat šwat oo oy (15) xwdyo 'w nheyr prapn bwd (16) oo 'wd 'c xwrn<sup>6</sup> 'wl 'xyt (17) 'wš dš(t)<sup>7</sup> 'yw 'br ag'n (18) b'nb(y)šn 'bgnd oo

<sup>1</sup> The wording seems to suggest that the story was told in the form of a prediction by Paterius. The muddle in the tenses may be due to mistranslation from Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> Probably = "he passes through the gate." Read 'rg'wygt.

<sup>3</sup> Partially illegible word. Probably the name of one of the gates of Belasai. The passage evidently refers to the imprudently ostentatious entry into the capital by Mani. Cf. *Man. Hom.*, 43<sup>vi</sup> sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M 4 b 15 *az adān . . . dardōg wadāgar* "cunning Greed . . . malicious lust" (a remarkable translation of the word *šbyn* in this passage was given by Schneider, *Usporn*, p. 118, n. 1: *šbyn* = NPers. *šbīn*). But possibly "the cunning of the Greed" would be a more correct rendering, as in other passages *šbyn* is a substantive: *wt* [ . . . ] 'zš'dyft oo *šbyn* 'w[ . . . ] 'c mrdw'm'w wpyd [ . . . ] 'wd p'wyd "He experiences and suffers much distress, malice and . . . from the side of mankind" (M 295 III 5-7); *šbyn* 'wd dyšr plemzē gyf š gā'n mayd 'd hro p'wš "Cainphas the High Priest and all Jews clothed themselves in malice and wrath" (M 734 R 7-9). One could derive *adān* from Parthian *adn* (*Mir. Mon.*, ii, and *BSOS.*, IX, p. 82, where also *šbyn*), assuming the sporadic interchange of a voiced plosive with the nasal of the same group. Such interchange is well attested for the labials (mostly in words containing a nasal sound), for example Pahl. *angamān*: Pers. *angahān*, Pahl. *mag*: Pahl. and Pers. *mag*, MPers. *mag*, NPers. *mag*: Orit. *mag* (see *Sophran*, p. 46), Saka *mag* (Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, p. 120): Av. *magman*. A case in point is provided by the place-name *Mawdali* (between Kadra and Khaniqin) from MPers. *\*Fandānig*, *\*Bandānig* (Arab Geogr. *Bandanisia*, etc.: see Le Strange, *op. laud.*, emendations to the second printing), where we have *m* from *b*, and *l* from *n* (cf. *r* from *n* in MPers. *xwamr*, etc.). It is more difficult to find cases of *d*/*n*. There is, of course, MPers. *nōyg* (Sogd. *nyyk*), if from OPers. *dipi*, to fall back on; cf. also the case of Pers. *panām*.

<sup>5</sup> *dh'r*? *dhur*? The reading *dhur* (*Andrew*) is hardly correct. One should have the *iqāsh* between *k* and *dhur*. More likely *d* . . . is a personal name.

<sup>6</sup> Müller: *xwrn*. There is a break in the paper after *w*, but I do not believe a letter has been lost.

<sup>7</sup> The reading *re[s]* is incorrect: no point has broken off.

'wd yk (19) 'br k(y)[r]dyr<sup>1</sup> 'y 'rdw'ng'[n] 'wā (20) pr'o ['w] xwd'wn  
 'md oo ['wā] (21) [p]d ar (sx)wn 'w xwd'wn 'wā (22) gwpt<sup>2</sup> [kw] (m)  
 (dr)[y]st<sup>3</sup> 'wr oo (23) ['wā xwd'w]n 'b'e gwft<sup>4</sup> kw (Verso) (24) cym r'y  
 tyswm wynst ooo (25) 'wd (š)'h gwft: kwm swgnd xwd (26) oo kwt  
 pd 'yn zmyg ny hyl['](')n (27) rā[yd]<sup>5</sup> oo 'wā pd xyām 'w x[wd']wn  
 (28) 'wā gwpt kw 'yy pd cy (29) 'b'yān hyd oo k' ny 'w (30) k'ryc'r  
 šwyd 'wd ny nheyhr (31) kwnyd oo 𐭠 'wh'y 'yn bāylkyh (32) r'y 'wd  
 'y<sup>6</sup> dnm'n bwrān r'y (33) 'b'yān hyd oo 'wd 'ync ny (34) kwnyd oo 'wā  
 xwd'wn pswx 'wā (35) d'd 𐭠 (nm) pd 'ām'h tyswc (36) ny wynst  
 oo (cym) myšg kyrbggy (37) kyrd pd 'ām'h 'wī'n pd (38) twhmā'n  
 oo 'wd wā 'wd pr(h)yd (39) hng 'y 'ām'h kym dyw<sup>7</sup> u (40) drwxš 'eyš  
 𐭠 (') [bwr](d) oo 'w[d] (41) wā bwd hynd oo k[ym] 'c (42) wy(m)'ryh  
 'xyzn'd [h](y)nd oo 𐭠 (43) wā bwd hynd ky[m] th (44) 'wd rrx 'y  
 ond (s)[']rg<sup>8</sup> 'eyš (45) 'n'pt oo 'w[d] wā bwd hynd<sup>9</sup> (46) [k]y 'w mrg  
 md 'wmy[š]n . . . .

Translation: " . . . . . [Mani] . . . . . came [viz. to the audience of  
 King Bahram I] after he had [called together]<sup>10</sup> me, Nūhādāg<sup>11</sup>  
 ( . . . Bar-Nūh) the interpreter, Kuštai, 𐭠 . . . . and Abzakhyū<sup>12</sup> the  
 Persian. The king was at his dinner-table<sup>13</sup> and had not yet finished  
 his meal.<sup>14</sup> The courtiers entered and said (to the king): Mani has  
 come and is standing at the door. The king sent this message to the  
 Lord (i.e. Mani): wait a moment until I can come to you myself.

<sup>1</sup> The second letter is clearly *y* (thus also Müller and Andreas), certainly not the  
 lower part of *n*. There is a gap in the paper above *k* (therefore might be *z*). One letter  
 is missing before *dyr*. The restoration of *kadyr* (Salemans), or *xydyr* (Andreas, *apud*  
 Barr, *Pahl. Pap.*, p. 133), is therefore excluded.

<sup>2</sup> Seen by Müller; now no longer visible.

<sup>3</sup> Or rather *rygy*? Space insufficient for *rygyd* (Salemans).

<sup>4</sup> Copyist's mistake for 'gn.

<sup>5</sup> Not *dyw*(n). 𐭠 *ZII.*, no. 232<sup>o</sup> 4.

<sup>6</sup> *dyh* is equally possible (wrong from Av. *warān*, *warā* = Pahl. *stā*).

<sup>7</sup> Still seen by Müller, now broken off.

<sup>8</sup> *had* *hym* = 1st pers. pl. (incorrect *ZII.*, ix, p. 244).

<sup>9</sup> Obviously the name of Mani's interpreter; hitherto translated "first-born"  
 (in MPers. *azargy*, in Parthian *azard*).

<sup>10</sup> On Kuštai and Abzakhyū see Schaefer, *Orientalia*, ix, p. 343. In the *k. al-jihriat*  
 (إبراهيم) (not إبراهيم) should 𐭠 read in the place of إبراهيم (the mysterious خبرهات *ihid.*,  
 336<sup>o</sup>, 337<sup>o</sup> is clearly none other than Gabriel, جبرائيل).

<sup>11</sup> *bazm būdan* is a compound verb (correctly rendered by Marx, *apud* Salemans,  
*Man. Stud.*, p. 61; the translation proposed by Andreas *apud* Lentz, *ZII.*, iv, p. 282,  
 hardly meets the case: *šā* is certainly not a genitive). *nā xwardan* does not mean  
 "I eat bread", but "to eat", as Hebrew *ākal libām*, NT, *āpor iōblōs*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> 𐭠. "had not yet washed his hands".

The Lord again sat down to one side of the guard<sup>1</sup> (and waited there) until the king should have finished his meal when<sup>2</sup> he was to go hunting.

"The king rose from the table,<sup>3</sup> and putting one arm round the Queen of the Sakas<sup>4</sup> and the other round Kerdēr<sup>5</sup> the son of Ardawān, he came towards the Lord. His first words to the Lord were: You are not welcome.<sup>6</sup> The Lord replied: what wrong have I done? The king said: I have sworn not to let you come to this country.<sup>7</sup> And in anger he spoke thus to the Lord: Eh, what are you good for since you go neither fighting nor hunting? But perhaps you are needed for this<sup>8</sup> doctoring and this<sup>9</sup> physicking? And you don't do even that!

"The Lord replied thus: I have not done you any wrong. Always I have done good to you and your family. Many and numerous were your servants whom I have [freed] of demons and witches.<sup>10</sup> Many were those whom I have made rise from their illnesses. Many were those from whom I have averted the numerous kinds of ague.<sup>11</sup> Many

<sup>1</sup> Salemann: "window(?)"; Andreas: "tent" (*Festgabe f. Th. Nöldeke*, 1910, p. 6). But "tent" is *weyān* in MPers., i.e. *weyān* (to the examples collected by Andreas: Parth. *weh*, Arm. *weh*, Pahl. *weh*, Jewish Persian *weh*, I have added NPers. *weyān*, *Mir. Man.*, II, p. 906; *weyān* should be read also in Pahlavi, in the place of *weh*, *Agādgar-i-Zarērān*, 32, 33). With *weyān* from *weyān* "to see", cf. Arm. *deh* "guard", *dihak* "watch-post"; one also could point to MPers. *\*gōdag* "spy" if from *gōd* "to hear" (and not from *gōdān* "ear").

<sup>2</sup> The use of *weyān* (normally = "because") is not clear, possibly mistranslation of Syr. *weh* *deh* (cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, p. 179)?

<sup>3</sup> *gōdag* here probably = "banquet", etc. (rather than "tent"), cf. *HSOZ.*, X, p. 900.

<sup>4</sup> Usually translated: "queen of the hounds." The correct rendering *weh* at least been considered by Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> Salemann "quiver", Andreas "steed".

<sup>6</sup> I.e. the reversal of the usual formula of greeting (when receiving a friend): *drōst 'weh* (cf. *peh drōst 'weh*, cf. *drōst weh 'weh*, all in *Mir. Man.*, n. where p. 300, n. K, an incorrect translation has been given; *weh 'weh* probably "enter, come", from *weh* = Av. *weh*, *Air.*, III, p. 1320; Pahl. *drōst* *EPHJ* (*Ard. Yr.*, 107) = Aram. *'ty* *hlm*. With the negation also in Pahlavi, *Agādgar-i-Zarērān*, 30.

<sup>7</sup> An evasive answer.

<sup>8</sup> The use of the Persian demonstrative pronoun gives the phrase a perceptibly contemptuous note. The king, who apparently was not very broadminded, does not seem to have been in sympathy with his father's efforts at raising the medical standard in his lands. Under Shapur I Greek and Indian scientific books, especially medical treatises, were translated into Persian (*Dieckard*, 412<sup>1</sup> sqq., III, Madan). Like Mami and his adherents, medical science fell a victim to the reaction which under Bahram set in against Shapur's liberal and enlightened government.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. healed through exorcism.

<sup>10</sup> Pers. *weh* = *lars*.

were those who were ■ the point of death,<sup>1</sup> and I have [revived] them...."

*Kerdēr* ■ the first text is plainly the *Kardel* of the Coptic texts, the man whom the Manichaeans considered the chief instigator of Mani's downfall. His identity with the famous *Krtyr* of the Pahlavi inscriptions (first suggested by Polotsky, *Man. Hum.*, p. 45, n. 2) can now be taken for granted (the spelling of his name in Man. MPers. and Parth. agrees closely with that in the inscriptions). We owe to Professor Herzfeld a sketch ■ the life of *Krtyr*, whom he has identified with *Tansar*, the reorganizer of the Zoroastrian church (*Archaeolog. Hist. of Iran* pp. 100 sqq.). In the recently discovered Great Inscription of Šāpūr I<sup>2</sup> (from about A.D. 262)<sup>3</sup> *Krtyr*, still with the comparatively modest title of *šhrpat* (line 33: *krtvr ZY šhrpt*), is mentioned for the first time, and for the last time he appears in the Paikuli inscription (from about A.D. 294). That *Kerdēr*<sup>4</sup> was his personal name (and not a title) can no longer be in doubt. The nobleman *Kerdēr*, son of *Ardawān*, who is referred to in *M* 3, also appears in Šāpūr's inscription.<sup>5</sup>

That the king who appears ■ the fragment *M* 3 was Bahram I<sup>6</sup> (and not Shapur, as assumed by F. W. K. Müller and others) is proved by the unfriendly tenor of the whole conversation. The *Sakān-Bānhišn*, "Queen of the Sakas," who also participated ■ the conversation, was the wife ■ the then ruling *Sakān-Sāh*, or prince-governor of the south-eastern part of the Sasanian empire. Under Shapur, *Narseh* (his youngest son) had held that position, and *Šāpūhrdxtak* had been his *Sakān-Bānhišn* (*sk'n MLKT*). The advent of King Bahram I probably brought a change, and we may assume that the appointment of his eldest grandson Bahram ■ the post of *Sakān-Sāh* dated already from

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "who came to death." It would probably ■ incorrect to understand the phrase as laying claims to the ability of resurrecting the dead.

<sup>2</sup> In my second paper on this inscription, contributed to the forthcoming *Jackson Memorial Volume*, I have discussed this passage in some detail.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *BSOS*, IX, p. 345.

<sup>4</sup> The original meaning of the word *kerdēr* is something like "efficacious" or "energetic": cf. *BSOS*, IX, p. 84 (the etymology proposed there is ■ cancelled). I fail to see any connection with *kardarigan*, *qardupatu* (?), *propasta*, or *qahramān*; or *qahramān* from \**karθra* (Lagarde) = Arm. *kah* = NPers. *kāh*—see now *Sogdica*, pp. 56 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Persian I. 35, Parthian I. ■.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 9.

the beginning of his reign (AD 273-4).<sup>1</sup> It is therefore likely that the Sakān-Bānbišn mentioned here was the wife of the later King Bahram III.

The text of *M* 3 purports to be an eye-witness account of the conversation, rendered by Mani's interpreter Nūh-zādag. Although Mani knew some Persian and even had composed one of his books in, it is true, somewhat halting Persian, he must have felt his knowledge of that language to be insufficient for an audience that was to decide on his life and the future of his community.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But see Herzfeld, *Kusshian-Sassanid Coins*, pp. 34 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the king accuses Mani of having neglected his medical duties. We know from other sources that the death of a relative of Bahram's, attributed to Mani's alleged negligence, formed one of the pretexts for Mani's incarceration (one of Bahram's sisters, according to *Man. Hom.*, 46<sup>13</sup> <sup>2</sup>, but see *Jibr'il b. Nūh apud Beruni, loc. laud.*, 208<sup>23-1</sup>). As this death apparently had taken place shortly before Mani appeared before the king, while Mani had not attended the court for some three years (cf. *Man. Hom.*, 46<sup>12</sup>; he was hiding in Babylon), this accusation seems to be singularly unfounded. As was to be expected, anti-Manichaean Christian writers have made the most of this story (beginning with the author of the *Acta Archelai*, 93<sup>11</sup> sqq., ed. Beeson; the son of the king: *mortuus est pater in manibus eius vel potius extinctus, etc.*).



## An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn

A TRANSLATION and full explanation of the complete recension of the Bundahishn have been wanted ever since Anklesaria in 1908 published his facsimile edition, the few Iranian scholars having been occupied with the endless stream of fresh material that has descended upon them since the beginning of this century. This article contains a translation of the second chapter; the first and third chapters were made available by Nyberg, *J.A.*, 1929, i, 206-237.

The second chapter, like few other sections of the book, allows us a glimpse of the structure and composition of the "Bundahishn" which are already sufficiently indicated by its correct title, *Zandōgāhīh*, i.e. exposition of information provided by the Pahlavi version of the Avesta. It is an original work on cosmology in which the scattered teachings of the Avesta were co-ordinated and brought into a system by an author who, living presumably towards the end of the Sassanian epoch,<sup>1</sup> possessed an encyclopaedic knowledge of the Avestic literature. The oft-repeated assertion that the Bundahishn were the Pahlavi version of an Avestan *Nask*, the *Dāmdād Nask*, is a myth. It is true that the compiler utilized also the *Dāmdād Nask*, but only as one source among many; others are the *Vendidad*, *Yasna*, *Yashta*, *Nyūyish*, etc.<sup>2</sup> From the resemblance of the contents of ch. xxviii to the Hippocratical treatise *περί ἑβδόμηθων* (believed to have been written about 420 B.C.) Goetzo<sup>3</sup> has argued a very early date for the composition of the *Dāmdād Nask* as the presumed source of the Bundahishn. This cannot be accepted as proved, since there is nothing to show that the *Dāmdād Nask* formed the sole (or even the main) source of the Bundahishn. We are at liberty to assume that a Pahlavi version of the Greek treatise or an epitome made from it (translated

<sup>1</sup> This, however, still remains to be proved. All we know is that the final chapters (xxxi to xxxvi), regarded as a later addition by most scholars, were written in Abbasid times; the date of ch. xxxi, a bowdlerized version of *Vd.*, i (Pahl. tr.), is settled by Baghdād being mentioned (205<sup>11</sup>); confusion of *Sūlik* and *Sūrik*. On ch. xxix see Christensen, *Kayan-shah*, 51-60.

<sup>2</sup> For example, *EE*, 21<sup>2</sup> in 68<sup>1</sup> and 94<sup>1-2</sup> (see below Note A); *Y.* 57<sup>1</sup> (or 3<sup>12</sup>, or *par.*) in 170<sup>1-2</sup>; *Tistr. Ft.* in 63; Pahl. tr. of *Nyūyish* 3<sup>1-2</sup> (pp. 29-31, ed. Dhahhar) in 165; etc. For further details see Christensen, *ibid.*, 47 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Indologie u. Iran.*, vol. ii: supported by Reitzenstein and Schander, *Studien*, 6 sqq., 209, *et passim*.



probably under Shapur I) was among the material utilized in ch. xviii.<sup>1</sup>

The astronomical contents of the second chapter facilitate the analysis of the sources at the disposal of the author. His main source with its nearly prehistoric views (sun and moon farther distant from the earth than the stars; size and velocity of the stars; planets unknown, etc.) is clearly pre-Achæmenian. After contact with the Babylonians the ecliptic, the zodiacal signs, the planets, etc., became known. Acquaintance with Greek science, energetically promoted by Shapur I, brought more modern ideas (e.g. stellar magnitudes, exact data for the elongation of the planets,<sup>2</sup> etc.). The division of the ecliptic into "lunar mansions" was introduced probably as late as A.D. 500.<sup>3</sup> The most ancient views stand beside quite modern opinions. There is no doubt that the author of the Bundahishn knew perfectly well that the moon is nearer to the earth than the fixed stars; to say so, however, against the authority of scripture, would have branded him as a heretic.<sup>4</sup>

#### ON THE CREATION OF THE LIGHTS

[A 25<sup>a</sup>, W 6<sup>a</sup>] Ohrmazd created<sup>5</sup> the Lights and set them between the heaven and the earth: the fixed stars, then the not-fixed stars, then the moon, then the sun. [W 6<sup>a</sup>] After he had first created a sphere, he [A 25<sup>10</sup>] set the fixed stars on it, in particular the following twelve (constellations)<sup>6</sup> whose names are: Lamb, Ox, Two Pictures, Crab, Lion, Spica, Balance, Scorpion, Centaur, Goat,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question whether or not the author of *de Hëbdomadibus* was influenced by Oriental ideas, has no bearing upon the whole problem. "Oriental ideas" and Damiid Nask are not synonymous.

<sup>2</sup> See Note B at the end of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> See Note E at the end of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> A = Great Bundahishn, ed. Anklesaria; W = Indian B. (Westergaard).

<sup>5</sup> There is little doubt that *brishiden* "create" and "predetermine, predestine" derives from *br* "to cut": cf. Av. *taē*, *brama*, etc., "cut" and "create". The *A* compares with that in Man. MPers. *pryāya* "loving", whilst the shortening of palatal vowels in front of *-ā* is exemplified by Parthian *chayt* "love" (commonly mistranslated "glory"), or by Persian *shān* "world" (MPers. *shān*; *sh* as in *fān*, *sh*). The late Pahlavi spelling *brāshān*, etc., is the correct continuation of *brishān*, cf. Pers. *farshāy* from MPers. *farshāy*; indeed, we know that in later times Parth. *frāyft* was pronounced *farshft*. Nyberg's explanation of the verb as an ideogram (JA., 1929, i, 254 sq.) carries little conviction.

<sup>6</sup> A recognition of their Babylonian origin might be found in a Dinkard passage (639<sup>11</sup> sqq., epitomized 435 ult.) where it is told that Zoroaster explained the proper import of the zodiacal circle to the "Wise of Babylon" (*frānānān-i Babelāyigān*).

<sup>7</sup> *chayt* = (young) he-goat, cf. Tavadia, *Set*, 120 (III 28 B). In a Manichaean fragm. (M 235) we have: *chaymūd* .... and *chayt*'s *'c* *chay* = *rd* *dt* *chayān* Matthew 25, III. III. Bakht, *ibid.*

Pail, Fish. In astronomy one also employs their subdivision in twenty-seven lunar mansions<sup>1</sup> [W 6<sup>12</sup>] whose names are: Padavar, Pesh-Parviz, etc.<sup>2</sup>

[A 26<sup>2</sup>, W 6<sup>12</sup>] For all material creatures Ohrmazd has fixed their stations,<sup>3</sup> so that at the moment of the aggressor's arrival they should fight with their particular antagonists and deliver the creatures from their adversaries, in the way of an army and its battalions which are arrayed for a battle (viz. before the fighting starts).

[A 26<sup>3</sup>] For each of those < twelve constellations ><sup>4</sup> 6,480,000 odd stars<sup>5</sup> were created, to assist them (viz. in the great fight). These are now counted as "fixed stars" (*axtar*), and are apart from the countless stars which also are there to assist them.

[A 26<sup>11</sup>, W 7<sup>1</sup>] Over the fixed stars Ohrmazd appointed four Generals, (one) for (each of) the four directions, and over these Generals he appointed a General of Generals.<sup>6</sup> Many stars whose names are known, too many ~~to~~ ~~be~~ counted, were posted to the various districts and stations, for the purpose of invigorating and strengthening the fixed stars.<sup>7</sup> As HE says<sup>8</sup>: "Tishtrya (Sirius) is the General of the East, Sadwā (Antares) is the General of the South, Wanand (Vega) is the General of the West, Haftōrang (Great Bear) is the General of the North, and Māx-i Gāh (Polaris),<sup>9</sup> called also *Māx-i miyān ārmān* (the peg in the centre of the sky),

<sup>1</sup> Read: *uđā ham-bayfānā pad xwīd gwardag amāritmīg*.

<sup>2</sup> For details see Note E at the end of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Read: *hē harciap bundahishn-i gālg mādān az ī kard ādād* (rather than *mānān*), equivalent to: *ut ā harci. bend. . . . mādān t. ā. ; mānād* "house", etc., as Pahl. Ps. m'nd-g, Man. MPers. mānād.

<sup>4</sup> Restored: *harci axtar-i az awān < aī axtarā >*.

<sup>5</sup> Thus TD<sub>2</sub> and Ind. Hd. 6,480,000 is  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 90$ , i.e. the number of *tertiar partes* (sixtieths of a second) contained in an arc of thirty degrees (= one *axtar*). Hence, the total number of fixed stars was retimated as equal to the number of *tertiar partes* in a circle, or 77,760,000. The manuscript Dfl. wrongly has 8,480,000.

<sup>6</sup> Read: *spāhbedān spāhbed-i abar awānān spāhbedān gumārd*.

<sup>7</sup> Read: *pad hamōrīk ud nōrīg-dādārīk-i awānān axtarām*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ēgōn gōrēd* is the usual formula to introduce a quotation. The implied subject of *gōrēd* "he says" is the author of the book or tradition quoted (cf. Arab. *qala* in Muslim books). When the book cited happens to be the Avesta (as in our Bundahishn passage), the subject of *gōrēd* is the author of the Avesta, namely Ohrmazd according to Zoroastrian teaching (cf. Binkard, pp. 9-10). In such cases *Ēgōn gōrēd* (often amplified: e.g. *pad dān*) corresponds to the Muslim formula: *qala* (or *qawala*) *ta'ālā*. The reading *gusfāt* "it has been said" (as if the author of the Avesta were unknown) which Nyberg has proposed for *YNLLWN*. *ys* (JA., 1929, i, 264; Hifšā, ii, 84), not only violates the Pahlavi grammar, but is unacceptable also for semanticological reasons.

<sup>9</sup> See Notes D, F, G at the end of this paper.

is the General of Generals.<sup>1</sup> Pārend, Mazdadād,<sup>2</sup> and others of that kind are Chief District-Commanders."

[A 27<sup>o</sup>] The astronomers nowadays call these stars *inerrantes*,<sup>3</sup> and instead of "large", "small", "medium", they use the expressions "first magnitude", "< second > magnitude", "third < magnitude >".<sup>4</sup>

[A 27<sup>o</sup>] (Ohrmazd) laid out this sphere (i.e. the zodiacal sphere) in the likeness of a year: the twelve constellations (zodiacal signs) like the twelve months, each constellation with its thirty degrees<sup>5</sup> like a month with its thirty nycthemera.

[A 27<sup>u</sup>] He posted the Great Bear to the northern direction where the hell was to be ■ the time of the aggressor's arrival. A tether ties each of the seven continents to the Great Bear, for the purpose of managing the continents during the period of the Mixture. That is why the Great Bear is called *Haftōrang*.<sup>6</sup>

[A 27<sup>u</sup>] Ohrmazd laid out the sphere of the fixed stars in the likeness of a spinning-wheel, so that<sup>7</sup> at the time of the Mixture they (the stars) cou'd start revolving.

[A 28<sup>o</sup>] As another (sphere) on top of these < fixed stars > Ohrmazd placed the Unmixable Stars, for the purpose that at

<sup>1</sup> The remaining portion of the second chapter is omitted in the Indian Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably two of the stars "whose names are known" mentioned before. Pārend = Av. Pārend-? One can hardly read Pārend-i mazdadād.

<sup>3</sup> Read: *astray-i 'wrd'p'ayt* = *a-wyōddān-ly*. The latter word has survived in Persian as *haydān*, according to Ahmed b. 'Abd-al-Jalil Sogdi (cited by S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gūh-Jumrī*, 335, n. 466). "the fixed stars of the first to the third magnitude and the lunar mansions". Since verbs derived from *wyōddān* mean "to lead astray" (*wyōddānīdan*, etc.), it becomes clear that *a-wyōddān-ly* "not subject to being led astray" is a translation of *ānārdg*, *inerrans*. The Persian astronomers naturally preferred this clear term to the ambiguous *axar* (2) fixed star, (2) constellation, (3) zodiacal sign.

<sup>4</sup> The copyists evidently did not understand this passage. They left out two, and wrongly divided one word (*a-hudayn*). Read: *wazurgih-i noxūnān*, *wazurgih-i < dudiyar, wazurgih-i > nidiyar*. The first astronomer to classify the stars according to their "magnitudes" was Hipparchus (second century B.C.): he distinguished six magnitudes.

<sup>5</sup> See Note II at the end of this paper.

<sup>6</sup> These seven tethers constitute the "light" counterpart to the seven fire which connect the seven planets with the lower regions, and through which the planets exercise their influence upon terrestrial events. The inventor of this etymology of *Haftōrang* probably employed the word *rang* "vein" for these lines (*haft rang* "seven veins") for which *band* "tie, tether" has been substituted here. In unpublished Manichaean texts *Alpera rang* (also Sogdian *r'k*) is actually in use for these invisible and indestructible connecting lines (besides words like *band*, cf. e.g. *Mr. Mon.*, I, 196). A Sogdian passage (on the "dark" time, from *M* 178): *'ly* *on wyapay dyatyp ky 'ty wry' 'wricayy rang and wry r'k 'ty pīnd w'nd 'ly pīn'ed*, "They were to and fro roots, veins, and connections from all the demons who were imprisoned in the zodiacal circle." The *Kephalaia*, chaps. 48 and 49, contain a detailed description of these pipe-lines (Coptic *lūme*).

<sup>7</sup> Read: 'YK (DB.).

the time of the aggressor's arrival they should repel him in battle and not let him carry his pollution (lit. "mixing") higher up. As the General over them, Ohrmazd appointed the Tyohs of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians. There it (= the sphere of the Unmixable Stars) is called: "the Corps of the Immortals," the manifestation of purity in the mixed state. They are called "Unmixable Stars" for this reason that at the time of the adversary's < arrival > they were not subjected to becoming mixed. The astronomers < nowadays > use the expression "the sphere above the sphere". This sphere lacks computation and precession (f),<sup>1</sup> since they (i.e. the astronomers) are unable to observe in the pure ones any characteristics of the mixed ones.<sup>2</sup>

[A 28<sup>10</sup>] Over that (sphere) Ohrmazd created the moon "in which the seed of the animals is stored" (= Av. *gaōtiθra*). Over the moon he created the sun "whose horses are swift" (= Av. *auruui aspa*). He appointed sun and moon to the chieftainship over the stars, the mixed ones as well as the unmixable ones, so that all of them should be tied to the sun and the moon. Over the sun he created the Throne of the Amōša Spantās which is in contact with the Endless Light, the throne of Ohrmazd. These are the "six stations", six works corresponding to the six material creatures.<sup>3</sup>

[A 29<sup>1</sup>] Between the earth and the (lower) sphere<sup>4</sup> Ohrmazd placed the wind, the clouds, and the lightning-fire, so that at the time of the aggressor's arrival Tishtrya, with (the help of) the transcendent water,<sup>5</sup> could take the water and cause the rain to fall.<sup>6</sup> He tied these also to the sun, the moon, and the stars. Thus Tishtrya, the General of the East, is the helper and assistant of the lightning-fire, the wind, and the clouds.

[A 29<sup>2</sup>] Among three stars, the large ones are like a piece of rock the size of a room,<sup>7</sup> the medium-sized ones are like a

<sup>1</sup> Read: *nē angārag ud wiθē padē ām ? urkē* "to leave, or progress (in an upwards direction)" (cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 60 sq.) is often confused with *wiθē* "to shake, turn", and with *nīθē* "below", in astrology = "dejection" (S. H. Taqizadeh, *l.c.*, p. 211: "nīst" is a misspelling of *nīθē*).

<sup>2</sup> On the two "spheres" see Note C at the end of this paper.

<sup>3</sup> See Note C at the end of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> Read: *miyān am < ī ud > apār*.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. *pan ZK-y mē mymāy ZK*, to be read: *pan ZK MY'-y mymāykyt* ! Cf. 37<sup>4</sup> *Tātr . . . hān āh nānēd. mēnōgikā ā wād ābišpārdē*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Read *lylū* (TD, *lūšyūl*) *MY' YNSHWN-yt, w'l'n w'lynyt*. Cf. 62<sup>12</sup>, 67<sup>4</sup>, 130<sup>12</sup>, 136<sup>1-2</sup>, 137<sup>1</sup>, etc.

<sup>7</sup> *šp-i kē-mēd* is evidently the same as Av. *aspa* *lūš-māš* Yt. 17, 20, cf. Yd. 19, 4. "Stone" fits also *šp-i*. 19<sup>12</sup> where Nyberg (*J.A.*, 1929, i, 222, 291) offers the reading: *šp-murr* ! In that passage it is related that before the creation of the plants, etc., one-third of the surface of the earth was "hard" *šp-d'* (read

rolling<sup>1</sup> wheel,<sup>2</sup> the small ones like the head of the domesticated ox.<sup>3</sup> The moon is the size of a racecourse of two *hāthras*, each geographical *hāthra* being about as much as a parasang of average length.<sup>4</sup> The sun is the size of *Ērān-veš*.

[A 29<sup>12</sup>] Before the aggressor's arrival, the moon, the sun, and the stars stood still, did not revolve. In purity they passed the time. It was noon perpetually. After the aggressor's arrival, they started revolving, and they will not stop revolving until the end (of the world).

[A 30<sup>13</sup>] The velocity of the sun is that of a large three-feathered arrow which a large man shoots<sup>5</sup> from a large bow. The velocity of the moon is that of a medium-sized three-feathered arrow which a medium-sized man shoots from a medium-sized bow. The velocity of the stars is that of a small three-feathered arrow which a small man shoots from a small bow.<sup>6</sup> Among the fixed stars the following have the greatest velocity<sup>7</sup>: *Tishtrya* (Sirius), *Bahn* (Betelgeuse),

■'s'e = *sangadr* = stony or rocky country, another was *gard-āpand* "filled with sand" (Nyberg: *gyard āpand* / Cf. 136<sup>11</sup> *yak ud gard* = 140<sup>14</sup> *M Y' J' H* = 'p' = *yak ud gard* / *ind-i gardag* "sand-storm" /). Another clear passage is 140<sup>1</sup> where *ē* alternates with *eng* 136<sup>14</sup>. Considering that *ē* is (1) an ideogram, (2) the equivalent of *sang* "stone", it can be hardly anything but a strongly corrupt spelling of *K P P'* (Frak., xvi, 3: *Syr. k'p' = k'p'*). We have to keep apart the *ē* of Frak., vii, 1 (one of the worst lines in that book) on which Nyberg based his explanation.

<sup>1</sup> Uncertain. The word (deceptively resembling *padīxw* "thriving") recurs 44<sup>8</sup> as "revolving".

<sup>2</sup> Rarely *dāragdā* "spinning-wheels"? Possibly to be read *d'hyk'o'a* = *dāragdā*, cf. Man. M'Pers. *r'at'o'a* "circuit, circumference" (= Pahl. *r'at'o'a* "Gr.Bd. 219<sup>10</sup>, corrupted "rāt-widā" Jamspe, vii, 2, p. 49, ed. Mowla? But see Pahl. Riv. Id. 49<sup>11</sup>, p. 180, ed. Dhabhar).

<sup>3</sup> A similar comparison was contained in a lost Avestic text from which a few words are quoted in the *Frakans*: *Oim*, iv a, p. 15, III. Reichelt: "And the smallest of those stars are like the head of a medium-sized man."

<sup>4</sup> The Avestic original in our passage probably merely said: "The moon is *darat-moasth*." On measures see Note A at the end of this paper.

<sup>5</sup> The present is spelt *uā* in Man. M'Pers. texts (e.g. in *M 810*), i.e. *uā* from *Qlr. wid-* (= Yaghnobi *wid-*, Pahlavi *wid-*, etc.), cf. the *ā* in *Parachi yuh*.

<sup>6</sup> Since the sun reappears in the same meridian about four minutes later than a star, and the moon 52-7 minutes later than the sun, we should expect the statement that the stars were swifter than the sun, and the sun swifter than the moon. However, according to the Bundarishn the lunar and solar spheres are further from the earth than the sphere of the stars so that, to keep pace with the stars, sun and moon have to travel at a considerably greater velocity to cover the greater distances of their orbits.

<sup>7</sup> This statement is puzzling. That the "fixed" stars possess "proper motion" is a modern discovery (made by Halley in a.e. 1718), and the stars enumerated here (— lunar mansions 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, and Sirius) are not noteworthy for particularly great proper motion (except for Sirius and Procyon). Possibly the text means that the apparent absolute distance travelled by stars close to the equator is greater than that covered by stars near the poles during the same time (the angular distances measured in right ascension being equal): hence stars in proximity to the equator would appear to move quicker than others. Even so it is difficult to understand the reason for selecting only the stars enumerated here (all of which are fairly close to the equator).

\**Triṣag*<sup>1</sup> (Canis minor), "*Aparak*" (ζ Hydrae, etc.), "*Padēvar*" (β, γ Arietis?), and *Pēt-Pariēt*: (α Arietis, etc.).

[A 30<sup>2</sup>] The interval of time<sup>3</sup> from the sun's leaving a fixed star until his reaching it again<sup>4</sup> is as much as thirteen months<sup>5</sup> . . . . .

#### NOTES ON ASTRONOMICAL TERMS, ETC.

A. Measures	E. Lunar mansions
B. Degree and minute	F. Satavaēsa
C. The spheres	G. Vanant
D. Polaris	H. Tištryaēni

**A. Measures.** The Pahlavi commentators of Sassanian times did not know (and could not be expected to know) the exact value of the measures mentioned in the Avestic texts. Their lack of information is most noticeable in their comments on Av. *hāθra*, the basic OIr. road-measure, the length of which they determined variously as a parasang or a quarter-parasang. This is due to the fact that the measures current in Sassanian Persia were fundamentally different from those employed in ancient times. In the case of the *hāθra* they merely substituted the common road-measures of their own period. For the determination of the real length of the *hāθra* this has as much value as a modern translator's use of the word "mile" equally for, e.g. Russ. Verst and Pers. Farsang.

As regards the measures for short distances, the Avestic system, or rather that of the Vendidad and the Nirangistan, so closely resembles the common Greco-Roman system, as a whole and in all details, that its foreign origin can be taken for granted. It was presumably introduced into Persia by the Macedonian conquerors. The comparative table given below may be of use:—

1 finger <i>δδερνλος</i>	Av. <i>man</i> Pahl. <i>angust</i> "finger-breadth".
2 fingers <i>δδδνλος</i>	Av. <i>lasi</i> , ( <i>bidi</i> ), Pahl. <i>lās</i> "joint of a finger".
4 " <i>παλαιονή</i>	Av. <i>alti</i> "palm".
8 " <i>διδίς</i>	Av. <i>uz-alti</i> ("super-alti") = 2 palms.
10 " <i>λῆξις</i>	Av. <i>didi</i> "short span" (thumb and forefinger).

<sup>1</sup> See Note H at the end of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> *miyām-drang*. On *drang* "period" see Zschner, *BSOS.*, ix, 319, 584.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. a sidereal year.

<sup>4</sup> Read *BYRH-xiii* (in the place of *BYRH-i* iii). Sidereal months are meant here. Thirteen sidereal months (355.17 days) are about as much as twelve synodical months (354.36 days), although rather less than a sidereal year.

<sup>5</sup> The text is corrupt. I have failed to find the correct restitution. One could read *YNSHWN-yt* in the place of *YNSHWN-yt* (or *dōdān*), and *SBEWN-yt* in the place of *SDFTWN-yt*.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably merely different spellings of the same word.



12	..	σπιθαρή	Av. <i>spīstī</i> , Pahl. <i>spīst</i> " (normal) span ". <sup>1</sup>
16	..	πούς	Av. <i>paδs</i> , Pahl. <i>pāy</i> " foot ". <sup>2</sup>
24	..	πῆχυς	Av. <i>frārdāni</i> , Pahl. <i>frārd</i> " cubit ".
48	..	βήμα of 3 ft. (Macedonian)	Av. <i>gāys</i> , <i>gāman</i> , Pahl. <i>gām</i> " pace ". <sup>3</sup>
96	..	ἄγυις	Av. <i>rīdāra</i> (Pahl. <i>jūd-nāy</i> ) " fathom ". <sup>4</sup>
160	..	πέλαγος (ἄγκυρα)	Pahl. <i>nāy</i> " roed, pole, perch ". <sup>5</sup>

Of different origin are the *hāθra* and its multiples, in particular the *tačar-* or *čaratu-* (*čarčā-*). These measures which are mentioned in texts older than the bulk of the Vendidad (Yashts, etc.), are originally Iranian, derived from horse-racing, a peculiarly Iranian sport. A *hāθra* is the length of a racecourse, a *čaratu* is a full round of the course, equalling two *hāθras* (*čaratu* : *hāθra* = δίαυλος : στάδιον). On Boghazköi *ra-ša-an-na* (cf. Parth. *r'it-ia-n*, *'xtr-wzn*) = Av. *čaratu-*, *tačar-* (cf. Parth. *tačr*) = MPers. *asprēš*, see Markwart, *Gāthā Ust.*, p. 3. Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, pp. 169 sq. If we can accept the length indicated by Herzfeld, *l.l.*, p. 170, a *hāθra* would be about 700 metres long (3½ furlongs), roughly the length of the Greek (πνικόν (4 stadia).

As stated above, the Pahlavi commentators define the *hāθra* as either the parasang or the quarter-parasang. Thus in the Bundahishn passage (29<sup>1</sup>) translated above: 1 *hāθra* = 1 *frasang-i paimānīg* = parasang of normal, average length. The word *paimānīg* (from *paimān* " correct measure, not too much and not too little ") in connection with measures has the same value as the Greek μέτριος (cf. *μ. πῆχυς*, Herodotus, i, 178); it is peculiarly applicable to the parasang the length of which was variable. In *Gr.Bd.* 100<sup>a</sup>, 12 *ī frasang* renders the word *hāθra* of Yt. 8<sup>10</sup>, 20. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> The height of the average man is eight *ritāsi* acc. to the Indian Bundahishn ch. xxvi (= *Gr.Bd.* 162<sup>1</sup> wrongly: six v.), or his own *māda* in *Gr.Bd.* 189<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The *Frashang-i Oim* chapter on measures (xxvii) opens with the absurd statement that fourteen *angust* were a *paδs*. It should have been obvious that 14 is merely a copyist's error for 16. In the same chapter the *ritāsi* is described as of 12 *angust*, and the *frārdān* (= 2 *ritāsi*) is defined as 14 *paδs*. Hence, 1 *paδs* = 18 *angust* (as it should be).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the pace of 3 feet (grades) was also known, if *ZK* in *Frash. Oim*, xxvii a, line 4: *čarčāzādaya*, *čand* 100 *angust*, should be a blunder for the numeral sign for 4 (cf. Bartholomae s.v.). At any rate, Av. *gāman* is always of 3 feet. An alternative expression for *gāman* is *frōdānu* + 1 *ritānu*, see Bartholomae s.v.

<sup>4</sup> Sogdian 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 (*Dāyāna* 88) renders Chinese 八咫, a measure of eight *ch'ia* (each of ten *ts'ün* " inches "). In the same passage, Chinese " 16 *ch'ia* " is translated as " 16 *kyō't'y* ". As F. Weller, *Monumenta Serica*, ii, p. 394, rightly remarks one must conclude that the *kyō't* is the eighth part of the *kyō't* = Av. *rīdāra*, i.e. a span. This agrees with the meaning of connected words in modern East-Iranian dialects (Shughni *wāšed* " span ", etc.), cf. Morgenthau, *HFL.*, ii, 262. The Sogdian translator took Chin. *ch'ia* for " span ", not " foot " (as European translators commonly do).

<sup>5</sup> Common in Pahlavi texts, cf. e.g. Nyberg, ii, 154, s.v. *nōš* (where *nāy-i paimānīg* should be read = perches of correct measure, or average length). Occasionally, *nāy* is used in the place of *jūd-nāy* (thus *Gr.Bd.* 189<sup>a</sup>).



a *hāθra* is the fourth part (*čāhār-θrag*) of a parasang acc. to *Gr.Bd.* 113<sup>4-5</sup>. Referring to the circumference of Yima's Var which is  $\frac{1}{4}$  *čaratu* in *Vd.* 2<sup>25</sup>, the author of the *Gr.Bd.* states that its eight *hāθras* equal two parasangs (68<sup>3</sup> and 94<sup>4-7</sup>; the numeral signs are somewhat miswritten). A different way of expressing the same relation is used *Gr.Bd.* 161<sup>12/14</sup>: a geographical *hāθra* is a parasang of 1,000 *gām-i dā pōy*, i.e. 1,000 paces of the two feet = *milia passuum*, as West, *SBE.*, v, 98, correctly translated. It need hardly be said that the translation: 1,000 paces of 2 feet each (as proposed by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 522, and others), although linguistically unobjectionable, is entirely out of the question. In Sassanian times the Persians, of course, were familiar with the Roman mile. According to Zādspram, vi, 8 (K 35, fol. 239r. 2), the minimum-parasang was of 20,000 feet: this is the standard number of *Roman* feet in four Roman miles = one parasang.

Three definitions for the *hāθra* are given in the *Frah. Giv.* xxvii (of Tavadia, *Šnt.*, III sq.): "the medium geographical *hāθra* (A) which one also calls *frasang*, (B) equals 1,000 paces of the two feet, (C) the walking of which is measured as equalling the passing of the time of the medium *hāθra* of the nychthemeron." In other words: (A) *hāθra* = parasang, (B) = quarter-parasang, (C) = parasang. (C) contains the common definition of the parasang as an hour's way. This interrelation of time and distance is correct for the parasang, not however for the *hāθra*, the ancient racecourse measure, despite the employment of the word *hāθra* for measures of time which arose in a later period and in a different stage of cultural development.

The same passage shows the true value of the "medium time-*hāθra*", as the hour. This can be proved also in a different way. According to much-quoted Pahlavi passages the longest day (night) is of 12 *hāθras*, the shortest day (night) of 6 *hāθras*, i.e. the longest day (night) was defined as of  $\frac{1}{12} \times 24 = 2$  hours, the shortest night (day) as of  $\frac{1}{6} \times 24 = 4$  hours. The *hāθra* employed here equals  $\frac{1}{12}$  hours (1 h. 20 m.), or in other words, it is the hour ( $\frac{1}{12}$  day) as measured on the longest day. Since we know that the time-*hāθras* were of variable length, we cannot escape the conclusion that they were simply *unequal hours* (*ōpaš karpušai*), i.e. a *hāθra* = the twelfth part of the natural day from sunrise to sunset.<sup>1</sup> This system of *unequal hours* (which from Babylon was introduced

<sup>1</sup> As far as I know this has not been understood before.

in Greece, too) is naturally inconvenient as such hours vary not only from day to day, but also according to the parallel of latitude. To gain an absolute measure of time it is necessary to choose the hour of a fixed day as a certain latitude as the standard unit. While the Babylonians very properly chose the hour of the days of equinox (i.e. the only days of equal length for all latitudes), the Iranians took three hours, viz. the hour of the longest day, the shortest day, and the "medium" day, evidently = equinoctial day. The relation of the lengths of these days is as  $16^h : 12 : 8$ , the corresponding *hāθras* are 1 h. 20 m., 1 h., and 40 m. Accordingly, the longest day (of 16 hours) comprises 12 longest *hāθras*, or 16 medium *hāθras*, or 24 shortest *hāθras*. In the *Frahang-i Oīm*, xxvii b, a scribe has "corrected" these figures and written: the longest day has 12 longest, 18 medium, or 24 shortest *hāθras*, probably because he had in mind the relation of the day-lengths which is indeed  $12 : 18 : 24$ .

*B. Degree and minute.* The word for "degree" (of a circle) is spelt *nes* here (27<sup>10</sup>). Somewhat contorted it also occurs in the *thema mundi* (51\*), see Taqizadeh, *Gāh-i-mārī*, p. 326, where a tentative reading (*ning*) is given. In another passage (53<sup>11</sup> aqq.) we have both "degree" and "minute": the maximum elongation of the outer planets is 180 *nes-y* (i.e. *nes* or *stek*) = degrees, that of Mercury is 1,350 (1 MSS. 1,850) *lpyh*, and that of Venus 2,831 *lpyh* = minutes (i.e.  $22^\circ 30'$ , and  $47^\circ 11'$  respectively). It seems that *lpyh* is corrupted from *lpy<t>yh* = Greek λεπτή "minute" (cf. also Skt. *lptā*, and Chin. *li-to*, see Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, 160 [184] n.).<sup>1</sup> As to "degree", the Pahlavi word could be analysed in several hundred different ways, but at first sight one would read *sus* or *suf*. Now, in an unpublished Manichaean Sogdian fragment dealing with the movement of the

<sup>1</sup> The longest day is 16 hours long at the latitude of  $48^\circ 43'$  (obliquity of the ecliptic =  $23^\circ 43'$ , as in the year  $\pm 0$ , or rather, if "day" = time of visibility of any part of the sun disc, and allowing for refraction, at lat.  $47^\circ 20'$ ). Including twilight, the proper latitude would be  $48^\circ$  approx. (allowing 1 h. 24 m. for morning + evening twilight, assumed to begin and end at the sun's zenith distance of  $97^\circ$ ): at lat.  $36^\circ$  the longest day + twilight = 15 h. 51 m., and 15 h. 44 m. at lat.  $36^\circ$ . We can perhaps say that the longest day of the Pahlavi texts is based on conditions prevailing in Northern Persia, but that its length was rounded off to be twice that of the shortest night. The shortest day was simply decreed to be of equal length with the shortest night, without having regard to actual conditions. However, the entire scheme may have been borrowed from the Babylonians (cf. e.g. *Book of Enoch*, chaps. 72 aqq.).

<sup>2</sup> This explanation seems preferable to taking *lpyh* (*lpyh*, *lpy'*) for the ideogram for *relak* (*relak*) "young child" (cf. Bailey, *ESOS.*, vii, 70 aqq.), hence possibly = "small, minute"; the ideogram in question was originally *lpy'* (*relak*).

moon, a word *sus* occurs which seems to be "degree" (*w'frydd sus wrygh bet c'frydd ptem' w'byh* "the resulting number indicates the number of degrees passed", M 767). It is doubtful if the word can be derived from Greek αὔρα, Babl. *sussu* "sixty, a unit of sixty", as the latter does not seem to have been used for "sixty minutes = a degree". The change in the sibilants (*šukku*: Sogd. *suk*: Pahl. *sus* or *sut*) might be due to dissimilation.<sup>1</sup>

C. *The Spheres*. The Zoroastrians originally distinguished four spheres: (1) stars, (2) moon, (3) sun, (4) paradise, to which the "station of the clouds" is sometimes added as a fifth and lowest. A locus classicus for this division is a passage from the Hadokht Nask apud Jamasp-Asana, Pahl. Texts, p. 172 (cf. also Barthélemy, *Guj. Ab.*, p. 55): *mānō stārō mndhō hvarō anyra mōd*, Pahlavi translation "cloud-station, star-station, moon-station, etc." (*Air. Wb.*, 1168 s.v. *mānō*, to be corrected accordingly). Cf. Y. I, 16, etc.

The later scheme of six spheres (or seven, with the "clouds") is due partly to mere juggling with numbers (six Amata Spentas, seven with Ohrmazd, etc.; cf. *Gr.Bd.* 194<sup>3</sup> sqq.), but partly to the desire to fit in astrological concepts which (coming from Babylonia) had gained such wide acceptance in Persia that the leaders of the Zoroastrian Church could withhold their official recognition no longer. With this purpose in view the "station of the stars" was split up in two: the "Unmixable Stars" and the "Sphere" *par excellence*, i.e. the sphere of the ecliptic (including the spheres of the planets), which according to the astrologers exercises a far-reaching influence upon terrestrial beings and events. Together with the idea of this sphere (which is entirely alien to the original Zoroastrianism), the word for it was borrowed: Pahl. *spīhr*, New Pers. *spīhr* = σφαῖρα. The derivation of *spīhr* from Old Iranian which Noeldeke proposed (*Pers. Stud.*, i, 36 sqq.), is not convincing.<sup>2</sup> The *-h-* is due to faulty analogy (*mīhr*, widely pronounced *mīr*; hence

<sup>1</sup> Another hitherto unrecognized MPers. word of Babylonian origin is Men. MP. *šed'ē* "companion" (in *Amosusā*, B.H.S.; differently Isak, *JSTOS*, ix, 230) = Akkadian *šadpa* (Syr., etc., *šadpā*, *šadpā*). In unparallelled Parthian texts *šadpān* "best man (at a wedding)" occurs, also originally Akkadian, cf. Syr. *šadpānā*. In MPers. fragments I noticed *mī'ē* "indolent" Akk. *māluhu* (Syr. *mullāhū*).

<sup>2</sup> The name *Sphēridates* on which Noeldeke based his opinion, does not prove the existence of an Old Ir. word *spīhr* "heaven" (anyway, *spīhr* is not "heaven", but "sphere", hence also "fate"). For all we know, *Sphēridates* could mean "having white teeth, *leucodons*" (Av. *dātā*, Pahl. *dāt* "tooth"). The first to suggest the identity of *spīhr* with σφαῖρα was Lagarde.

*spīr* > *spīhr*).<sup>1</sup> Its unstymological nature is established by the spelling *\*rpyr* in Manichaean texts.

Besides the Sphere proper, the only other part of the heavens to which the word *spīhr* is applied, is the "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", cf. e.g. *Gr.Bd.*, 194<sup>12</sup>, *spīhr-ī agumēšān*, *spīhr-ī gumēšānīg* "the sphere free from mixture, and the sphere subject to mixture". This sphere was believed to lie beyond the Sphere proper. Apparently it is based on a stellar zone outside the zone of the ecliptic to which the "mixed" activities (such as eclipses, the movement of the planets, etc.) are confined. The "General" over this sphere is the Tyche (*Farrah*) of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasniāna,<sup>2</sup> i.e. the deity presiding over and embodying the Zoroastrian Church (the term was borrowed by the Manichaeans: MPers. *Farrah-ī Dēn*, Sogd. *šēnī-farn*,<sup>3</sup> Uygur *Nom-gutī*, etc.; the Avestic equivalent is *Vaəuhi Daəna Māzdayasniš*, without *\*aramah-*). In other passages (see below) the "Tyche of the Religion" is compared to a girdle around the sky. The word "girdle" naturally suggests the ζώνη<sup>4</sup> of the ecliptic which, however, cannot be meant here. As there is only one other celestial phenomenon that could be likened to a girdle, we have to conclude that the seat of the "Tyche of the Religion" was assumed to be the Milky Way.<sup>5</sup> The "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", therefore, is the *galactic sphere* (i.e. a sphere the greatest circle of which is the Milky Way); it was believed to encase the lower sphere (the greatest circle of which is the ecliptic). The remark on the "lack of computation and precession (?)"<sup>6</sup> (28<sup>9</sup>) is justified; thus, the galactic latitude of a star is not subject to any change (save proper motion).

The paragraph on the "Unmixable Stars" has been translated (somewhat differently) by Nyberg, *J.A.*, 1929, i, 298 sq. For a proper understanding it is necessary to consider the parallel passage,

<sup>1</sup> A similar case is possibly provided by the Parthian spelling of *zywāhr* "chains" (Pers. *zanjīr*). The routine etymology (*\*zawān/i-dānra-*) is proved false by Sogdian *zywry'ah* (P 2, 106G), in Man. script *zywry'*. Bailey, *HSOR.*, 2, 590, compares Saka *tsungulai*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. *DEM.* 130<sup>12</sup>; Antio, *Pac.T.*, 212, *apn*.

<sup>3</sup> In Sogdian this deity is even dubbed *šymmr'jzn šryy*, *šēn-mazdayasn šryy* (P 140, unpublished; for the spelling, cf. *madym* Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, nr. 37, 6, p. 133). The Manichaeans, it is well known, unblushingly called their own religion (MPers.) *dyn-m'ndyē*, *dēn-mōndē*.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek word appears in Parthian as *zawne* (*Mir. Man.*, iii). The spelling is distressing, but not more startling than that of *špōnos* in Parthian: *trayn* (*ibid.*, where the translation is wrong).

<sup>5</sup> Under its common Persian designation, the galaxy is briefly referred to 60<sup>1</sup>. The interpretation of *Farno* 0, 26, by Junker, *Asm-Yord.*, p. 102, is unacceptable.

71<sup>a</sup> sqq.: the tenth battle was fought by the Unmixable Stars when they did not let (*ŠBEWN-t*) the darkness and sinfulness carry their pollution higher up. As HE says: "He put on the Tyche of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians like a girdle, i.e. like a *kusfig*, decked with stars, by spirits made, three-fold with four knots, around the sky in that station." These stars were fighting in <her> company until the end. As I have written above,<sup>1</sup> there it is called "the Corps of the Immortals", demonstrating<sup>2</sup> purity in the mixed state. The comparison to the *kusfig* is further elaborated 193<sup>11</sup> sqq. The Avestan passage quoted here is very similar to *Yasna* 9, 26. See also *Dd., Pars.* xxxviii, III sqq. (pp. 117 sq. *Anklesaria*).

In the preceding pages, *mādiyān-razm* (or *mādiyān-ī razm*) has been rendered: the Corps of the Immortals (Nyberg, loc. cit., *le liere de la bataille*). It seems to me that *mādiyān-razm* is a variation on the Sassanian designation of the "Immortals" which is known to us only from Armenian sources, as *gund-n matean*, or *matenik gund-n* (see Huebschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 192). The "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", interposed between the higher heavens and the zone of the dark powers, constitutes the last line of defence for the Light; hence, some such term as "the Guards" seems a fitting description. The literal meaning of *mādiyān-razm* is presumably "the core of the battle-line" (*gund-n matean* = "the principal battalion"). *mādiyān* "essential, basic, core, capital" (frequent in the *Dinkard*; Zaslner, *BSOS.*, ix, 305<sup>11</sup>, 306<sup>12</sup>, 309<sup>11</sup>, etc., rightly translates "chiefly") should be kept distinct from *mādiyān* "book" (cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kol.*, 58), originally "commemorabilia, memoriae" as Bartholomae, *Mir. Mund.*, v, 16 sq., assumed (now corroborated by a Sogdian gloss, *BBB.*, II, 128 s.r. *m'rdnny*, where the remark on *gund-n matean* is to be cancelled).

D. *Polaris*. The correct reading of the Pahlavi name of the Polar Star has been established by S. H. Taqizadeh (loc. laud., 390 sqq.): *Gāh* and *Mēx-ī Gāh*, while *Mēx-ī miyān āsmān* (an alternative name of the Polar Star according to *Gr.Bd.* 27<sup>1</sup>, 52<sup>1</sup>, etc.) properly should be "zenith", *Mēx-ī azēr camīg* being "midir". It seems to me that a similar designation of the poles or the Polar Star can be traced in the Avesta. *Av. morōm* has been suspected of bein

<sup>1</sup> Thus the author of the *Bundahishn* refers the reader to the passage of the second chapter. Read *cyra* < *ZE-y* > *NPŠH* *myi*, cf. 135<sup>1</sup> et *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *dynd* (DH. *dynd*) is not clear. It should be the equivalent of *paiddāh* (28<sup>1</sup>). Read *dynd*?

the name of a star, or a constellation, by most interpreters of the Avesta (see Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 1174). Unfortunately the Pahlavi translation of Vd. 19, 𐬨𐬀 (the only passage where *marazu* is found) is lost, but the New Persian version adduced by Hoshang Jamsasp, *Vendidad*, p. 640, gives *Gāh* = Polar Star. Furthermore, *marazu* would be the ideal etymon of Ormuri *mašwai*, Pashto *mōšai* "peg" (cf. Morgenstierne, *BVP.*, 50, and *NTS.*, v, 24). Hence, the ordinary meaning of *marazu* apparently was the same as that of Pahl. *māx*, Arab. *matad*, etc. This would also furnish a satisfactory explanation of Av. *marazu* "vertebra" (Kurd., etc., *mul*, *mīl*, etc., "neck") as from "peg, pivot". It seems likely that *marazu*, as "pole", is a translation of Greek *πῶλος* "pivot, axis, pole"; the Avestan passage in which *marazu* is found, is certainly of no great antiquity.

Bartholomae took *marazu* Vd. 19, 42, to 𐬨𐬀 the dual number; we could translate: "the two poles." However, the epithet accompanying *marazu*: "the best fighter among the creatures of both spirits," is obviously well suited to the Polar Star, the "General of Generals". There is no need for examining Hertel's rendering of *marazu* ("Venus") which has already been refuted by B. Geiger, *WZKM.*, xlv, 109 sqq.

*E. Lunar Mansions.* In Iranian, we have four lists of the Lunar Mansions: that of the Bundahishn in Pazend, a Sogdian list in Beruni's *Chronology* (p. 249), a Khwarezmian one given by the same authority (*ibid.*), and the list published by Freiman, *Vestnik Drevnej Istarii*, 2(3), 1936, 43 sqq., from a Sogdian manuscript. Freiman's list is throughout<sup>1</sup> identical with Beruni's *Khwarezmian* list (this has not been clearly recognized by the editor), so that for Sogdian we are left solely with Beruni's indications. An unpublished Manichaean Sogdian MS. (M 549) contained a further list, but only

<sup>1</sup> i.e. wherever the reading is sufficiently clear to enable one to judge. One name (No. 16) has been 𐬨𐬀 out in Freiman's manuscript, evidently by mistake (owing to the similarity of the following names). There are, however, some small differences in the form of the names, those in Beruni's book showing traits typical of Khwarezmian, those in Freiman's list having a distinctly Sogdian aspect. Several of these variations are due merely to the different age of the two lists. Thus we have: No. 1 Fr. *myšpru* = Ber. *ʾyšpr* (*uškāpru*), No. 9 Fr. *my* = Ber. *my*, No. 17 Fr. *š'rūt* = Ber. *š'ryad* (*šāryad*), etc. Noteworthy is No. 13 Fr. *ʾtrōšk* or *ʾtrōšk* = Ber. *trōšk*, the latter form recurring in late Uyyur lists which otherwise give merely the Skt. names, for Skt. *Vikīṣā* (No. 14), see Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, p. 55 (no 1, 18). For No. 24 Freiman's list gives a shortened form, *brōydt* = Beruni Khw. *frōydyθ* = Beruni Sogd. *frōdyθ* (all adapted from Skt. *[pūṣa-]praghaṇa*). Beruni uses an abbreviation for No. 25, *wbyr*, in the place of *wbyr-frōydyθ* = Fr. *pru-brōydt* = Beruni Sogd. *pr-frō* (also shortened) = Man. Sogd. *prw-frōdyθ*; *wbyr* = *whir* is the late Khwarezmian form of the same word as Sogd. *prw* (= Skt. *utṛa-*), Ar. *aparam*.



a few words from its end are preserved. We learn that the total number of the mansions was 28 (ii qmbyy xxx ptšmyrlyy = *duode-triginta*), and that the mansions of m'sy'g = *Pisces* were [frzš] pðš pño frzšpðš 'lyy [ryñ] ngy<sup>1</sup> — Nos. 24, 25, 26 of Beruni's list. This shows that the Manichaean catalogue began with No. 27 = Skt. *Aśvinī*, like the Bundahishn, while Freiman's list and the two lists given by Beruni commenced with the Pleiades = Skt. *Kṛttikā*.<sup>2</sup> For the identification of individual mansions it is important to know that Beruni's Sogdian list agrees most closely of all with Skt. This is manifest in those cases where the name was borrowed from Skt. Thus we have<sup>3</sup> :—

Skt. No. 8 *Mṛgāś* = Sogd. No. 8 = y but No. 9 in Khw. and Fr.  
Skt. No. 26 *Retāś* = Sogd. No. 26 *rēwad*, but No. 27 in Khw. and Fr.

It is a matter for regret that with few exceptions (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, in *Gr. Bd.* 30<sup>7</sup>, 51<sup>4</sup>, 61<sup>11</sup>, 72<sup>4</sup>, etc.) the names of the Pahlavi lunar mansions are preserved only in a Pazend transcription on which West, *SBE.*, v. 11, p. 3, rightly remarked: "the Pazend names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, etc." Lists of the Pazend forms (here not repeated) are available *apud* West, *ibid.*, and Taqizadeh, *loc. cit.*, 204 sqq.

The first point to be settled is the number of the mansions in Pahlavi. It is not twenty-eight as West assumed on the strength of the numeral characters in the Indian Bundahishn, but twenty-seven. The two available MSS. of the Great Bd. write xxvii. Taken by itself this is of little or no value as all copyists of Pahlavi texts were in the habit of writing numeral signs according to their own lights. More important is that there are only twenty-seven names; for the last words, Paz. *kahtsar vaht miyān kaht*, evidently represent only three names (not four), viz. *kaht-sar*, \**kaht-miyān*, *kaht* = the head K.,<sup>4</sup> the middle of K., K. *par excellence*. A similar set of names occurs in the middle of the list where in the place of *nahn miyān aydām* (Nos. 10, 11, 12) we have to restore: *naxw*, *miyān*, *abdum* = beginning, middle, and end, viz. of *Leo*.

<sup>1</sup> The question whether the Manich. catalogue agreed with Beruni's Sogdian list, or with his Khwarezmian list and that of Freiman's manuscript, depends solely on the acceptance of this rather doubtful restitution.

<sup>2</sup> Of Rachumati's Uyyur fragments, some start with *Kṛttikā*, some with *Aśvinī*; the Arabs began with *al-Jaridān* = *Aśvinī*.

<sup>3</sup> But Skt. No. 23 *Satābhaj* = Sogd. No. 22 *admyā* (? Sachau *šmāy*) = Fr. No. 22 *amya* = Khw. No. 22 *admyay*.

<sup>4</sup> "Kaht" = name of a constellation. The transcribed form suggests *Cetus* (εἰς, Syr. q') and qy', but this works out only moderately well.



A passage from the third book of the Dinkard (403<sup>21</sup> sqq., ed. Madan), recently translated by Nyberg (*Mand. Kal.*, 34 sqq.), gives the lunar mansions within which the first points of Aries, Cancer, Libra, and Capricornus lay.<sup>1</sup> Aries began with *Plyspī*,<sup>2</sup> clearly = Pahl. *Plyspī*, *Plyspī*, Paz. *Padēvar*, the first lunar mansion according to the Būdahishn (= Skt. *Āśvinī*). In other words, the lunar mansions were counted from the point of the vernal equinox. Now, if the number of the mansions were twenty-eight the first point of Cancer would coincide with the beginning of the eighth lunar mansion (since seven mansions = 90° exactly), but it should fall within the seventh mansion if the total number was twenty-seven (one mansion =  $\frac{360^\circ}{27} = 13^\circ 20'$ , hence the seventh mansion from 80° to 93° 20'). The latter is the case according to the Dinkard :

Aries	0° "	<i>Plyspī</i> "	=	Pd. "	<i>Padēvar</i> "	No. 1 =	0°-00-13°-33
Cancer	90° "	<i>Lhyt</i> "	=	Pd. "	<i>Rahmī</i> "	No. 7 =	80°-00-93°-33
Libra	180° "	<i>Šū</i> "	=	Pd. "	<i>Špur</i> "	No. 14 =	173°-33-186°-00
Capricornus	270° "	<i>TWR</i> "	=	Pd. "	<i>Gā</i> "	No. 21 =	266°-00-279°-00

When the system of the lunar mansions was (from India) introduced into Persia, a completely new set of names was created. As in India, the names were taken from the most prominent stars or constellations in the neighbourhood of the ecliptic that were found within the limits of longitude (progressing by 13° 20') prescribed by the system. While after the introduction the system probably was applied mechanically merely as a mode of indicating the longitude, it is highly improbable that at the moment of introduction the longitude of the parent stars should not have been within the limits of longitude required by the lunar mansions which took their names from those stars. This is the minimum to be expected from the adaptation, namely that the system should have been made to fit the sky.

If this point is conceded it will be possible to determine the time when the lunar mansions were brought into use in Persia, provided a sufficient number of their names can be identified satisfactorily. Proceeding from No. 1 *Pariciz* = Pleiades, we have

<sup>1</sup> Nyberg has not seen that the passage refers to the lunar mansions.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably misspelling.

<sup>3</sup> = Pahl. *\*lhyt*. It is difficult to say which form (*lhyt* or *lhyt*?) is right.

<sup>4</sup> = Pahl. *\*špur*; all probably incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> Pahl. *gāw* = ideogr. *TWR*. *DkM.* has *šay* (*šay*) (Nyberg's *\*dī-gār*), but *šay* should be cancelled (the scribe miswrote *šay* in the place of *TWR*, and corrected himself without striking out the wrong form).

No. 4 = Aldebaran, No. 5 *Azēsar*<sup>1</sup> (presumably translation of Skt. *Mṛga-sīras*) =  $\lambda'$  Orionis, etc., No. 6 *Bahn* = Betelgeuse, No. 7 probably = Castor and Pollux. Further on, No. ■ *\*Naxw* most likely = Regulus, and No. 20 undoubtedly = Vega (see below *Note G*). The preceding mansion, No. 19, is the "sting of the scorpion" ( $\lambda$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\theta$  *Scorpii*, etc.), see below *Note F*, and No. 22, *\*Yōy*,<sup>2</sup> probably represents Altair. The table below gives the longitudes of these stars (or of one of them where the name refers to a cluster of stars) for the Sassanian period<sup>3</sup>; at its margin the reader will find the number of the corresponding Pahlavi lunar mansions (col. 1), and the limits of their longitudes (col. 2):—

			A.D. 300	A.D. 400	A.D. 500	A.D. 600	A.D. 700
3	26°-68-39°-09	$\eta$ Tauri	36°-34	37°-72	39°-11	40°-49	41°-88
4	46°-00-53°-33	$\pi$ Tauri	46°-■	47°-49	48°-82	50°-28	51°-68
5	53°-33-66°-66	$\lambda'$ Orionis	60°-04	61°-43	62°-81	64°-20	65°-58
6	66°-66-78°-19	$\alpha$ Orionis	65°-08	66°-47	67°-86	69°-28	70°-65
7	80°-00-93°-33	$\alpha$ Geminorum	66°-63	68°-02	69°-40	70°-79	72°-18
10	120°-00-133°-33	$\alpha$ Leonis	126°-20	127°-07	129°-04	130°-42	131°-80
19	240°-00-253°-33	$\lambda$ Scorpii	240°-94	242°-32	243°-71	245°-10	246°-48
20	261°-33-266°-66	$\alpha$ Lyrae	261°-54	262°-63	264°-31	265°-71	267°-19
22	280°-00-293°-■	$\alpha$ Aquilae	277°-84	279°-24	280°-65	282°-05	283°-46

A glance at this table shows that the date which fits best is about A.D.  $\pm$  500. A *terminus post quem* is provided by No. 6 (A.D. 413 approx.), and No. 22 (A.D. 454 approx.), whilst a *terminus ante quem* is given by No. 3 (A.D. 564 approx.), and No. 20 (A.D. 668 approx.). We know from other sources that under Sassanian rule there were two periods of contact with Greek and Indian science during which the study of astronomy was promoted: one under Shapur I after the conclusion of the Roman war,<sup>4</sup> the other "towards the end of the Sassanian period", possibly under Khosrou I or even a little earlier.<sup>5</sup> We may conclude that the introduction of the Pahlavi lunar mansions took place during the second period.<sup>6</sup> Incidentally,

<sup>1</sup> = "goat's head" ? However, the reading of *ygar* = "crown" is equally possible.

<sup>2</sup> *Pazand gōi*. In Pahlavi script, *gōy* "ball" and *yōy* "yoke" are indistinguishable. I read *Yōy* because that is the name of the equivalent (21st) Sogdian and Khwarezmian lun. man. (corresponding to Skt. No. 21 *Śravana* = Altair). The longitude of the 22nd Pahlavi lun. is 280°-293° 20', that of the 21st Sogdian mansion should be 282° 33'-296° 45'.

<sup>3</sup> Based on the values for right ascension and declination (interval of 100 years) ■ Neugebauer's Tables (Chr. i).

<sup>4</sup> See S. H. Taqizadeh, *BSOS.*, ix, 133 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> See Nallino's paper in *A volume of Oriental Studies presented to S. G. Brown*, and cf. Taqizadeh, *Gūā-Sumārī*, 316-322; *BSOS.*, ix, 136 sq.

<sup>6</sup> This conclusion, however, is necessarily based on the assumption that the Persian astronomers were able to find the point of the vernal equinox and to measure the longitudes fairly accurately, and that they exercised some care in fixing the lunar mansions.

we would gain a valuable date *post quem* for a number of hitherto undatable Pahlavi passages in which the lunar mansions are involved, such as the *thema mundi* in the Bundarishn.<sup>2</sup>

*F. Satavāṣa.* There are nearly as many opinions as the identity of this star as translators of the Avesta. Perhaps the most plausible view so far advanced is that Satavāṣa is Canopus, Suhail (proposed by Kharegat and accepted by Taqizadeh). The main objection to this identification lies in the great southern declination of Suhail, by reason of which it cannot be seen north of lat. 37° approx. Those scholars who are inclined to find the "home of the Avesta" in North-Eastern Iran (e.g. in Merv), will be unable to accept Kharegat's opinion. As far south as Balkh (lat. 36° 46') where in 500 A.C. it was above the horizon for only 1 h. 9 m. on any one day, at a maximum altitude of not more than 19 minutes, Canopus may have been sighted under exceptionally favourable circumstances, but was certainly not fitted for the role of the "General of the South". Moreover, Satavāṣa occurs as part of the designation of a Sogdian lunar mansion, No. 17, *myn-Sdweš*, and there is no doubt that Canopus never has been (or ever will be) observed in Sogdiana. The 17th Sogdian lunar mansion corresponds to the 17th Indian lunar mansion, *mūla*, to the 19th Pahlavi lunar mansion, "*grafša*,"<sup>3</sup> and to the 19th Arabian lunar mansion, *al-kaulāh* of which refer to the "sting of the scorpion" (Ar. *mi'bar al-aqrab*). Although the meaning of Sogdian *myn* (possibly misspelt) is not known, we may safely infer that *myn-Sdweš* is a kind of appendix to that star (or constellation) that bore the name of *Sdweš*. Since the "sting of the scorpion" forms an appendix to the "scorpion", it follows that *Sdweš* is *Scorpio*, or rather the

<sup>2</sup> The ascendant is given as Cancer 19°, the time being noon of the day of the vernal equinox. At that moment Sirius was rising. Should these data reflect actual conditions (correctly observed), it should be possible to determine the latitude of the observer, and the date of the observation. So far as I have been able to calculate the latitude would be 40° 33', the time B.C. = 330; point  $\lambda = 104^\circ$ ,  $\beta = 0^\circ$  is rising, or  $\alpha = 110^\circ 37'$ ,  $\delta = -22^\circ 22'$ ; hence  $\phi = 40^\circ 33'$ ; Sirius' hour angle at rising = its right ascension; position of Sirius = B.C. 330;  $\alpha = 75^\circ 0'$ ,  $\delta = -18^\circ 24'$ . The result (Northern Sogdiana at the time of Alexander's invasion) is rather unsatisfactory, probably because the data are unreliable.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably misreading of *drāfšop* (1) "banner," (2) "hen," but most suitably (3) "owl" = N.Pers. *dirāfš*, *darāfš* "owl". The names of the preceding lunar mansions are (in Pahlavi): No. 16 *arāb*, *arāb*, *arab*, No. 17 *nur*, *nūr*, No. 18 *yelū*, *yeļu*. I should like to suggest the following restorations: No. 16 *arāy* "claws", No. 17 *ur* "breast, front", No. 18 *dil* "heart", namely of *Scorpio*. Note that the Arabic name of No. 18 is also "heart" (*qalb*). [No. 16, Persian *du surāy* *pašdām*, Beruni, Pers. *Tafhīm*, p. 111, cf. Greek  $\chi\eta\lambda\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\varsigma\ \Sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, i, 6, p. 24 pp. 50 ed. Robbins, 1940; *ibid.*, "*grāfša*" = *scorpius* = *nīl-i-gāzdam*.]

chief star of that group, namely Antares. The identity of Śatavaśāa with Antares had already been suggested by West, *SBE.*, v, 12 sq. (although from erroneous premisses). The altitude of Antares in culmination was  $35^{\circ} 52'$  in Balkh ( $40^{\circ}$  approx. in Babylon) in 501 B.C., and  $33^{\circ} 33'$  in Balkh ( $37^{\circ} 49'$  in Babylon) in 1 B.C.

G. Vanant. There is *ifmā* on the identity of this star, viz. = Vega. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-tumārī*, 335, n. 470, has already drawn attention to the appearance of *Vanant* in the list of the Sogdian lunar mansions, No. 20 (*Vanand*). The equivalent Indian lunar mansion is No. 20 *Abhijit* = Vega. But *Vanant* is also employed as the name of one of the Pahlavi lunar mansions, namely No. 20. The Pazend form is *Varant* = Pahlavi *wlnd*, a common Pahlavi spelling of *Vanant* (showing dissimilation *n-n* : *r-n*). The equation of *Varant* = Vega has already been utilized in *Note E* above.

H. *Tīstryaēnī*. Since *Tīstrya* is *Canis major*, *Tīstryaēnī* would appear to be *Canis minor*. According to a much discussed passage in the *Tīstr Yasht* (Yt. 8, 12), *Tīstryaēnī* is one of the *afšēθra* stars, i.e. stars whose heliacal rising presages the advent of the rainy season. *Tīstrya* itself, the Pleiades, and *Upapaōirī* are other *afšēθra* stars. A line in the Great Bundahishn provides some elucidation: "The *āp-tīhrag* (= Av. *afšēθra*) stars are: *Tīstr*, *Tlyšk*, "*Padēvar*," *Pēš-Parvīz*, and the six stars that are called *Parvīz* (Pleiades)" (72<sup>5</sup>). With the exception of "*Padēvar*" (the first lunar mansion), these are the same stars as the ones mentioned in the *Tīstr Yasht*, hence *Upapaōirī* : *Pēš-parvīz* : "the stars in front of the Pleiades" (the second Pahlavi lunar mansion), and *Tīstryaēnī* = *Tlyšk*. This effectively disposes of the usual identification of *Upapaōirī* with Aldebaran, which Andreas (*apud* Lommel, *ZII.*, v, 58) supported by referring to the Sogdiano-Khwarezmian name of Aldebaran; that, however, was not *b'brw* (*p'prw*) as Sachau's Beruni MSS. have, but *pprw* (*brbrw*) as we have learned from Freiman's list (where *pprw*'k) — "the star following upon the Pleiades".<sup>1</sup> As regards *Tlyšk*, this is one of the numerous possible readings of the Pahlavi characters which the Pazendist was pleased to read as *Taraka*. And "*Taraka*" is the name of the eighth Pahlavi lunar mansion the longitude of which is  $93^{\circ} 20' - 106^{\circ} 40'$ . In A.D. 500 the longitude of Procyon, the chief star of *Canis minor*, was  $95^{\circ} 14'$ , i.e. at that time Procyon was eligible as the leading star of the eighth lunar mansion. Now, the name of

<sup>1</sup> [Persian *pas-ravāde-i Perīā*, Beruni, *Pers. Taqīm.* p. 103.]

the corresponding Khwarezmian lunar mansion (No. 6 = Skt. *Tiṣya/Puṣya*) is *tsyry*, apparently not different from the Khwarezmian form of Old *𐭠𐭣𐭥* *Tiṣtrya* (also spelt *tsyry*). It seems clear that this *tsyry* derives from a prototype similar to *tiṣtrya-* (e.g. *tiṣtryā-* or *tiṣtryaka-*) which had the same meaning as Av. *tiṣtryaēnī* (note the absence of the same suffix in the Khwarezmian form of Av. *paōryaēnī* which is *prcy*). The same prototype will serve also for Pahlavi *Tlyšk*, presumably = *Trīṣag*. Phonetically, one could compare Jewish Persian *trk* "ram" which is connected with Man. MPers. *trktr* (*armyā*, *trktr*, "hog" in an unpublished fragment of the *Kawcān*), cf. Rīšahrī *tūār* "she-goat", or Man. MPers. *Zrdrokt*.

## The Book of the Giants

ISAAC DE BEAUSOBRE, the Huguenot author of one of the best books ever written on Manichæism (*Histoire critique de Manichéisme et du Manichéisme*, Amsterdam, 1734, 1739), was the one to make the only sound suggestions on the sources used by Mani for the compilation of the *Book of the Giants*: the *Book of Enoch*, and the *Γραφή των Γιγάντων* which Kenan, a great-grandson of Noah, discovered lying in a field (vol. i, 429, n. III). The latter work has been identified by Alfaro (*Les Écritures Manichéennes*, ii, 32) with a book whose contents are briefly indicated in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, p. 54, ll. 288-9 (ed. Dobschütz): *Liber de Ogia<sup>1</sup> nomine gigante qui post diluvium cum dracone ab hereticis pugnavit perhibetur apocryphus*. Of the *Book of Enoch*, which was composed in the Hebrew language in the second century B.C., only an Ethiopic version, a few Greek fragments, and some excerpts made by the Byzantine chronographer Georgius Syncellus survive.<sup>2</sup> Mani, who could hardly read the Hebrew, must have used an Aramaic edition based directly on the Hebrew text (see below, *Shmyr'd*). He quotes mainly from the first part, which Georgius S. (p. 45, Fl.-R.) called "the first book of Enoch on the Egrégoroi", but shows himself acquainted also with the subsequent chapters.<sup>3</sup>

It is noteworthy that Mani, who was brought up and spent most of his life in a province of the Persian empire, and whose mother belonged to a famous Parthian family,<sup>4</sup> did not make any use of the Iranian mythological tradition. There can no longer be any doubt that the Iranian names of *Sām*, *Narīmān*, etc., that appear in the Persian and Sogdian versions of the *Book of the Giants*, did not figure in the original edition, written by Mani in the Syriac language.<sup>5</sup> His disciples, who, it is well known, were in the habit of

<sup>1</sup> Numerous variants (p. 126, Dobschütz), *og, de ogae, de ogys, dogae, dogys, diogenes, de ogis, de ogia, de ogiet, de ogys, de ogia, de ogia, de ogia, de ogia, de ogia, etc.* In Migne's *Patrologia Latina* the text is in vol. 53, 162-3.

<sup>2</sup> See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 2nd ed., 1912. For the Greek fragments (and Georgius S.) the edition by Flemming and Noddermacher (see Fl.-R.) is quoted here. For Mani's use of the Enoch literature see my papers in *Sb.P.A.H.*, 1934, 27-32, and in *ZDMG.*, 90, 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> See below A 56-104, and compare G 19-21 with Enoch 67, 4, and G III with Enoch 17, 1; 21, 7; 54, 9; 67, 4-12. On chaps. 72 sqq. see *Sb.P.A.H.*, 1934, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Namely the *Kamariyān* (mentioned often in the Armenian history of the fourth century) who claimed descent from the royal house of the Arsacids. This is clear from the Chinese-Manichæan text that preceded the *Fragment Petri*, now printed in the *Taishō Tripitaka* as No. 2141a, vol. 54, p. 1240A, but hitherto untranslated: "He was born in the country of Ebin (= Babylonia), in the royal abode of 瞿帝 *Budī-ti* (= *Fatī-gi*, by his wife 瞿健 *Mudn-jēm* (= *Maryem*) of the family of 金健健 *Kīm-ed-giōn* (= *Kamariyān*). The name *Kāpōva* in the Byzantine formula of abjuration (*Migne, Patr. Gr.*, i, 1468) may be corrupted from *Kamariyān*. Thus there is a grain of truth in the assertion in the *K. al-Fihrist*, 327, III, that Mani's mother had belonged to the Arsacid house; i.e., *Maryem* (i.e., *marmaryem*) is given as one of her names.—It is not proposed to discuss the origin of Mani's father here.

<sup>5</sup> I have abandoned my earlier opinion on this point (*ZDMG.*, 90, 4) which was based on insufficient material. The important Sogdian fragment, text II, was not then known to me.





However, the word *ky* is applied only to men and such beings as are imagined anthropomorphic. Where one would translate *kyas* as *monster*, the Iranian equivalent is *mon*, *Mazan*. Thus the *kyas rhy thalassos* (*Kephalaia*, 113 and notes), whose breathing operations are responsible for ebb and flow (cf. also Beruni, *India*, 203, 10-11), is called *Men 'y (-)rhyg*<sup>1</sup> in Middle Persian (M 99, Y 22-3). Accordingly, MPers. *mon* (adj.<sup>2</sup> and noun) and the related words, Pahl. *mādan*, *mādanīg*, Sogd. *man'y'n dym*, Av. *māzāingra*,<sup>3</sup> should be rendered as "monster", or "gigantic, monstrous".

The Egrēgoroi and their giant progeny are fought and vanquished by four archangels: Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Israhel (*Enoch*, 10, 1; or: Uriel, or: Fanuel). In the *Book of the Giants* they are called "the four angels". They are frequently invoked in Manichaean prayers (e.g. M 4 d 19, f 6; M 20), as *Rwp'yl*, *Myr'yl*, *Gbr'yl* and *Sr'yl* (= Israhel).

There were no details about individual feats of the giants in the *Book of Enoch*. Mani filled the gap with the help of the above-mentioned *Liber de Ogiā nominis gigante*. This *Ogiā* has been identified with *Og of Bashan*,<sup>4</sup> who according to late sources lived five thousand years and managed to survive the Deluge, thanks to his giant size.<sup>5</sup> But possibly stories that primarily appertained to *Ogiā* were transferred to the better known *Og*, owing to the resemblance of their names. The name of *Ogiā* is 'eky' ('eky') = *Ohyē* (*Ohyē*) in the Manichaean fragments, and this spelling is presumably more correct than that of *Ogiā*. *Og* ('ug) indubitably would appear as 'wq (or: 'wq). Since Mani took 'eky' from an Aramaic text, the ending of *Ogiā* cannot be regarded as a Greek addition.

*Ogiā* fought with a *draco*, and so did *Ohyā*; his enemy was the Leviathan (text N). *Ohyā* and his brother *Ahyā* were the sons of *Šhmyz'd* (text H), i.e. *Σημιάδης*, the chief of the Egrēgoroi in the *Book of Enoch*; hence, *Σημιάδης* in transcription of *šhm-* (or *šhm-'*). In the Persian edition of the *Šawān* *Ohyā* and *Ahyā* are "translated" as *Sām* and *Norōnān*, but the original names are kept in one passage (A 60). The translator did well to choose *Sām-Krsāp*, both with regard to *Ogiā*'s longevity (*Sām* is one of the "Immortals") and to his fight with the dragon (*Sām* is a famous dragon-killer). In the Sogdian

the Greek poets, the *typhoeus*, is a parallel to the Manich. doctrine of the rising by the Hyle against God. In ch. 25 (p. 37, 13 sqq.) Alexander explains that such poetical fables about giants could not be regarded as a satisfactory parallel, because they were myths and meant to be understood as allegoria. He then (37, 17) quotes the story of *Genesis* vi, 2-4, which he provides with an allegorical explanation. But he ascribes it to the *History of the Jews* without even mentioning the *Book of the Giants*. This shows conclusively that he had no knowledge of Mani's book.

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *Researches*, 37, 67 sq., has "poisonous mass"; cf. *OLZ*, 1934, 752.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the comparative *manr* (e.g. *Hir-Men*, ii) and the superlative Pahl. *mānra-jum* (e.g. *Dd*, p. 118, 12 ed. Anthonis).

<sup>3</sup> Clearly to be derived from Av. *māzra* "greenness". Cf. also Jackson, *ibid.*, on *māzra*. Hence, the first part of the name of *Māzandān* probably = "gigantic".

<sup>4</sup> Thus Dobchütz, *Deeds. Geogr.*, p. 306.

<sup>5</sup> Dobchütz, *loc. cit.*, who quotes Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr.*, 799 sq., and Migon, *Dict. des épouv.*, ii, 616, 1266.

fragments the name of Sām is spelt *S'hm* = *Sāhm*, as it is often in Pahlavi (*S'hm*<sup>1</sup> beside *S'm*); Tabari has *Shm*,<sup>2</sup> cf. Christensen, *Kayanides*, p. 130. Sāhm's brother is *Pāt-Sāhm*. This name may have been invented by the Sogdian translator in order to keep the names of the brothers resembling each other. Narimān was evidently not known in Sogdiana as a brother of Sām. According to the *Book of the Giants*, the main preoccupation of Sām-Sāhm was his quarrel with the giant *Māharai*,<sup>3</sup> the son of *Virōgdād*, who was one of the twenty leaders of the *Egrōgoroi*.

The *Book of the Giants* was published in not less than six or seven languages. From the original Syriac the Greek and Middle Persian versions were made. The Sogdian edition was probably derived from the Middle Persian, the Uygur from the Sogdian. There is no trace of a Parthian text.<sup>4</sup> The book may have existed in Coptic. The presence of names such as Sām and Narimān in the Arabic version proves that it had been translated from the Middle Persian. To the few surviving fragments (texts A-G) I have added two excerpts, the more important of which (H) probably derives from a Syriac epitome of the book. Naturally, Manichaean authors quoted the book frequently, but there is only one direct citation by a non-Manichaean writer (text O). With the exception of text O, all the passages referring to the *Book of the Giants* (texts J-T) go back to Syriac writings (apparently). They are, therefore, to be treated as quotations from the Syriac edition. E.g. the Parthian text N is not the product of a Parthian writer who might have employed a Parthian version of the book, but was translated from a Syriac treatise whose author cited the Syriac text.

In their journey across Central Asia the stories of the *Book of the Giants* were influenced by local traditions. Thus, the translation of Ohya as Sām had in its train the introduction of myths appertaining to that Iranian hero; this explains the "immortality" of Sā(h)m according to text I. The country of *Aryān-Vētan* = *Aryāna Vaejah*, in text G (26), is a similar innovation.<sup>5</sup> The "Kōgmān mountains" in text B may reflect the "Mount Hermon". The progeny of the fallen angels was confined in thirty-six towns (text 8). Owing to the introduction of the Mount Sumeru, this number was changed

<sup>1</sup> For example, *Mss. Akr.*, 68, 12; 69, 12, ed. Andreas; *Pahl. Yama*, 9, 10 (p. 71, 19).

<sup>2</sup> *Shm*, of course, transcribes *S'hm*, not *S'm*.

<sup>3</sup> *MPers.* m'har'y A 7, with suff. m'har'y-e A 88, *Sogd.* m'har'y C 151. Unquoted (yet in B). Hardly = *Māhōi* (as suggested *ZDMG.* 90, 4), for the ending -ōi was pronounced -ōi also in the third century (cf. e.g. *ayrad* = *ayrō* in the inscription of Shapur, line 34). Furthermore, there was no *Māhōi* among the heroes of the Iranian epics (cf. as well known as the name of the governor of Māre at the time of the last Yezdegerd). More likely *Māharai* was a non-Iranian name and figured already in the Aramaic edition of the *Kosmos*; it may have been adapted to the Persian. Cf. *Māy'ī*, *Genesis*, iv, 14?

<sup>4</sup> But see *Asir. Max.*, iii, 858 (b 124 sqq.).

<sup>5</sup> The children of the *Egrōgoroi* share with the inhabitants of *Aryāna Vaejah* the distinction of being regarded as the inventors (or first users) of the arts and crafts. For the spelling of *Aryān-Vētan* see also Appendix, text U. It is not clear whether *Yima* (text V) had been given a place in the Sogdian *Kosmos*. *Ymsh*, i.e. *Ymī*, is the correct Sogdian form of the name.

(in Sogdiana) to thirty-two (text G, 22): "the heaven of Indra . . . is situated between the four peaks (cf. G 21) of the Meru, and consists of thirty-two cities of devas" (Eitel, *Hondō. Chinese Buddhism*, 148, on *Trayastrimbat*).

#### TEXTS

- {bod} = damaged letters, or uncertain readings.  
 [bod] = suggested restorations of missing letters.  
 . . . = visible, but illegible letters.  
 [. . .] = estimated number of missing letters.  
 [ ] = a lacuna of undetermined extent.  
 (84) = same, at the beginning of a line.  
 [(85) = same, at the end of a line.<sup>1</sup>

■ the translation parentheses are employed for explanatory remarks.

#### FRAGMENTS OF THE KAWÂN

##### A. Middle-Persian

■ 101, a to n, and M 911, fifteen fragments of a book, throughout small pieces from the centre of the pages. It has proved impossible, so far, to re-establish the original order of the pages. On purely technical grounds (size of the fragments, appearance of the margins, relative position of tears, stains, etc.), I at first assumed the following sequence: l-j-k-g-i-c-e-b-h-f-a-d-m-M 911-n. Being unable to estimate the cogency of these technical reasons now, because of the absence of any photographic material, I have decided to change the order of the first six fragments in the following way: c-j-l-k-g-i, in view of their contents.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately we do not know in what order Mani had told the story of the giants. The task of finding the original order is made still more difficult by the fact that besides the *Kawân* the book contained one or two more treatises, namely: (1) Parables referring to the Hearers, and possibly (2) a discourse on the Five Elements (here (1) = lines 160 to the end, and (■ = lines 112-159). The only fragments that undoubtedly belonged to the *Kawân* are c-j-l-k-g-i, while the position of the fragments e-b-h is particularly doubtful. It must ■ borne in mind that whole folios may be missing between apparently successive pages. In order ■ enable the reader to judge for himself, all the fragments (including the parables) are published here. The text is based on a copy I made nearly ten years ago (referred to in the notes as: Copy); a revision ■ not possible under the present circumstances.

(*Fr. c, first page*) (1) [h] [md] (2) | 'y '(s)[t]pt tygr '[ (3)[ryz qm'n k'n 'y q[ [k'(w)(4) ■ [yd oo s'm gwpt 'pryd byh (5)] 'yn dyd ny mwrđ hy oo ghy (6) [hm]ys'd 'w s'm 'ys (7) pws gw[pt]t oo kw hrw cy m'hw'y (8) !w[n]st oo dwd'yš (9) [gwpt kw d' 'w (10)]d hwm oo 'wd(11) [md] (*Fr. c, second page*)

<sup>1</sup> This system of notation has been used also in my book *Sogdian*, and in my paper in *BEO*, III, pp. 941 sqq. The various interpunction marks are uniformly represented by oo here.

<sup>2</sup> But possibly *Fr. f* should occupy the first place; see below, notes on lines 95-111.

(13) 'y (d) [p] (13) 'rg'n oo 'y [ ] 'yb [ (14) 'yst]ynd oo km wrwd'd  
pyd [ ] (15) bwd oo oo šhmyz'd g[wpt] (16) kw r'st gwyd oo yk 'c hz[r'n]  
(17) gwyd oo cy yk 'c hz'r'n n[ ] (18) s'm dwdy awyat [ (19) m'hwyw wa  
gy[g (20) d' 'w h'n gy[ ] (21) (r)hyy 'wd p[ (22) d[

(*Fig. j, first page*) (23) [b[ wr]wd'd (24) [t oo hwb(')]byš 'w 'hr. (25)  
[nxtg 'ys zn 'pwrč oo p(s) (26) awys[ hynd k'w'n 'gwyn oo 'wzdn 'w (27)  
[zn 'pw]rdn oo d'm'nyw awys[ hynd (28) 'gnlyn 'wzdn oo s'm pyš hwrxkyd  
(29) [st oo yk dnt pd pr'whr oo yk(30) [h]rw cy wynd'd 'w b(r)[d?](31) 'y[ 'n  
bat (32) 'w (*Fig. j, second page*) (33) [nyy[ ]m[ (34) ?]br txtg oo 'w prytg'n[  
(35) 'c 'sm'n oo txtg 'w[ (36) txtg 'w 'b 'bgnd oo pd prz[ ]m[ (37) xwma  
txtg dyd šh nys'n[oo yk (38) oo [w] w'y 'wd wryc oo 'wd yk[ (39) wnywdy[  
oo nrym'n dyd bwy[st'n pwr[ (40) [dr]st'n rdg rdg oo [d]wys[d (41) 'wzyd  
drt [ (42) b[

(*Fig. l, first page*) (43) [hwn]wx prytg (44) 'w pryznd'n pyg'm oakt'n  
(45) 'y ny drwd oo 'sm'h batn (46) [b oo pd wyn'h 'yt'n kyrd oo pd (47) ?'sm'h]  
pryznd'n w'nyšn wyn[ ]d[ (48) 'p'dy](x)š'y (šd 'wd wy[st] (49) [ oo [oo  
(*Fig. l, second page*) (50) [r]wr[ oo p'e]yn (51) hmyš oo twštr oo 'hwg oo  
y[(52) xrbwz oo dwyad dwyad oo [w(w)]g (53) b'ryg dd mwrw oo 'wd d'm  
[(54) [ ](w)š'n my šwh hz'x (w)[mb (55) [w]d s'ryšn 'y [ ] oo (s)[ (56) 'wā'n  
(rw)[yn

(*Fig. k, first page*) (57) [d n(z)[ ](d) oo pydr wyw(d)[(58)](t'n d' 'w hnx'm  
'ys[(59)]hr'nd oo pd 'rdyg oo pl b(r)[ oo[(60)]'wd pd (h')ng 'why' u 'hy'  
(61) [š 'w br'd gwpt oo 'xyz 'w[ (62) ?]st'n'm oo 'ym'n pydr 'w (63) [m'h p]m'd  
oo pym'n 'y 'm'h kyr(d) (64) [n(z)m(h) oo 'wd k'w[n] (65) [oo[ ](gny)[n]  
(66) [oo (*Fig. k, second page*) (67) [y] (šgr) oo 'n'y[ ] 'ys p[d(68) [ny . . [t 'p  
drwg oo 'n'y qm[n] (69) [h]wstyg'n oo ny tyzyy 'y t(y)y[oo 'n'y](70)  
swr 'y twwr oo ny 'lwp 'y[ (71) 'n'y pr 'ys 'b'g oo ny x(r)[(72) 'n'y bryng  
'ys šnyl oo ny š[ (73) [gš oo byr dydym 'ys [d[ ar ! oo ny](74) arw b'myw  
oo [ ]n'y [ (75) 'y k(wp)[ (76) (w)[

(*Fig. g, first page*) (77) [y n[ . . oo n[y ky pd d'ys(t)[n](78) [l'y](n)tyd oo  
'n'y ky pd axwn r's(t)(79) [oo ny ! b'r bzg oo 'n'y zhr 'ys 'ndr oo(80)

(13) *Hom. merely 'y 'yb, followed by 'l or 'h; hardly 'g [ad].*

(14) [h'z]?

(31) Or (d)šgy.

(34) 'hmy[ or 'hmy[ or 'hmy[ or 'hmy[.

(25) Copy *hady* without *stary*; prob. incomplete; *colg* 34 eqq. presumably different.

(44) Copy *rest*. [y]w; improbable.

(50) Copy: [X]wr; if correct, = q]wr.

(52) MS. *trwz*.

(55) Copy *rest*. [y]b; doubtful.

(56) Copy (*dw*); cf. *ay* 'wd rwyys "wine and oil" in *Kao-nih*, line 3 (*Intern. Asia*, ii 1061).

(57) *Rest*. wynd'g'n?

(60) 'A'ng *rest*. *prima manu*, now indistinct; meant to be 'h'ng ("nest")?

(71) Or x(h), or x(d); prob. *pub* in *zayd*.

(73) d[h'g'r 'y]?

(73) yš; or š.

[ny . . ?](a)m'n 'ystyhynd<sup>100</sup> 'n'y yzd (81)[y hrw] éhr'n oo ny bng ghr'yd  
 'n[y] (82)[xwd'y] y' yá pd st oo m' prystq (83)oo 'n'y h'n mynd m' prystq d(84)  
 ]oo ps nrym[n](85) 'g[wpt] [ . . ] (*Frq. g, second page*) (86) [ ](w)m 'nyc  
 gy(')lg ]n 'ly (87) dyd ky 'br wnywdyh oo 'yá'n 'br(88) md gylg'y hynd  
 'wá'n w'n[lg 'wd](89) 'bxrws d' 'wl 'w 's(m'n) (90) rasyd oo 'wau 'nyc dyd  
 gy'lg (91) 'stpt'n 'wd p'dxá'y'n (92) ws oo ky pd 'st'r oo m dw(s)[kyrdg'nyh  
 f](93) [p]hryst hynd k' l(94)[h]ynd oo'wd[

(*Frq. i, first page*) (95)[y h] [ ](r)hyd [ ](96) 'wzd oo {c}[h] 'rsd hr'r 'rd'w'n]  
 (97) [k](wp)'n pd 'dwr npt 'wd gwgyrd (98)oo 'wd prystg'n 'w hwnwx nhwpq  
 (99)[f]weydg[e'n'n 'wd nywágc'n'n (100)] 'wd 'b'g wzyat hynd oo weyd  
 (101) 'y hweyhr oo 'wá'n pd z(ny[ (102)]'wn q[ ]hays[ pdngy[n] (*Frq. i,  
 second page*) (103)[h'm'g] [ ] 'pwr[ (104)[k](s) m' 'w h'r 'wd [ ]'sp's [ (105)  
 nyr'p[ hynd oo oo 'wá'n[ (106) 'c áhryat'n áhryat'n (107) 'wd prystyan pmo'd  
 'w (p)[ (108) qyrdn oo mo myá'yg'n (109) hr'sta oo hwjyg'n rwp[n (110)] 'áyxtn  
 oo p'r[é]yg'n (111)]r[

(*Frq. r, first page*) (112) [(s'w)](113) 'wzanyán oo [ . . ] 'rd'w(114) [(s)tg  
 oo qyrdg'n oo s[ (115) [mhr]'apnd oo 'b'yr dydym oo (116)] pynwq oo hpt  
 dyw oo cwn<sup>101</sup> 'hwng (117)[ky wxd] (b)nyat 'wd wxd wyáhyd oo(118) ]s  
 ky 'c twxm 'y (119) ]t oo 'wd s'h 'apeyd (120) [ ] 'x'ryd oo k' gylg (121)]pd  
 'hxs'y(án) (122) ] d[ (*Frq. r, second page*) (123)]pyá[ (124) [qyá't'] . . ]kyng  
 wá[(125)[qyrb](kr'n) qxs'n d'hw(')n (126) d'd oo bwd ky 'w wzdys[n f](127)  
 ngnd oo jhwd qyrbg 'wd b[lg kyrd(128) oo hynd ky xwyá yzd oo nym  
 (d)[yw] (129) nym yzd qwnynd oo rw. (130) 'wzanyán oo 'stw[ (131)hpt  
 dyw'n 'b(132) [ . . ]rg 'br(133) ch(m)[

(*Frq. h, first page*) (134) jm [ ] (135)[gwn]g gwng (rn)g [ . . ]oyd oo ky pd[  
 (136) ]h 'wd wys oo 'gr k[(137)](w)'n 'c paz mhr'apnd oo (138)[oo c]'wn c'r  
 kw ny mytyh oo xw'r(139)['wd] b'r pwr kwnynd oo 'wá'n (140)] . . . [ ]  
 pynweyd oo 'yn ná'h (141)]g oo 'wd ny hwytyg'n oo (142) 'wá hwn ny hwytyg'n  
 (143) 'zyhyd oo c]'wn (144)]g 'st (*Frq. h, second page*) (145)]yn wd[ (146)  
 [na']h b[ oo [pd] 'stg p[y](147)[pyt z](g) oo 'wd crm oo xwd 'n(dr)(148) 'wyrd  
 oo 'y]g dr'yd oo 'br y(z)[d](149) r'stygr oo hwrzsynd 'wd m'[h] (150) dw ty  
 'w det d'd oo 'br mhr'apnd(151) drxt'n 'wd d'm'n oo 'y(g) [zrw'n ?] (152) by  
 oo pd 'w'm [ ](w)m(153) prystyd oo áy(y) zdrwát (154) [b]wt oo mly[h'  
 (155) pryst[ ](g)]'n

(*Frq. h, first page*) (156)]wáyan's(157)oo kw 'c kw[(158)].n md oowpytg'n  
 paz mhr'apnd (159) ]drxt oo paz d'm ny d'nynd oo oo (*One line left blank*)  
 (160) (*In red ink*) jnywá'g'n r'y oo (161)].(y)rym 'c m'ny xwd'y (162)]paz  
 'ndrz 'w (163) 'w[(d) sh m(w)[hr] (*Frq. h, second page*) (164)](zyndg)(165)

(96) Prob. [p]hyat.

(100) Or [w]á, or [u]á, in view of Pahl. 'áuc.

(114) Or [p]p[.

(140) Hardly [w]á'p.

(151) Space insuff. for [mhr'apnd], or [zrw'ys].

(161) E.g. [pd]rym.

['] (a) tw'nyy d'[(166)] (w) d' whyy oo nm[(167)] m'h oo hapyn 'e zwr '[(168)] xwyā oo 'wd wmyg pdm'd d'[(169)] d'xt 'wd x'nyg oo pd dw py[(170)] 'b oo 'wd b'r oo šyyr[(171)] oo br'd ay 'z'r(d) [oo šnywā'g](172) 'y xyr oo ky c'wn (173) 'y 'bwz[s]

(*Fig. f, first page*) (174) ny[(175)] wst[(176)] w's swd oo (c) 'wn wrzyg[r] (177) [! ky tw](x) n q'ryd oo pd wzy[...](178) [ ] oo nywā'g ky d'nyyān(179) [rynd oo c'wn myrd ky prwāg (180)] (y) yr 'bgnd oo bwstyg'n bwd(181) [g ay oo bhr 'y wnywā'gy (182)] (n) xwst gr'n oo c'wn(183) [(t) [ ] st'n oo xwst (184)] 'w pd]yzār n[yd](185) [t'byy (*Fig. f, second page*) (186)] yp[(187)] wya[p(188)] āwh (z) w(c) oo nywā'g [ky(189)] r'w'n]g'n dyyd oo c'wn 'ā[kwh] (190) myrd ky d'xt 'w ā'h hn(d) [ym'n](191) qwnyd oo 'w wzrg pdyxār r(n) [yd](192) oo r'w'n]g'n pd taw'r 'y 'r[d'w] (193) oo 'wn p'k bwyd oo c'wn (194) ky pd 'dwr 'wd w'd oo[(195)] j'ing 'y [ ] c[yhr 'yg](196) [pd tn 'y yw[jdhr (197)] wrdy[

(*Fig. a, first page*) (198) g]wg'yy[(199)] ('w b') d[(200)] d'xt oo [ ] w[...]. g'n p[(201)] yn wrydyd'oo[(202)] p]dye'y(203) kyy oo c'wn[(204)] 'ymg '[(205)] k. šynd oo c'wn d]nq [ ] (206) 'špyzyān oo 'wd nywā'g 'nd'r (207) [oo r'w'n]g'n pd dyn oo cwn'mkwg(208) 'nd'r ? dry]b oo zyyg pd dat 'y (209) 'hynz'g ' 'u 'br dmb oo m't'h (210) d]ry'b āhr mkwg (211) [g'n oo 'hynz'][(r) (212)] zyy[(g)oo] whyh (*Fig. a, second page*) (213) [oo m'n]g[(214)] oo (ny) [w]ā'g[(215)] c'wn 'āh] 'y[(216)] 'byb'r (217) 'b]yb'r [(218)] 'n u nywā'g'n (219) [(d) oo b'r ky[(220)] qy]nd'g'n oo [ ] m'n]g w[(221)] oo nywā'g oo 'wd whma oo c'wn[(222)] āh br'd oo ky 'c pyd[(223)] tya m'nd oo zmyg oo[(224)] twm oo 'mb'z b[wd(225)] dwrynd 'wd [ ] wyn[(226)] n]ywā'g [(227)] c'wn

(*Fig. d, first page*) (228) [(dn]g[(229)] p]hy[(k)r 'y ā'h oo pd kr ry(x)][(t) (230)] āh] d'āyn d'd oo m'n]g[(231)] nywā'g [ ] nbyg nby(sy)][(d) (232)] c'w] (n) myrd 'y wym'r oo ky zy[(233)] m]ynd d'd oo nywā'g k]y[(234)] xwybā] d'xt 'w dyn dyyd oo m'ng'ā[(235)] [g]rw'n [ ] pwa 'w[(236)] [h]mwxtā d'd oo 'w[(237)] [(p]yd grw'n (238)] 'w (*Fig. d, second page*) (239) [dwn(d)] [(240)] ny]wā'g oo dwdy m'n]g nywā'g (241) [myr 'škrw(242)] [p]d]y]hyd oo gryw 'e dyn w[(243)] [c]('w) n 'y hrw'n]y oo k]y[(244)] [p]y]dg 'yw mwg k[(245)] qybyu pd dyn(r) [(246)] bwd oo w'd qnd yk [(247)] 'hyd bwd oo pr[(248)] 'o bwn[(249)] bwd

(*Fig. m, first page*) (250) [pryt'd h] (251) m'n]g nywā'g oo ky y(k)][(252)] [(n]g kwnd oo c'wn (m)] [(d)] [(253)] [rwdw]r oo ky hpt pwa pdy[rypt (254)] [oo dwāmy n hrw 'w] [(255)] nywā'g ky (b)] (256) qyr]bgry 'ā (257) [ ky]

(168) Copy wmyg, or possibly wmyg !

(173) Better than 'bwz(c'm), see note on translation; cf. Syr. 'bāz, *Synonyma*, 41, and 'bwz, *ibid.*, 44. [Cf. also Jewish Persian 'bz, *Horn. JATW.*, 1897, 201.]

(180) Poss. [pd] or : 'adr] šyyr, *ibid.* 170 (and conjecturally W.-L., ii, 569, li, 21, where šr is out of place: "spiritual milk").

(201) = wydyd ?

(230) Probably : [ ] m'n]g m'c]ydg.

(232) = syā ? syar ?

(234) m'g for lack of space = m'n]g.

(244) Not 'pwyng as one word.



(Frg. m, second page) (258)p[d c'h yk (p)[(259)]dry'b oo yk pd n'[w (260)]h'n  
'y pd] dmb 'w 'wy ky [ ] (261)[? n'w 'hy]nyd oo h'n 'y pd n'w[ (262)]dry'b  
oo 'wl '[w (263) c']wn 'rd'n (')[(264) c'w]n mwrw'ry(d)[(265) ]dydy(m

(Frg. M 911, first page) (266)]dyn oo c'wn myrd ky(267)](b)'r 'wd 'sprhm  
(268)]ps 'pwrn(d) (269) b]'rwr drxt[(270)]. oo x[ (Frg. M 911, second page)  
(271) (ky) zmyg xryd oo zmyg[(272) x'nyg oo pwr drhm ((273)ooā'h wdymwā(t)[  
(274) ]h'mbh(r)[ (275) g[rwg'n]

(Frg. n, first page) (276)]g'n oo 'w (277)]n 'y wa (278)]t nywā'q oo pd (279)]r  
oo c'wn pymw(en) (280) ]oo m'n'g w[ (Frg. n, second page) (281) ('w) xwd'y  
(282) m'n'g [(283) 'wd 'h(wngr) oo[(284) xryg 'w pdyxā(r)[ (285) (')[(h)wngt  
'w '(b)[ (286) ]n oo yk 'w (w)[

(258/9) Prob. rest. *yk p[d dmb 'y] dry'a*

(263) 'w'n: thus Copy: (c')wn, or l'wn.

(271) Or *hlyd*.

### Translation

(Frg. c) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Šām said: "Blessed [ ]  
. . . had [he [ ] seen this, he would not have died." Then Šahmizād said to  
Šām, his [son]: "All that Māhawai . . ., is spoilt (!)." Thereupon he said  
to . . . "We are . . . until (10) . . . and . . . (13) . . . that are in (1) the fiery  
hell (1) . . . As my father, Virōgdād, was . . ." Šahmizād said: "It is true  
what he says. He says one of thousands.<sup>1</sup> For one of thousands . . ." Šām  
thereupon began . . . Māhawai, too, in many places . . . (20) until [ ] that place  
. . . he might escape (1) and . . .<sup>2</sup>

(Frg. j) . . . Virōgdād . . . Hōhābtā<sup>3</sup> robbed Ahr . . .<sup>4</sup> of -naxtag,<sup>5</sup> his wife.  
Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives].  
The creatures, too, began [to kill each other.<sup>6</sup> Šām . . . before the sun, one hand  
in the air, the other . . . (30) . . . whatever [ ] obtained, to his brother . . .  
imprisoned . . . (34) . . . over Taxtag.<sup>7</sup> To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag  
[ ] . . . Taxtag threw (or: was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his  
sleep Taxtag saw three signs, [one portending . . .], one war and flight, and  
one . . . annihilation. Nariwān saw a gar[den full of] (40) trees in rows. Two  
hundred . . . came out, the trees. . .<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> = far less than he could say. Cf. *al-ḥaṣr paḥ*, *ŠGY.*, xiv, 2, *al-ḥaṣr baṣṣar paḥ*, *ibid.*, xvi, 1. Salemann, *Exp. Imp. Ak. Naur.*, *etc. viii*, t. vi, No. 6, 25, quoted Persian as *ḥaṣr paḥ* or *az biydt andakt*.

<sup>2</sup> The texts *B* and *C* (Uyghur and Sogdian) could be inserted here (or hereabouts).

<sup>3</sup> Probably one of the twenty "decarches" (*Enoch* 8, 7), viz. No. 4 *Kotabiel* = *Κοταβιελ* in the Greek fragments, and *Κωταβιελ* apud *Symeon*.

<sup>4</sup> This also could be a "decarch", Arabic: *Ḥaṣr*, or Aramaic: *Ḥaṣr*.

<sup>5</sup> Incomplete name.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Enoch* 7, 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Isrg* might be appellative, = "a beard". This would fit in three of the passages, but hardly in the fourth.

<sup>8</sup> Evidently this is the dream that Enoch reads in the fragment M 825c (= Text *B*, below), which therefore probably belonged to the *Enoch*. It should be inserted here.





but [the lord] that is above him. Not one that is sent . . . , but the man that sent him".<sup>1</sup> Thereupon Narimān . . . said . . . (86) . . . And (in) another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven. (90) And also I saw another place [where there were] tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived<sup>2</sup> in sin and evil deeds, when<sup>3</sup> . . .

(Frg. 1)<sup>4</sup> . . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous<sup>5</sup> . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone<sup>6</sup> . . . And the angels veiled<sup>7</sup> (or: covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight) Enoch. *Electae et audaces* (100) . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful [women], and demanded . . . them in marriage.<sup>8</sup> Sordid . . . (103) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khūzians<sup>9</sup> to sweep [and] (110) water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

(Frg. 2) (112) . . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, [the garland, and] the garment (of Light). The seven demons. Like a blacksmith [who] binds (or: shuts, fastens) and looses (or: opens, detaches) . . . who from the seeds of . . . and serves the king . . . (120) . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . (125)

R 125: "blowed chief who stands (*patghyd*?) as the sign of the Light flood." Lents has *patghyd*, but without having seen the manuscript one may presume a misreading (cf. *ibid.*, R 11, Lents: *pat* . . . *ghy*, but probably *patghy*; R 12, Lents: *p.d.r.*, but probably *pat*; *ibid.*, R 12, Lents: *a.r.*, but probably *am*; for further cases see *ibid.*, 1034, 10).

<sup>1</sup> St. John, 13, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *patghyd*: *patghy* = Parth. *patghy* = *patghy* (cf. Ar. *patghy*, Sogd. *patghy*; Parth. *patghy*; MPers. *patghy* is usually "to stand around, to be about, surround", sometimes "to stand around for the purpose of looking after someone" = "serve, guard, protect", often merely "to be". *patghy* "to stand off, to abstain" is presumably different (*para-hyda*)).

<sup>3</sup> The stories of visions in which Enoch sees the arrangements for the punishment of the fallen angels, etc., and of "the kings and the mighty" (chs. xvii sqq.), follows immediately upon the announcement of the divine judgment. Hence, frgs. 1-9 must be placed after frg. 1. Text G (below), which describes the execution of the divine order, could perhaps be inserted here.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to decide whether this fragment should be placed at the end or at the beginning of the book. The 400,000 Righteous may have perished when the Egrégorei descended to the earth. The "choosing of beautiful women", etc., strongly suggests the misbehavior of the Egrégorei on their arrival upon the earth. The hard labor imposed on the Mesenians and other nations may be due to the insatiable needs of their giant progeny (Enoch 7, 2 sqq.). On the other hand, "fire, naphtha, and brimstone" are only mentioned as the weapons with which the archangels overcame the Egrégorei, after a prolonged and heavy fight (Text G, 30), and the 400,000 Righteous may well have been the innocent non-combatant victims of this battle which may have had a demoralizing effect even upon the victors. To clear up the debris the archangels would naturally commandeer the men. We do not know whether Mani believed Enoch to have been moved out of sight (*patghy* Enoch, 12, 1) before the Egrégorei appeared, or before they were punished.

<sup>5</sup> See texts B, and Q (where 4,000 instead of 400,000).

<sup>6</sup> See BSOS., X, 398.

<sup>7</sup> See text T, line 3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Enoch, 7, 1?

<sup>9</sup> On *myān'ghyān* see BSOS., X, 945, n. 2, on *hwyān*, *ibid.*, 944, n. 7.

... the Pious gave ...! ... presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god ... (130) killing ... the seven demons ... eye ...

(Frg. b) ... various colours that by ... and bile. If ... from the five elements. As if (it were) a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their (140) garment is ... this corpse ... and not firm ... its ground is not firm ... Like ... (146) ... imprisoned [in this corpse], in bones, nerves,<sup>1</sup> [flesh], veins, and skin, and entered herself [— *Ac*] into it. Then he (= Man) cries out, over<sup>2</sup> (?) sun and moon, the Just God's (150) two flames<sup>3</sup> ...? ...<sup>4</sup> over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [Zrwān?], in each epoch,<sup>5</sup> sends apostles: Šit(š), Zarathustra, Buddha, Christ, ...

(Frg. h) ... evil-intentioned ... from where ... he came. The Misguided fail to recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals.

#### (160) ... On the Hearers

... we receive ... from Mani, the Lord, ... the Five Commandments to ... the Three Seals ... (164) ... living ... profession ... and wisdom ... moon. Rest from the power (or: deceit) ... own. And keep measured the mixture (?) ... trees and wells, in two ... (170) water, and fruit, milk, ... he should not offend his brother. The wise [Hearer] who like unto juniper [leaves]<sup>6</sup> ...

(Frg. f) ... much profit. Like a farmer ... who sows seed ... in many<sup>7</sup> ... The Hearer who ... knowledge, is like unto a man that threw (the dish called)<sup>8</sup> *frōdag* (180) [into] milk(?). He became hard, not ... The part that ruin ... at first heavy. Like ... first ... is honoured ... might shine ... (188) six days. The Hearer who gives alms (to the Elect), is like unto a poor (190) man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches (a position of) great

<sup>1</sup> *py(g)* always = nerves, since (not "fat" as in *Mis. Man.*, i, etc., an alternative rendering). It is equivalent to *nerfs* (Chevannes-Pollak, *Traité Man.*, 32/3 (624/5)), Uyghur *ningir* (*T.M.*, III, 18/20), Capt. = *Schar* (*Keph.*, 26, etc.), Sogd. *gšdar* (unpubl.). Cf. also *GrEd.*, 190, 4, where Goette, *ZfZ.*, n, 70, wrongly has "fat". *MPer.* *par* = *NPer.* *par* = *Pashio pash* or *Nogd. pššic* (not *Av. pššat*).

<sup>2</sup> Hardly "to". Cf. Comont, *Rech.*, i, 49, and my paper *NOOZ*, 1922, 224.

<sup>3</sup> Or: over the Just God, sun and moon, the (or: his) two flames. The "Just God" is the Third Messenger (not = *hpr'šgyr*, i.e. *Zrwān*).


<sup>4</sup> Unintelligible. *MS.* "... two flames given into the (or: his) hand".

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Sāp'at.W.*, 1934, 27, and *BSOS.*, VIII, 285.


<sup>6</sup> Cf. *M* 171, 32 sqq. 'uq'at uqal'g ky 'no 'hac'p'x; m'ah'g ky hmgw arymw 'šyd' uol amp' uol 'b'n pag ny rymw. 'u'gen haryc haryc'a uqal'g p'd p'd' uol uqal'g p'd aw'r' uq' dyf'o'r, l'd d'm' 'e uqydg'n' uq' l'd and 'u' uqydg'n, 'l'o yd uqydyg' f'hyft' uol w'ergft' 'l'kybd, etc. "And some Hearers are like unto the juniper which is ever green, and whose leaves are shed neither in summer nor in winter. So also the pious Hearer, in times of persecution and of free exercise (lit. open-mindedness), in good and bad days, under the eyes of the Elect or out of their sight, — he is constant in his charity and faith." Although the word *haryc* is incomplete in both passages, its restoration is practically a certainty.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the parable of St. Mark, iv, 3 sqq.


<sup>8</sup> Cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 36.

honour.<sup>1</sup> In the body  the Elect the (food given to him as) alms is purified in the same manner as a ... that by fire and wind ... beautiful clothes on a clean body ... turn ...

(Frg. a) ... witness ... fruit ... (200) ... tree ... like ... firewood ... like a grain (?) ... radiance. The Hearer in [the world ?], (and) the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship [on the sea]<sup>2</sup>; the towing-line<sup>3</sup> (is) in the hand of [the tower] on shore, the sailor (210) is [on board the ship]. The sea is the world, the ship is [the ...], the ... is the *faljma*, the tower is [the ... ?], the towing-line (?) is the Wisdom. ... (214) ... The Hearer ... is like unto the branch (?) of a fruitless [tree] ... fruitless ... and the Hearers ... fruit that ... (230) pious deeds. (The Elect,) the Hearer, and Vnhman, are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father: a piece of land, ... seed. They became partners ... they reap and ... The Hearer ... like ...

(Frg. d) ... an image (?) of the king, cast of gold ... (230) ... the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his ...<sup>4</sup> to a ... man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church,<sup>5</sup> is like ... pledge, who (= father ?) gave his son to ... learn ... to ... father, pledge ... (240) ... Hearer. Again, the Hearer ... is like ... stumble ... is purified. To ... the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (or: Roman) who ... infantist, one shoe ... who, however, with a denarius ... was. The wind tore out one ...  was abashed<sup>6</sup> ... from the ground ... ground ...

(Frg. m) ... (250) ... sent ... The Hearer that makes one ... is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons ... the enemy [killed] all ... The Hearer that ... piety ... (258) ... a well. One [on the shore of]


<sup>2</sup> An elaborate version of this parable is found in M 221 B 9-23: *u myrd'g by h'n ro'ng'n 'u wjydyg'n 'wryyd, 'u m'n'g 'u'm 'thet myrd [by] dext 'y nyy d'd dy, 'ud pd wrydyg 'ud 'gr'ydy 'byr hucydyr dy. 'ud h'n myrd 'y 'thet 'u hucydyr 'y 'uy gwygwy dext dext prymydy cy 'byr hucydyr [dy]. 'ud 'uy dext 'y hucydyr [ ] 'ud 'u d'd hucydyr'n [gwydy] 'ud d'd 'uy gwygwy pmdydy ?] 'ud pd wryd nd'gy. 'ud [ ] pwy 'yyd d'ymd [ ] pwydy 'qd 'c 'u'g myrd 'y [d] hucydyr d'd [formaliter mmdy].* "The Hearer that brings alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man to whom a pretty daughter has been born, who is very beautiful with charm and loveliness. That poor man fosters the beauty of that girl, his daughter. For she is very beautiful. And that beautiful daughter ...  presents her to the king. The king approves of her, and puts her into his harem. He has [several] sons by her. ... The sons that were born to that poor man's daughter ...". Throughout the story the parabolic optative *u* is in use.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar parable see below, lines 234 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *yyg*: this word, hitherto unexplained, occurs in the *Sabbatogda* (M 470 V III, spell *y'gy*). The sinners, roasting in hell, see the Righteous enjoying the New Paradise, and ask them: ... *um'n* ... *ygy 'u dext dyyd 'ud 'u 'yn nuydy bwyd* " ... got a rope (or: life-line) in our hands and rescue us from this conflagration". Cf. Pahl. Pers. sig. Nyberg, *Man. Käl.*, 68.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly "wreaths".

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Nephelais*, 192/3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Älth-gar-än* below, Y 43/4. For a discussion of *äth* see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, IX, 215 sq. Perhaps one can understand Äv. *äth* as "something that causes shame", hence "stain", etc. In that case *Äthäth* could be compared to *Apamas*. As regards NPers. *xyr*, mentioned  Zaehner, this may be connected with Sogd. *yyr't* "foolish". The word in *DñM.*, 395<sup>4</sup>, is not necessarily *kyrg-gon* (thus Zaehner, *ibid.*, 312). It might be *kyr* = Pahl. *xr* "ashen, grey, etc."

the sea, one in the boat. (260) [He that is on] shore, tows(?) him that is [in the boat].<sup>1</sup> He that is in the boat . . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . . ? . . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

(*Frg. M* 911) . . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . (270) . . . [Like unto a man] that bought a piece of land. [On that] piece of land [there was] a well, [and in that well a bag] full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

(*Frg. M* . . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . (280) like . . . the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honour, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

### B. Uygur

LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, ■. Bang, *Musica*, xlv, 13-17. Order of pages according to LeCoq (the phot. publ. by Bang seems to support LeCoq's opinion).

(*First page*) . . . fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his ?] centre (*onlu*) without increasing (? *adlmalis* ?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: "Oh son of Virōgdād, your affairs are lamentable (?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here." And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south, without, however, seeing him at ■. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then

(*Second page*) . . . " . . . for the closed \* door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die," said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . ., with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kōgmān mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, son of Virōgdād, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

### C. Sogdian

M 648. Small scrap from the centre of a page. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) (1) [ . . . . . ]t oo (2) w(y)n yṭw oo (3) 'rty nwkṛ wyṣp't xw a[hm qwyw ṣyr ?] (4) yp'qṣryy wβ' 'rty m[h'wy qwyw ?] (5) ḍat(w) βr' w'nw 'ty [zw (6) ['tly pṭxw'yn oo ■ (7) jn 'nyṭ q[wyṣt ?] (8) lyy ' (9) jny[

(*Second page*) (10) 'z '■ (11) n' pṣqwyṛ p'r(wty) ■ (12) a[hm qwyw t'f'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, lines 206-212.

\* On *ḍoyw* see Bang, loc. cit., p. 16, who has: "the door of the closed (locked) sun." Acc. to Enoch, chap. 72 sqq., there are 180 doors in the east one of which is opened each morning for the sun to pass through (the idea, familiar also from Pahlavi books, is of Babylonian origin).

q'm'i (13) 'r'šw 'zw ny w'e'm'k'm (14) '(z)w xwyy pršn kwn'm(k'm) (15)  
pts'r xw m'h'wy q[wy] (16) 'w xwsnd wš' (17) '(nd) kw (18) 'kr[

(First page) ... I shall see. Thereupon now Šāhm, the giant] was [very] angry, and laid hands on Mābawai, the giant], with the intention: I shall ... and kill [you]. Then ... the other giants ...

(Second page) ... do not be afraid, for ... [Šā]hm, the giant, will want [kill] you, but I shall not let him ... I myself shall damage ... Thereupon Mābawai, the g[iant], ... was satisfied ...

#### D. Middle-Persian

Published *Sh.P.A.W.*, 1934, p. 29.

... outside ... and ... left ... read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus ... and the trees that came out, those are the Egrēgoroi ('yr), and the giants that came out of the women. And ... over ... pulled out ... over ...

#### E. Sogdian

T iii 282. Order of pages uncertain.

(First page) (1) fryštyy wyn'nd oo (2) ' fryštyy ptydyh (3) 'wšn cytyš kyy (4) 'l' win't'ml oo 'rty (p)rw (5) fryštyy wyn'mndyy šyrš'yr (6) wyšndyt 'kt'nd oo 'r]ty šym'n] (7) wy' rtyy 'nwš'nd oo 'r]ty (m)s (8) cn [wy]ndyy kyy 'ty zwatm[byy] (9) 'l]ty 'špynd win't'nd oo 'yw [šršnd] (10) 'l]ty poyq(w)yr'nd oo 'l]ty[š'r]

(Second page) (traces of three lines) (14) kww [... kwnyy š'r nyy p[...]] oo (16) 'r]tyš'r wšn z'wrynd (16) (e)tyt kww šyr'ktyy fryšlyh (17) š'r w'nw ptyškw'nd oo kšwty (18) [... h]ym cn m'x "šyy y[w]n nyy (19) 'kt' l] oo 'rty šy ekn'e [py]š'r (20) [...]'šš. [...]'rty yr'n frm'n]

(First page) ... [when] they saw the apostle, ... before the apostle ... those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid.<sup>1</sup> Then ...

(Second page) ... not to ... Thereupon these powerful demons spoke thus [the pious apostle]: If ... by us any (further) sin [will] not [be committed], my lord, why? ... you have ... and weighty injunction ...

#### F. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 164. Six fragmentary columns, from the middle of a page. Order of columns uncertain. Instead of A///B///CDEF, it might have been: BCDEFA, or even CDEF///A///B.<sup>2</sup>

(Col. A) (1) '[(š)qwh]y]h? [ ] prwyy 'y 'nd'w'n] [ ] mwtzyd oo 'yd r'y

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Enoch*, 13, 9, ḡlšar špōš šrōš, al šlōr šwšpšm šlššyro šrōšōrōš r'š.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Enoch*, 13, 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the divine order for their punishment (*Enoch*, 10).

<sup>4</sup> [Other fragments of the same manuscript ("T i"), not however belonging to the *Enoch*, show that there were three columns to a page; hence, the correct order of the columns is: BCDEFA. Perhaps this text, too, is not a fragment of the *Enoch*.]



'w] (4) h'n wnywdyyh 'wd (5) 'xš'dyy 'y j'yd'[n] (6) 'wd 'w h'n 'dwr (7) n'd 'y wysp'[n] (8) swcyān'n oo 'wd (9) hwnyāt 'y wysp'n (10) wnywd'n 'stpt'[n] (11) qp'nd 'wd k' 'wys'[n] (12) drwynd'n wnywdyh (13) ghwdg'n 'adr 'wys'n (14) bryng'n 'wd

(Col. B) (traces of three lines) (18) why ny bwd hyd (19) 'wt'n pd wpytyh (20) 'wh (p)rm'd kw pd (21) h'n drwn p'dā'y (22) j'yd'n hyd 'ām'h (23) ('yn) [h]rwysp nyjd'd (24) ] 'wy

(Col. C) (25) ky pd w'ng 'y drwnyy (26) 'w 'm' 'bkrwyd (27) 'wd nyo 'wh pdys'y (28) 'ām' 'sq'rg bwd (29) hwm kwm'n wyn'd (30) 'wd nyo 'wh xwyā (31) gryw pd 'st'yān (32) 'wd wargyh 'ym'n (33) [ . . . ] d'd 'w 'ām' (34) ]n'y (35) ]md

(Col. D) (36) drwynd'n '[ . . . . . ] (37) (py)d'g 'ystyd kwt'n (38) gryw 'o 'yd 'dwr (39) 'w wnywd 'yg j'yd'n (40) pā'st oo oo 'wd (41) 'ām'h drwd'n (42) ghwdg'n 'yg gryw (43) xymyn 'wd 'hyd (44) gr'n 'yg gwyān'n (45) w'br'n 'yg 'wy (46) ywjāhr 'wd whw'g'n (47) 'yg qyrdg'n 'yg (48) xw'ālyy 'bd'g'n (49) ('yg) 'br qyrbgyh (50) [ . . . ] r'g'n 'yg (51) 𐤀 zydg (52) ](ky) xwyā (53) ].gyy wu[ . . ]

(Col. E) (54) ]nd oo ('wd) 𐤀 (55) pr'n 'apyz(t)'[n] (56) bydyndr<sup>1</sup> 'o) [h]'(n) (57) 'dwr 'w[d 'b]r[d]r (58) 'cyā pr(w)x'(')]nd 'wd] (59) w'y'nd oo 'w(š) ? (p)d (60) xwp'y 'wd pd (61) b'yst nyri'(nd) 𐤀 (62) 'wd xwd 'wys'n (63) 'rd'w'n kyā 'o (64) byrwn 'wd 'c 'br (65) p(yr)[mwn 'y]st'nd (66) 'wyn x(w)[d] 'br h'n (67) 'dwr warg 'wd 'br (68) wysp cyā 'ndr (69) p'dysā'y bw'nd (70) [']yb 'ād] (71) 'wd gy'n'[n] (72) 'yā pā (73) /// (74) ///

(Col. F) (75) 'dwr warg 'yg (76) wnywdyy 𐤀 āhr'[n] (77) swcynyd p'kdr 'wd (78) 'hā'rdr bynd (79) 'wā xwd 'c byrwn (80) 'wd 'c 'br pyr'mwn (81) 'yat'nd oo 'wān (82) 'apxyān 𐤀 (83) br'x'd 'wā byndr (84) 'cyā 'wd 'brdr (85) 'cyā w'y'nd pdys'y (86) gy'n'a ky 'c h'n (87) 'dwr 'bdxtā k'm'nd (88) 'wd h'n [ (89) p]

(Col. A) . . . poverty . . . [those who] harassed<sup>2</sup> the happiness of the Righteous, on that account they shall fall into eternal ruin and distress, into that Fire, the mother of 𐤀 conflagrations and the foundation of 𐤀 ruined tyrants. And when these sinful misbegotten sons<sup>3</sup> of ruin 𐤀 those crevices and . . .

(Col. B) . . . you have not been better. In error you thought you would enjoy this false power eternally.<sup>4</sup> You . . . 𐤀 this iniquity . . .

(Col. C) . . . you that call to us with the voice of falsehood. Neither did we reveal ourselves on your account, so that you could see us, nor thus . . . ourselves through the praise and greatness that to us . . . -given to you . . ., but . . .

<sup>1</sup> *swrīkās* is "persecute, harass", not "show pity" as hitherto translated (S 9; *Mir. Man.*, II; W.-L., II, 556, r 6).

<sup>2</sup> *ghed* (*Mir. Man.*, II), *ghedg'n* (*Mir. Man.*, I), *ghcya-* (ZII., ix, 183, 27): the derivation of these words from *mi* + 𐤀 𐤀 Schaeffer, *So.P.A.W.*, 1925, 492, n. 3, is based on the translation I had given; this translation, however, was based on nothing but this selfsame etymology.

<sup>3</sup> *Enoch*, 10, 10.



(Col. D) ... sinners . . . , is visible, where out of this fire your soul will be prepared (for the transfer) to eternal ruin (?). And as for you, sinful misbegotten sons of the Wrathful Self,<sup>1</sup> confounders of the true words of that Holy One, disturbers of the actions of Good Deed, aggressors upon Piety, . . . -ors of the Living . . . , who their . . .

(Col. E) . . . and on brilliant wings they shall fly and soar further outside and above that Fire, and shall gaze into its depth and height. And those Righteous that will stand around it, outside and above, they themselves shall have power over that Great Fire, and over everything in it. . . . blaze . . . souls that . . .

(Col. F) . . . they are purer and stronger [than the] Great Fire of Ruin that sets the worlds ablaze. They shall stand around it, outside and above, and splendour shall shine over them. Further outside and above it they shall fly " (7) after those souls that may try to escape from the Fire. And that . . .

### G. Sogdian

T ii. Two folios (one only publ. here; the other contains a wyß'γ on pī'qī ðyctyy "Discourse on the Nephilim-demons"). Head-lines: ■: pī'n prß'r<sup>2</sup> " . . . pronouncement ", V: ic frytγt ■ CC "The four angels with the two hundred [demons . . .]".

(Recto) (1) 'wma'zī ky pr sm'nyī wma'nd a'z (2) ny'zδ'nd 'ty ðynd'nd oo 'tyy xwīyy (3) wyānd frytγt en sm'nyy kw z'y (4) a'z w'xnd oo 'ryy CO ðywī wyānd (5) frytγtyyy wyū'nd oo lyyw ploykwyr'nd (6) '■ δrßnd<sup>3</sup> oo 'ryyy nūrxmnytyh (7) pī'sδ ny'zδ'nd '■ pycā'nd (8) oo wyδp'tyy wyānd frytγtyr w' (9) nūrxmnytyh (10) en ðywīyy xyn'n[d]<sup>4</sup> (10) 'tyy pr l kyt'n w' (11) en tynd oo 'lyān (11) cwpr p'lyy w'tynd oo . . . (12) wnyy kwyāz (13) z'tyyt wma'nd . . . l δßty' (14) 'pryw 'ngyr[p] (15) l δßty' xwīyy (16) 'ryyy wyā'nd (17) ■ on wyāndyyh 'jrytyt (18) wma'nd oo en ðywītyh (19) xyn'nd oo 'lyyān nymnyh [en] (Verso) (20) xwān kyt'n oo 'ty nymny en xwītyz (21) kyt'n pr iv mayx yty' pδ'mn<sup>5</sup> (22) ■ amyrtyyy pδww kww xxxii (23) knδ a'r ðkrtδ'nd oo kyy (24) w'ðyyw[nd]tyh en 'y'zyh (25) wyāndyyh pyδ'r pī'ttyh (26) wma'nd oo 'tyy 'ty'awyān n'm (27) jyyr'nd oo 'rytyh wyā'nd

<sup>1</sup> This passage in particular seems to show that the text is a fragment of the Kāvān. There are two groups of sinners here: one is (apparently) to be transferred from a preliminary fire-purification to the permanent hell at the end of the world (= the Egiğorōi), the other victims of the a'ßāqas (= Giants). The discussion on their final fate in the great conflagration, under the eyes of the self-satisfied Righteous (cf. *Sabūharōda*, III 470 V), is well in keeping with Mani's discursive style.

<sup>2</sup> w'y- (different from Parth. w'y- "to lead") - "to fly" or "to hunt": Cf. w'yw "hunter" (BBE, where the translation should be changed), *Str. Wb.* 135d, 1407.

<sup>3</sup> My pupil I. Gershevitch thinks prß'r should be derived from prß'r-. It is true that "pronouncement, announcement" fits most passages better than "chariot"! Hence, *Alphabeta* rendered as "the great announcement"!

<sup>4</sup> See above, E 4-10: cf. pδ'ß-, P 2, 1163, and Sogdian, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Str. BBE*, 105 (en / 78): Saka pī'm- ymā, etc.

<sup>6</sup> 'ngyr [ ? ] Hardly 'ngyrā. If -p-, from *ham-kōrp-*, cf. *MPers. Aām-kōrdm*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *MPers. dōman*, *Yidgha arānd*, *Morgensterne*, *IFL*, II, 194.

(28) mrtxmryt pr p[yr]nmc[y]k fs'k (29) 'tyy 'nδ(y)[k ...](y)y 'akwnd  
 oo (30) q[wa]nd oo oo (31) ] frysttyt (32) ] 'ty kw δywt (33) ? '](x)]s wytr'nd  
 oo (34) 'rtty wyān]d CC δywt δn (35) (c)[fr frysttyt]h 'pryw (36) δxy(y) \*  
 'x's ('kr)[tw]δ'nd (37) oo wytwr 'mry' xw(w) [? frysttyt (38) (')tr oft  
 'lyh y]wqt

... they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men<sup>2</sup> and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men<sup>3</sup> from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them ... the giants ... were sons ... with each other in bodily union ... with each other self ... and the ... that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them<sup>4</sup> from the demons. And they [ ] one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot [ ] the Sumeru mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.<sup>5</sup> And one calls (that place) Aryān-wāitan. And those men are (or : were) ... in the first arts and crafts.<sup>6</sup> (30) ... they made ... the angels ... and to the demons ... they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the (four angels), until (the angels used) fire, naphtha, and brimstone<sup>7</sup> ...

### EXCERPTS

#### ■. Sogdian

T II S 20. Sogdian script.<sup>8</sup> Two folios. Contents similar to the "Kephalais". Only about a quarter (I R 1-17) publ. here. The following chapter has as headline: "yāt k'n'y cna 'β[r]n'pδ[y]k w[pr]s = Here begins: Šanšai's<sup>10</sup> question about the world. Init. rty tym ZK f'nā[y] [cna] m'rniy rnyy pr'yδ[s'k'w w'nk'w 'lpr] 'gn'k 'βc'n'pδ Z' l'w ZKk mrtymt ('akwnt) oo c'n'c pyδ'r 'zy m'wδ 'cyyr'nt. And again Šanšai asked the Light Apostle: this world where mankind lives, why does one call it birth-death (samsāra, Chin. *sheng-szū*).

<sup>1</sup> Hardly *yaxtlyy* or *fydlyy* (it should be *yaxtlyt*, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *ky(w)*, but not *kyw*.

<sup>3</sup> Enuch, 17,1: *βρω βδλωα φαιστωα νωδ δ'αφωα*. *plδ's*, cf. *Sal. prottezhanda*.

<sup>4</sup> viz. the human associates of the demons, esp. the "daughters of men".

<sup>5</sup> viz. the giants and their children? Or merely the children of the giants? See below, B. According to Syncellus (*apud Fl.-B.*, p. 25) there were three generations: (1) the giants, (2) the Nephilim, their sons, and (3) the Elrod, their grandsons. In the Book of Enuch the giants are killed, or rather invited to kill each other, before the Egrigorei are punished (ch. 10). Their spirits shall roam the world, until the day of judgment, as *evēvora* roamed (15,8-10,1).

<sup>6</sup> This passage shows that the Sogdian text had been translated from either Middle Persian or Parthian (MPers. *ky m'p'wδ 'c n'wz 'wyl'w 'y' w'w'nd šwδ*, Parthian *ky w'd jymδδ 'c n'wz k'w'n w'w'd w'w'nd šwδ*).

<sup>7</sup> *nδyē* probably = skill, art, ability (differently, *BBB*, p. 106).

<sup>8</sup> See above, A 97.

<sup>9</sup> Fairly cursive, difficult to read.

<sup>10</sup> Probably by assimilation from *Šanšai* (= *Šanšai* in *Šw*).

(1) rty 'wn'kw 'yčow cwZYān 'prw (2) am'ny(th) ZKwy βyāty mpy'ny  
(wy)ty (3) wnt' oo rty ms tyn 'wn'kw cwZYā(n) (4) yypδ 'pz'tykw (n')β'y  
tmy' wyt'kw (5) wnt' oo rtyāms 'wn'kw cwZY prw (6) 'β'npδ wyty wnt'  
wβyw šytw (w)βyw (7) ynt'kw rty ('y)'z'nt s't ZKn mrtymy (8) ywyty ZY  
'βe'yt oo oo rty (nwkr) (9) ZKn šymyzyty . . . m. (mh) . δ . (h) . δw<sup>1</sup> (10)  
z't(t)[y] "[x'y]t rā[y] ? 'yw 'wyl'y' n[m] (11) kwnt' oo kyZY 'yw s(wyδy)w  
s'y(m) (12) kw'y 's[y]y(r)ty oo rtāy ms šštykw z'ty (13) (y'y) ? rtāy 'yy' n'm  
kwnt' rtāy (14) ms swyδ'yw p'ts'ym βwt oo rtyms (15) ZKh 'n'yt kw'yt  
oywyān p'r'ykt (16) šywyty ZY ykšyāty "x'yt'yt<sup>2</sup> (17) (in red ink) ptynty  
'šw C šywyty 'ys'm'nt'kw

... and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth, — all that they began to teach (*Acadindys*) in the men.<sup>3</sup> To Šahmizād two(1) sons were borne by' . . . One of them was named "Ohyā"; in Sogdian he is called "Šāhm, the giant". And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him "Ahyā"; its Sogdian (equivalent) is "Pāt-Šāhm". As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and Yakšas. (Colophon) Completed: (the chapter on) "The Coming of the two hundred Demons".

#### J. Sogdian

M 500 #. Small fragment.

(1) [(mr)z'(n)[y'] (2) [p(r) z'w(n)z] zwāmbky'b (3) ny nuytyly q'm oo  
'rty xw (4) s'hin qwy δ(wn) xypδδ (5) βr't p(r)yw 'ykwn jw(n)[d]k'no (6) p'ryy  
m'nyte fem[bδ] (7) pr z'w "t(y) z'w(r) oo 'ty pr

... manliness, in powerful tyranny, he (or: you!) shall not die". The giant Šāhm and his brother will live eternally. For in the whole world in power and strength, and in . . . [they have no equal].

#### QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

##### J. Middle-Persian

T ü D ü 120, V ü 1-6: ['wd pd 'māyā]nyh 'y dwayd dyw'n dw r'h axwn  
'y byšyān 'wd rxz 'yg 'stft 'yn 'w dwjx . . . and in the coming of the two  
hundred demons there are two paths: the hurting speech, and the hard labour;  
these (belong, or: lead) to hell.

##### K. Sogdian

■ 363.

(First page) (1) pyrn(m)[ (2) wnt'nd oo 'rtx' (3) wyapyy w' xypδ 'rk  
(pr)[w] (4) pōk' 'škrδδ'r'nd oo ['rty] (5) kōry cywγδ pγδ'r 'yw(š)[t] (6) ptywāt

<sup>1</sup> Read: *can šamāz ečōš 'šw'?* Or: *can šampak, etc.* The word *šf'ampak* [etc.] cannot possibly be fitted in. One naturally expects: . . . *can* . . . *yypδ šf'ampak*.

<sup>2</sup> Short for "x'yt'yt yw"; apparently not: "x'yt'at."

<sup>3</sup> See above, G 28-9, and below, text M. According to *Šnoek*, ch. 8, the fallen angels imparted to mankind unholy arts and undesirable knowledge, e.g. astrology, necromancy, soothsaying, metallurgy, production of weapons, even the art of writing (ch. 28, 2).

'kt'nd[*t oo*] (7) p'rty x' CC *dywł en* (8) 'akyy am'nyy pr(m)[ (9) [ . . . ] c'žr kw 'xrwzn [s'r] (10) w'xz'nd 'rty w' [

(*Second page*) (11) [f]ambōyy 'ywšt (12) ptywšt 'kt'ndt p'rty (13) [! *dywy*](š)n xw jw'nmcy pšnd (14) ['kt]y w'tynyy r'ktyy xw (15) [! pš]nd on 'naxwzyny (16) pššštyy 'styh (17) (*In red ink*) [p]tmtyt<sup>4c</sup> = fambōy wyšš'y (*One line left blank*) (18) (*In red ink*) ['yš]t (yyš)w 'ys'mndy (19) (*In red ink*) [(y) wny 'š'my sytylyy šyy (20) ]š(xšš['] 'ty .[

(*First page*) . . . before . . . they were. And all the . . . <sup>a</sup> fulfilled their tasks lawfully. Now, they became excited and irritated for the following reason: namely, the two hundred demons came down to the sphere from the high heaven, and the . . .

(*Second page*) . . . in the world they became excited and irritated. For their life-lines and the connections of their Pneumatic Veins<sup>a</sup> are joined to the sphere. (*Colophon*) Completed: the exposition of the three worlds. (*Head-line*) Here begins: the coming of Jesus and [his bringing] the religion to Adam and Šitil. . . you should care and . . .

#### L. Coptic

*Kephalaia*, 171<sup>16-17</sup>: Earthquake and malice happened in the watchpost of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who arose at the time when they were . . . and there descended those who were sent to confound them.

#### M. Coptic

*Kephalaia*, 92<sup>14-15</sup>: Now attend and behold how the Great King of Honour who = *Ierousa*, is in the third heaven. He is . . . with the wrath . . . and a rebellion . . . when malice and wrath arose in his camp, namely the Egrēgoroi of Heaven who in his watch-district (rebelled and) descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven = the men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth . . .

#### N. Parthian

M 35, lines 21-36. Fragment of a treatise entitled 'rdng wyfr's = Commentary on (Mani's opus) *Ardahang*.<sup>a</sup>

(21) oo oo 'wd 'e 'dwr wzrg 'znd (22) = cw'gwn 'xwryd pd dybhr syedyn (23) 'w 'ym zmbwdyg 'dwr oo 'wš wšš (24) s'yd oo cw'gwn 'ym 'dwr ky pš (25) tnb'r oo 'w b'yn 'dwr oo ky pd b'r (26) 'wd wxrdyg 'syd oo 'xwryd š wšš (27) s'yd oo byd cw'gwn dw br'de'n (28) ky frg[w] wynd'd oo 'wd pšg mrd oo (29) ['yw pš byd] 'ng'fd 'wd mwd (30) ['hynd] oo cw'gwn 'why' twy'tyn (31) 'wd rwf'yl 'yw pš byd (32) 'ng'fd oo 'wd 'pyd 'hynd oo cw'gwn<sup>1c</sup>(33)

<sup>1</sup> Copyist's mistake (read: *šyrdyg*).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the stellar demons.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JR.N.*, 1942, 382 n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> If Mani's famous *Erta* was indeed a picture-book, this *Tifrās* may well have been the explanatory text published together with it; cf. Polotsky's suggestion, *Mos. Havn.*, 18, n. 1, on Mani's *erda* (but see *BBB.*, pp. 284-1. There is no reason for "identifying" the *Erta* with Mani's *Erangelion* (Schaefer, *Onomast.*, 9, 347). The fragments of the *Tifrās* (M 35, 11 193, M 206, M 268, M 740, T ii K, T iii D 279) will be published at some other opportunity.

šrgz'dg g'wz'dg pd mrg oo 'wd (34) rwb's 'yw pd byd 'ng't'd (35) ('wd 'pyd 'hynd oo) oo 'w'gwn (36) (hw 'dwr wzrg 'w] hrw dw ('[d](w)r oo

And the story about the Great Fire: like unto (the way in which) the Fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like unto (the way in which) this fire that is in the body, swallows the exterior fire that is (lit. comes) in fruit and food, and enjoys it. Again, like unto (the story in which) two brothers who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like unto (the fight in which) Ohya, Lawyātn (= Leviathan), and Raphael lacerated each other, and they vanished; like unto (the story in which) a lion cub, a calf in a wood (or; on a meadow), and a fox lacerated each other, [and they vanished, or; died]. Thus [the Great Fire swallows, etc.] both of the fires. . . .<sup>1</sup>

M 740. Another copy of this text.

(1) 'hy' lwy'tyn [ (2) byd 'ng't'd oo] (3) šrg z'dg] (4) rwb's 'yw] etc. = Ahya, Leviathan, etc.

O. Arabic, from Middle-Perian?<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ghazānfar (Abū Ishāq Ibn. M. Muḥ. al-Tibrizī, middle of thirteenth century), in Sachau's edition of Beruni's *Āthār al-būyūh*, Intr., p. xiv; The *Book of the Giants*, by Mani of Babylon, is filled with stories about these (antediluvian) giants, amongst whom Sām and Narmān.

P. Coptic

*Keph.* 93<sup>22-24</sup>: On account of the malice and rebellion that had arisen in the watch-post of the Great King ☩ Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who from the heavens had descended in the earth, — on their account the four angels received their orders: they bound the Egrēgoroi with eternal fetters in the prison of the Dark(?), their sons were destroyed upon the earth.

Q. Coptic

*Manich. Psalm-book*, M. Allberry, 142<sup>1-2</sup>: The Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured. This multitude that were wiped out, four thousand . . . Enoch also, the Sage, the transgressors being . . .

R. Coptic

*Man. Homil.*, ed. Polotaky, 68<sup>12-13</sup>: . . . evil. 400,000 Righteous . . . the yearn of Enoch . . .

S. Coptic

*Keph.*, 117<sup>1-2</sup>: Before the Egrēgoroi rebelled and descended from heaven, a prison had been built for them in the depth of the earth beneath the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> The point is that A eats or kills B, after B had finished C. A man killed his brother over the treasure, but was killed by a third party, etc. The Great Fire will devour the bodily fire which had swallowed the "exterior fire". Hence, Ohya killed Leviathan, but was killed by Raphael.

<sup>2</sup> St. Wikander, *Vaga*, I [1941], 166, quotes my article on Enoch, and my paper in *ZDMG.*, 1936, p. 4, and remarks that *cipinesulichenoeie* I had forgotten Al-Ghazānfar's notice on Sām and Narmān. Less careless readers will find Ghazānfar's notice quoted in extenso on the page cited by Wikander.

Before the sons of the giants were born who knew not Righteousness and Piety among themselves, thirty-six towns had been prepared and erected, so that the sons of the giants should live in them, they that come to beget . . . who live a thousand years.

### F. Parthian

M 2914. Order of pages unknown.

(First page) (1) [']dyng pdkr π(s) (2) [r'n hxt mztwhm .] (3) [u hwnwx ugwt o š'n e.] (4) [(g)'n pdgryft oo pš pl m'z[nt] (5) [(b)ndg u drxt 'by'b oo p[š] (6) ] u dyw'n bet oo 'wš'n .] (7) . hft 'wd dw'dys [p].

(Second page) (8) .r hry hz'r dwysl hāt'd u [ (9) wy]bč'p š'h ar eo [ (10) ] pd 'pdn 'spyxt oo šbyč [ (11) ] oo byd 'w hr 'māg mrd .] (12) . bzyšk w'c'rg'n wryg[r] (13) ] pš zryh oo 'xw'r [ (14) ] 'n oo zygyn 'z[ ] oo[ ]

(First page) . . . mirror . . . image . . . distributed. The men . . . and Enoch was veiled (= moved out of sight).<sup>1</sup> They took . . . Afterwards, with donkey-goats . . . slaves,<sup>2</sup> and waterless trees (?). Then . . . and imprisoned the demons. And of them . . . seven and twelve.

(Second page) . . . three thousand two hundred and eighty.<sup>3</sup> . . . the beginning of King Vištāsp.<sup>4</sup> . . . in the palace he flamed forth (or: in the brilliant palace). And at night . . . then to the broken gate . . . men . . . physicians, merchants, farmers, . . . at sea. ? . . . armoured he came out . . .

### APPENDIX

#### E. Parthian

T II D 58. From the end ( . . . & c.) of a hymn.

(1) [ . . . ] [ ] 'w[ ] (2) [d d'h[w] [']n oo r'ngt šhadr<sup>1</sup> (3) [d š'h wyāt'ap (4) t'ry]n wyjn whm u zryl (5) šh [n]r' b'nhyšn xwdw (6) t'rwālyft pdgryf [kw'n'r] (7) ] oo tlw'r 'w[ ] ngwn [ ] [ ] wynd [ ] 'w y'wynd<sup>2</sup>

. . . gifts. A peaceful sovereign [was] King Vištāsp. [in Aryājn-Waišan<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> See above, A 58.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, A 105 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the number of years supposed to have passed from the time of Enoch to the beginning of the reign of Vištāsp. The date for Enoch was probably calculated with the help of the Jewish world-era, or the mundane era of Alexandria (beginning 5493 a.b.), or by counting backwards from the Deluge. Taking 3237 a.c. (but 3251 a.c. according to the Coptic chronology) as the date of the Deluge (see S. H. Taqizadeh, *BSOS.*, X, 122, under c), and adding 689 (= from Enoch's death to the Deluge according to the Hebrew Genesis), and subtracting the number in our fragment, 3,238 [81], from 3,237 - 669 = 3,000, the resulting date, 618 a.c., agrees perfectly with the traditional Zoroastrian date for the beginning of Vištāsp's reign (258 + 360 years before Alexander's conquest of Persia, 330 a.c.; cf. Taqizadeh, *ibid.*, 127 sq.). From this one may infer that the famous date for Zoroaster: "258 years before Alexander" was known to Mani (Nyberg, *Rel. Alt. Iran.*, 32 sqq., thinks it was invented towards the beginning of the fifth century).

<sup>4</sup> The name is possibly to be restored in *Fah. Man.*, III, p. 39, No. 22, R 3, where *wy. t'šp* was read by LeCoq.

<sup>5</sup> In quoting this text in *EDMG.*, 90, p. 5, I took *wyjn* for what it seemed to be, *wic. Višan*. But as the appearance of *šhāc* in connection with Vištāsp is incomprehensible, I have now restored [r'y]n-wyjn, see above, G 88.

Wahman and Zarēl . . . . The sovereign's queen, Khudōs,<sup>1</sup> . . . received the Faith,<sup>2</sup> the prince . . . They have secured (a place in) the (heavenly) hall, and quietude for ever and ever . . .

F. Sogdian

M 692. Small fragment. Order of pages uncertain.

(First page) (1) k[ (2) pyδr . . . [ (3) 't[ty] 'ww βyγkty δm'n 't[ty] <sup>3</sup> (4) 'ww "ykwnyck δ'twxy(') (5) 'ty šyryy 'waryy eo [oo] (6) p'rtty (w)[l(nw) wxat[ty] ? (7) prywynd jmn(w) (8) ymyh prw fcm̄b(δ) (9) wm't eo 'rtty pr awy m['x ? (10) fcm̄bδykt frū (11) sytm'n mww'n[d (12) wysp[

(Second page) (13) | . . . . h puc (14) [ps'k nm'ck'n šr'nd eo (15) (')rtm̄ xw ymyh 'ww ps'kt (16) |t ptyxš eo 'rtxw w'n(t): (17) j'k ky 't[ty] [ . . ]'lyh (18) [(')t mzyx 'xš'wn (19) jyy w'm't eo 'rtm̄ prw (20) [štyy eo 'rtty šyr'n'm (21) | 'ty cn 'ww<sup>4</sup> štyrkty (22) p[š'k prw šrw w'(st) (23) fcm̄bδykt

(First page) . . . because . . . the House of the Gods, eternal joy, and good . . .<sup>5</sup> For so it is said : at that time . . . Yima was . . . in the world. And at the time of the new moon (?) . . . the blessed denizens of the world<sup>6</sup> . . . all assembled<sup>7</sup> . . . 𐭠𐭣𐭠 . . .

(Second page) . . . they offered five garlands in homage.<sup>8</sup> And Yima accepted those garlands . . . And those . . . that . . . and great kingship . . . was his. And on . . . them . . . And acclamations<sup>9</sup> . . . And from that pious (?) . . . he placed the garlands on his head . . . the denizens of the world . . .

<sup>1</sup> For the spelling, cf. *Antes apud Theodora* bar Kōmay.

<sup>2</sup> 'mud - unswayed - believe, faithful (not "and"!), from *hward*, Arm. *hewat*.

<sup>3</sup> The lines 1,4 and 14,15 are possibly complete.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "food" or "banquet" : Cf. Parth. 'xra, etc. Also Budd. sogd. 'ayr- ('ey'e) *hupf. w'yr*, Inf. 'ay'urt, etc.) "to almsdon" (*SCZ.*, 562; *Dhuta*, 41. P 2, 97, 219; P 7, 82, m.c. appears to be of no use here.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. NPers. *jahānapān*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Vol., II, 20.<sup>7</sup> But the Manich. fragment appears to describe the election of Yima to the sovereignty over the world.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *HSUS.*, X, 192, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *šyr'n'm* is a *harmadānāy*, an acclamation(s), cheering, cf. e.g. *Harām /ry.* (P 13, 5) *grw Hltw šyr'n'm* "with loud cheers" : it should not be confused with the *hahwrtih šyr'n'm* "well-reputed, famous" (e.g. *Reichelt*, II, 63, 9; *šyr'n'm*?, 1843, 61, 2, cf. *BHB.*, 91, on n 11). But *šyr'n'm* is also "good" fame", see e.g. *V.J.*, 156, 169, 1159.





## The Murder of the Magi

WHEN the Persians, led by Darius, had slain Gaumāta the Magian and a great number of his colleagues (. . . ἔκτεινον αὐτὸν τὰς μύθων εὐρισκόν), they instituted an annual feast to remind the Magians of their humiliation: it was called τὰ μαγοφόνια (Herodotus, iii, 79), or ἡ μαγοφορία (Ctesias, *epit. Photii* 15, § 46 ed. Gilmore). Gilmore (p. 149 n.) wisely remarked that "the agreement of Herodotus and Ctesias makes it impossible to doubt the existence of this strange custom". Ctesias, after having stayed at the Persian court for seventeen years, could not help knowing whether or not such a feast existed, and he would never have foregone the opportunity of correcting his predecessor.

In spite of this, however, J. Marquart thought that Herodotus' (and Ctesias') story was based merely on a misunderstanding. The Persians, he suggested, did have a great feast on (or close to) the 10th of Bāgayādi (the date of Gaumāta's death) which was called \*Baga-yāda "sacrifice to Baga" and was devoted to the adoration of Baga = Mithra: it represented the feast known in later times under the name of Mithrakāna (Mithrgān) which was held at the beginning of autumn. Greek observers, misled by the coincidence of that feast with the anniversary of the murder of Gaumāta, misinterpreted its Persian name and thus invented the *Magophonia*.<sup>1</sup>

One may feel some regret in thus finding one of the more colourful bits of historical tradition consigned to the critical scrapheap, and therefore prefer the compromise solution recently put forward by S. H. Taqizadeh.<sup>2</sup> According to this scholar there may have been two feasts close to each other, the \*Babayāda-Mithrgān on the day of the autumnal equinox, and the *Magophonia* on the 10th of Bāgayādi. In the year of Gaumāta's death, 522 B.C., both dates would have fallen on the same day, or possibly on consecutive days: the conspirators may have chosen a feast-day for the execution of their plot, "when the court was expected to indulge in pleasure

<sup>1</sup> *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Krom*, ii 64; ii, 132, 135-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Iranian Calendars*, 39 sq., 44 sq.

and was less on its guard." With the introduction of the "Young Avestan" calendar about 441 A.C. both feasts were united as the "lesser" and the "greater" *Mithrōn*, on the 16th and 21st of the month of *Mitr*.<sup>1</sup>

We may do well, however, to remind ourselves on what flimsy foundation the structure is built which Marquart has erected around the presumed feast of *\*Bāgayāda*. Its basis is merely an etymology of the name of the Old Persian month of *Bāgayādī*, an etymology which has little to recommend itself, judged either from the point of view of word-formation,<sup>2</sup> or from the general character of the other Old Persian month-names (purely agricultural names).<sup>3</sup> The further assumption that *baga* (if indeed that word entered into the compound) had the value of another name for Mithra, is unsupported by any <sup>4</sup> evidence as far as Western Iran is concerned; in a limited sense it can be admitted only for

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the double feast of *Mithrōn* may owe its origin merely to the mistake made when the epagomena were shifted from the end of the year to the end of the first month, at the occasion of the first intercalation (cf. the Lesser and Greater *Naxrōn*). The mistake would make itself felt after the epagomena were placed at the end of (or, at any rate, after) the month of *Mitr*, i.e. after the seventh intercalation, about A.D. 400. This, therefore, should be the earliest date for the division of the *Mithrōn*. Beruni, *Chron.*, 224<sup>2</sup>, mentions Hormizd I in this connection (not Hormizd IV, Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 45, n. 4). To speak of a "five-day feast of *Magophonie*" as Marquart did (i, 84), is incorrect. Herodotus clearly says that the feast occupied a single day.—A different case is presented by the Lesser and Greater *Tirōn* (Beruni, *Chron.*, 220<sup>2</sup>). Of the Manichaean fragment M 16 in which (vers., line 25) we have to restore 'ud n'm ['y ttr] ruc 'y mry "And Nabīd in his book has mentioned the name of the 'Great *Tirōn*' for this reason that a great and mighty work is performed on that fourteenth day".

<sup>2</sup> Not counting *šāyrtī* (of uncertain etymology), *Bāgayādī* would be the only case of *-yādī* in an Old Persian month-name. A form from *\*yaz* corresponding to *-yādī* is unknown elsewhere in Iranian. A parallel is often drawn between *Bāgayādī* and *Ādriyādīya* although the endings differ. In no case could the latter mean "(month) of fire-worship": there is no such word as *\*ādrī* "fire". According to Meillet-Benveniste, *Gramm.*, 65, 154, the original form was *\*ādrī-yādīya*; this would represent pre-Iranian *\*ādr-yādīya* which, however, could appear in OPer. only as *\*ādr(yādīya)*: *-dr* becomes *-fr* in Iranian only where a vowel follows. Bartholomae more correctly assumed *\*ādrīye* as first part of the compound (pre-Iranian *\*ādrīye*). But this means "ashes", not "fire": who would worship ashes?

<sup>3</sup> With this in view one might prefer to find Old Iranian *bāga* "lot; allotment; cultivated land" (Sogdian *bāy*, Persian *bāy*, etc.) in the first part of the compound. *-yādī* may be connected with Vedic *yadāmana*, Skt. *yāda*, etc. Thus, *bāgayādī* possibly = "fertilizing the farmland", or even "irrigation of the gardens".

<sup>4</sup> For *Bāgay-wīd* (*Bāgay-atīaf*) see Marquart's own remarks, loc. cit., ii, 133 n.

Sogdiana<sup>1</sup> and Khwarezm<sup>2</sup> in late Achaemenian times.<sup>3</sup> In Old Persian *baga* is "deity" in general,<sup>4</sup> and in particular the attribute of Ahura Mazda. How little, in Western Iran, the epithet of *baga* clung to Mithra's name, is shown by the Manichaean texts (which reflect the usage of the third century A.D.) in which Mithra is always called *yazd* (*Mithrayazd*), while *baga* forms an ingredient of Ahura Mazda's (and other deities') names (*Ohrmizdbag*, *Ohrmizdbai*). Finally, the projection of the later feast of *Mithrġān* into remote antiquity is open to objection. Ctesias is the first to mention such a feast,<sup>5</sup> without however connecting it in any way with the feast of Magophonia.<sup>6</sup> It was in Ctesias' time that the cult of Mithra gained wider acceptance among the Persians: there is no reason to believe that a feast dedicated to that deity had any importance for them long before Artaxerxes II.

However that may be, the case for the verity of Herodotus' statement will be strengthened by proving that an exact replica of the word *μαγοφονία* (*magophōnia*) existed in Iranian. Such a word occurs in the Manichaean-Sogdian fragment T M 393 (published here for the first time), as *meyzt* (line 27). As the Sogdian text is evidently a translation made from Middle Persian (or Parthian), it is somewhat difficult to decide whether *meyzt* is a genuine Sogdian word or merely transliterated from the Middle Persian.<sup>7</sup> Whichever may be true there is little doubt that *meyzt* is not a recent composition,<sup>8</sup> but continues an Old Iranian word \**mayu-iatī* = *magophōnia*.

<sup>1</sup> *Bayākān* = *Mithrān*. In what way *βασπῆς* = *devagutras* = *rien-tré* could point to the equation of *Bay* = *Mithra* (Marquart, *RE. cil.*, ii, 134), escapes me.

<sup>2</sup> *βίη* = *Mithrās* (Tačizadeh, loc. cit., 38, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> At the time of the introduction of the "Young Avestan" calendar in those provinces.

<sup>4</sup> Hence also applicable to Mithra. For the Avesta see Bonvéniste, *Les Magas dans l'Ancien Iran*, 22 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Athenaeus, *Dipnosoph.*, x, 434r ("on a single day").

<sup>6</sup> See S. H. Tačizadeh rightly stresses, loc. cit., 45.

<sup>7</sup> The correctly transliterated form should have been \**meyzā*, but the translator may have Sogdianized it. The Sogdian script does not distinguish between *z* and *ā*.

<sup>8</sup> "to kill" is *gadān* in Middle Persian (beside *tašān*); in Sogdian, *šan*, *šr*. is hardly used, except for "striking" string instruments.—I take this opportunity to correct the reading of the Middle Persian fragment M 177 (Müller, *H.R.*, ii, 88) where *'wzy'n* (acta, line 11) is written as a single word: "There are nine varieties of slaughtering. Firstly, he who himself kills. Secondly, he who attempts it. Thirdly, he who impels (others to it), etc." *'wzy'n* = Parthian *'wzy'n* "slaughter" (thus to be corrected, *BSOS.*, ix, 86) = Sogd. *'wzy'n* (*'wzy'n*), from *am-šayō* (*-šayō* ?).

Sogdian *muryz* in the Manichaean text means "killing the Magians", but not "the feast devoted to remembrance of that act". The murder of the Magi is here ascribed to Alexander: this agrees well with the Zoroastrian tradition in which Alexander always appeared as a monster of iniquity who burnt the sacred books and massacred the priests.<sup>1</sup> The Magians naturally desired to let the true origin of the \**Mayu-zati* fall into oblivion,<sup>2</sup> and therefore hastened to transfer the evil deed to the person of the hated conqueror. The Manichaeans, of course, derived their information from the Zoroastrian priests.<sup>3</sup>

The Sogdian fragment in which the \**Mayu-zati* is mentioned enumerates the "greatest sinners in history", those who interfered with the mission of the inspired prophets. To make the text understandable, it may be worth while to recapitulate the Manichaean prophetology. Mani based his teaching on revelation. The object of the divine inspirations he had received, was to make known the true state of the world to mankind. God had granted similar revelations to earlier prophets, Adam, Zoroaster, Buddha, Christ, and others. But the content of all revelations, whether received by Mani or by his predecessors, was the same: they emanated from the same source and were given for the same purpose. Consequently Christianity, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Manichaeism must have been one and the same religion. This was Mani's firm belief, and his conviction was in no way disturbed by the deplorable fact (which he could not and did not fail to observe) that those religions were very different from each other. Casting round for a reason to account for this strange diversity, he evolved his theory of the "corruption" of the earlier religions. The prophets had failed to take due precautions for ensuring the continuity of their teachings; they had written no books or too few books; their first disciples already had misunderstood them, and the misunderstandings had multiplied from generation to generation; lastly, the evil powers had been busy sending their emissaries to increase the confusion, so that in the end the kernel of truth was completely lost in the medley of error. From the Manichaean point of view, the traditional

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Markwart, *Sandarmencies*, 536 sqq., Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, 161 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Agathias complains that they were all too successful in this (*Hist.* ii, 26, pp. 122 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> In Greek sources Alexander is a model of toleration. Cf. especially the Syriac *Hist. of Alex.*, ed. Budge, ii, 11 (transl. 62-3).

enemies of the other religions were not greater sinners than their apostles, teachers, and propagators. All of them were equally guilty of leading mankind astray from the path of the truth. Thus we find the murderous Devadatta joined by King Aśoka and the pious Upagupta (?), or the name of the venerable Zānāsp coupled with that of the accursed Alexander.

Among the enemies of Zoroaster is included one *Kūyōne* (or *Kōyōne*, -s from -ak), "the son of Ahriman." As far as I know, no such name is mentioned in other sources.<sup>1</sup> This is puzzling because the other personages enumerated in the Manichaean text are very well known indeed. However, the name recurs in another Manichaean-Sogdian fragment, ■ 549, the text of which will be found at the end of this article. Its purport is not very clear, but it seems to be concerned with some heathenish practices. The "Lady Nana" (or Nan), in line 20 of that fragment, may be the goddess *Nana(i)*.<sup>2</sup> The town (?) of *Zimat*<sup>3</sup> reminds one of Hsüan-ts'ang's 說株陀 *Zuei-mei-to* (*I'ui-muāt-d'd*),<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbeh's الزمان,<sup>5</sup> to the south-west of Balkh.

## TM 393

Sogdian \* script of the late type. Caption: V ny'w'k'n'k R toy-δβ'γ = "Homily addressed to laymen". The appending folio (not published here) contains a *ky'n wβ'r's* = "discourse on the soul".<sup>6</sup>

(R 1) δ'rδ rty wy'nā L' βyrtw-δ'rδ rty o'n'kw (2) prm tnp'r RBkm'nyty wn'tāδ rtann tnp'r(-) ■ mycy δ't'wyy'kh pyδ'r ZKn γrβ w'tδ'r (4) 'z-w'nā z-ytδ'rδ ZY δ'twyw ZY w'y'nty-t (5) 'krtāδ

<sup>1</sup> The name given by Zānāsp, xxi, 8 (xxv, 2, ed. Anklesaria), cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 94, can hardly be compared. This goes also for *Agonaces* (?), Pfluy, *Hist. nat.*, xix, 1 (2), 4. The name of *Kōyōne* olōd (capital of Bādghīs, Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 160; *Wahrot*, 40) is scarcely pertinent.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Sogdica*, p. 7. Cf. *Hist. of Alexander*, III. Budge, 204' (transl. p. 115). *β'g'mā* recalls HPers. *bānāk* as epithet of Anāhītā; cf. Hoffmann, *Martyrer*, 155; Greek *Agathangelos*, 14<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This is also the name of the eleventh Sogdian month.

<sup>4</sup> See Watters, i, 113 sq.

<sup>5</sup> 37<sup>th</sup>, in the tax-list of 'Abdullāh b. Jābir. See Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> [restored], (damaged or uncertain) letters, see *BSOS.*, xi, p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> An interesting sentence from that "discourse" may be quoted here: *rtawr ZK wyyw m'n ZY praryt 'i cym'gō mōδ'ap'ni βyhty βr'k'k ynt rēn yaty γpβ tyty β'at* "All souls and Fravashis are cul from those element-gods; they are their own seed".

rtý 'kðry ywðk'r p'r'yðð 'wy-h (6) ðywtý ðsty- 'tβn yw L' z'tý L' (7) ðwyth pe'yty L' wðwh L' pryð L' (8) mr'z L' ywtýywyät'kw ZY L' ðyrywz-'kw (9) [L] 'yw yz-ny y-r'm'kw L' 'sp'neh L' (10) (Z)K ð'yknw L' yns s'r'βy<sup>10</sup> L' ðyr'kk (11) prðt'kw L' 'yw z-yncykw 'apy p'rZ-Yðn (12) wyspn'ðw pry ZK yw'r 'krty ZY 'wyh (13) [t]nyh 'wptsð<sup>10</sup> rty 'kðry ðymyð tm'yk 'try (14) swysð'k'm ZY rm 'tðrmnw ZY ðywtý pr'yw pr (15) 'ykwncykw ðntw ðstyty ðwð'k'm oo oo

(16) rty 'yw 'prtnncykw 'psypw w'β'ky ZY 'krt'ny (-) (17) k'r'kw ZKh nrtynh wnt [kly ZY 'ðry y'wr (18) ZKw 'ð'm enn ðyny nyðk'w (ZY ZK) 'prtm'wh (19) ptyw'nk w kynh wnt'w [ky ZY ZKw yypð] (20) 'HYw<sup>2</sup> ptywstð'rtý ZY ywy-(r)[any kyr'n eyntr ?] (21) ZKw 'prtmw ynt'kw yh '(ð)[<sup>4</sup> about 10 letters] (22) 'kð'r'ntw ky ZY ZKw pr'mn'neh [ðynh nðtw] (23) ð'r'nty ZY 'w ðs z-nk'nw pty'r prw ['ðe'npð] (24) 'wst'tw ð'r'nt oo rtyw ðstykw ['psypw] (25) w'β'kw 'yw z-m'apw wnt ky [ZY prw] (V 26) 'z-r'wðcw psypw wytwð'rtý rtyw nkynt<sup>10</sup> (27) MLK'<sup>3</sup> ky ZY mwyz-tw 'kð'rtý rtyw kwy-wn'kw (28) ZK 'tðrmnw z-t'k ky ZKw mwy'neh ðynh (29) nðtwð'rtý oo ZY 'ð'ykw 'psypw w'β'k (30) 'yw wpr'tt ðmay wnt'w rtyw ðwk' MLKys<sup>10</sup> (31) ky prw ð'kmnw pwt'y 'psypw wytw ð'rt (32) ZY ms 'yw tyðð'tty 'krt'nk'r'y ky [Z]Kw (33) pwtý ðynh nðtwð'rtý oo ZY cð'r-mykh<sup>10</sup> (34) 'psypw w'β'kw yw 'ðkr'y-wt' wnt k(y) (35) prw mðyy' 'apypw<sup>10</sup> wyð'rtý rtms 'k[rt](n)y (36) k'roh yb s'tt'nð z-wy'nch ky ZY 'w (37) trs'k'neh ðynh nðtw ð'rtý rtms tym (38) 'nytw 'krt'ny kr'ity wnt'ntw ky 'tðn (39) ZKw 'z-h 'tyw 'tðrmnw ð'r'yeykw z-ytw (40) ð'rtý rty prw pwt'yðty ZY ry'ntty ZY prw (41) 'rt'wty ðynd'rtý ZY pr ðyr'krity mrtymty (42) 'psypw wyt(wð'r)ty<sup>10</sup> rty y'ntt w'β' (43) 'krt'ny kr'(yt)[cm] 'tðrmnw pr'w<sup>10</sup> prwh<sup>10</sup> (44) ['ykwncykw ðntw] ðstyty ðntk'm w'n'kw ZY (45) [about 11 letters] ðntk'm oo oo (46) [about 15]kw p'z-ny ðrm'ykw ywβw ZK (47) [about 12]ntw rywðny ðr'yðt'kw ðy'y mr (48) [m'ny w'n'](kw) prmt'ð'rtý kw ny'wð'kt ð'r (49) [kð' βn] (r)yz-'tk'm rty ny'wðð 'tβn prß'yr'n (50) [about 8 letters + w](r)nkyntw ny'wð'kty ky ZY ZKw mn'

<sup>1</sup> *ðpalsð* shortened from *ðpalsðð*.

<sup>2</sup> Not sufficient space for ZY ZEA.

<sup>3</sup> 'yys. Cf. P 2, 149; P 12, 62, etc.

<sup>4</sup> 'ð': ð rather doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> mðk'.

<sup>6</sup> mðky.



## Translation

(First section)<sup>1</sup> " . . . and you have failed to obtain redemption. While in that body you were arrogant,<sup>2</sup> and for the pleasure of the body you took the lives of many beings and even enjoyed it. But now you are left to yourselves, alone in the hands of the demons: neither son nor daughter can help you, neither wife nor concubine,<sup>3</sup> neither hireling nor friend<sup>4</sup> nor well-wisher, neither treasure nor wealth,<sup>5</sup> neither hostel nor palace nor a firm tower,<sup>6</sup> neither good

<sup>1</sup> The first part of the text is an imaginary address to sinners upon their arrival in hell (lines 1-15). It was inserted in a lecture on sin and sinners given (imposedly) by Mani to an assembly of *auditors* (see the caption). The main section (lines 16-46), concluding the lecture, gives a list of the greatest sinners of history. With line 48 a new chapter begins: its few remaining words show that the fragment formed part of a collection of addresses similar in style to the *Kephalaia*. See also the Sogdian text in *BDS*, st. 69 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "while you were in that body as arrogant ones, you took . . .".

<sup>3</sup> The signification of *pyrd* is not known. An older form, *pyrd*, occurs twice in the colophon of *BM*. The man who ordered the manuscript, Čurak the son of N'p'yr, of the Xan (y'a) family, invokes the blessings of heaven on the members of his family, beginning with his grandfather (ay'k 'BY') and his grandmother (ny'k m'ā). After having dealt with the living ones (172-4), he enumerates his deceased relations (174-180, a long list), amongst them his wife Māx-šly (186). At the end, after friends, etc., and only before the "five classes of living beings of the Triloka", the 'sp'yāt *pyrd* appar = "servants (and) slave-girls" (or "respectful slave-girls" ?). But later on (191) the *pyrd* occupy the first place: "may I, this slave Čurak, express the wish that together with the *pyrd* and the children and the whole family we all may be well, free from disease, plous, moribundus, etc."

<sup>4</sup> *yutyryt'k*, lit. "self-wished", presumably = "friend". For the compound, cf. Skt. *septa*. The word occurs in P 2, 151 (*yutyryt'k*), P 5, III (*yutyryt'k*), and P 8, 186 (*yutyryt'k*, pl.), twice combined with *šyryt'k*.

<sup>5</sup> Sogdian *grāma* compares with Parthian *gr'mg* "possessions" (thus read in *Mic.Mas.*, iii, a 13, p. 350, instead of *gr'g*) and Pahlavi *gr'mk* = *grāmag* which renders the Gothic *grāma*. The Pahlavi word which clearly cannot be regarded as a transliteration (that would be *grām*), is explained as *grāmag* (Y. 32<sup>13</sup>, p. 141) = "possessions, wealth" (*Neryosengh lafmi*), and also as *grāg* "parents, bribe". Indeed, it would seem that *grāma* is merely an older form of *grāmag* (etc.). There is no reason for deviating from the Pahlavi version and taking *grāma* for a personal name or translating as "oppressor". The stem in *grāma*-, n., in Y. 32<sup>13</sup> (*grāma* acc. pl., "the earthen preferred money, possessions = right"), but *grāmag* n. in 32<sup>13</sup> ("they shall get that wealth in hell . . ."), and in 32<sup>14</sup> ("even the Kavis have had an eye on *grāma* money"). See also MPers. *grāmīg*, Pers. *grāmi* "treasured, valued, beloved".

<sup>6</sup> Sogdian *šrny* (see *BDS*, p. 104) which translates Syr. *šrny* (*šrnyr*), Matthew xxi, 33, Luke, xlii, 4. Links up with Pers. *šrny*, Arab. *šrny*, the name of several labyrinthine castles of great antiquity of which the most famous was the citadel of Gay (see Marquart, *Erdschtr.*, 135; Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 196 sq., 201, 208 sq., 212 sq.; *Färsdame*, p. 29). The Sogdian would seem to support Marquart's proposal (loc. cit., p. 31, and *UGB*, II, 82 sq.) to find an older form

equipment nor a harnessed<sup>1</sup> horse—rather everything you loved is now mourning (?)<sup>2</sup> You have fallen into Hell and shall burn now in this hellish fire. Together with Ahriman and the demons you will be bound in the eternal prison."

(Second section) (16-24) The first calumniator<sup>3</sup> and sinner was *Martēn*<sup>4</sup> (= Eve) who three times led<sup>5</sup> Adam astray from the (true) religion, and the first murderer was Cain<sup>6</sup> who killed his own brother. And in the East<sup>7</sup> the first wicked deed was done by the

of this Iranian word in the mysterious *stmg* = *stōšg* in the "Hymn of the Soul" (Acts Thomas), whose Greek equivalent is *λαβύρινθος*. Cf. also *λαβύρινθος* in a similar passage in the Acts of Cyriacus and Julitta (restored [W. E. Crum, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xiv, 1943, p. 123, n. 1). Arab. *šarbākah*, mentioned by Dr. Crum, belongs to modern Syrian Arabic (thus Belot a.s.), the "root" *šarbā* being merely a development from Classical Arabic *šabaka* (see Dozy).

<sup>1</sup> *šn* = weapons, P 7, 152; P 13, 16; Man. *šyn* M 133 V II, 1; M 600<sup>u</sup> III. Hardly here = saddle (as Pers. *šin*) which in Sogd. is *pyršm*, P 13, 6, from \**parid(h)na-* = Persian *pādan* "packsaddle", cf. Pers. *pāda* (also, wrongly, *bāda*) "a (pack-)horse" from \**parid(h)na-*. The reduction of *-šm* to *-šn* is normal in Sogdian; cf. also Wakhi *pašen*, *pōšn* "saddle", Morgenstierne, *IFL*, II, 533 (from \**pāršēn* [M. Note that *pyrš* VJ. 77 Dhāt 16, P 6, 138, is "wheel", not "saddle" (the remark on *pyrš* is struck out in the copy of his paper in J.A., 1936, I [p. 228], M. E. Bonventiste very kindly sent me).

<sup>2</sup> This line is incomprehensible. There should be *ca* before *wyšm'ca* (cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1942, 94). There ought to be a pronoun referring to the sinner (viz. *-šn*, instead of *-m*). Finally, *pyr*, usually = "but, only", also "except" (e.g. P 6, 67: *pyr' ZY nkyr'a ca*), is troublesome. Probably there were two different words: 1. "but", etc., 2. "sadd(ness)" or "mourning" (hence comparable to Parthian *uwr* = *uindr*). See VJ., 1110: *šyšn pr L' wyšm p'wty* . . . *pyr' k'wty* " (Not only) have I no joy in you, but I am rather mourning (you)" (on *uwr'wty* ? *uwr'wty* ? *uwr'wty* ? see *BBB.*, p. 66: "mourning for the living" = mourning although you are still alive [M. The clearest passage is in M 1781 V 17: *pr juky' p'w'f' oo prw' wyšy' kw' šyšn' aduac' šyšt' oo prw' fry' wyšy' p'w' jyk'w' oo prw' fry' w'w' kw' šyšn' pyr' šyšt'* "in health without sickness, in joy where they have no sorrow; in love without hatred, in groups of friends where they have no mourning").

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M 116 B V 11: *'rak' p'k' . . . šyšn' šy' pyšp'šky'* "envy and hatred (anger) . . . cursing and slandering". Man. Letter, iii, 14: *(p)šyšt' ny' w'š'w'k'm* "I shall not slander". Possibly connected with Sogd. *šš'yp-* P 2, 1168 ("to throw down" ?) and the words given by Bailey, *DSOS.*, ix, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Or *Martēn*. Cf. Khwarezmian *Mardēn* (Beruni, *Chron.*, 99<sup>u</sup>), Man.MPers. *Mardgānag*, etc. (see Christensen, *Premier Homme*, § 9 sq.; Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 179 sq.).

<sup>5</sup> [M.] "polled out, away"—"Three times": cf. *Homilies*, 68<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The Sogdian gender endings show that the translator imagined that Cain was a woman! Cf. *BBB.*, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> In the older Manichaean texts, those written in Babylonia, "East" connotes "India" (cf. e.g. *Kephalaia*, 12<sup>u</sup>, 2<sup>u</sup>; similarly "West" = "Syria", *Kephalaia*, 7<sup>u</sup>; Kessler, 349<sup>u</sup>; Beruni, *Chron.*, 207<sup>u</sup>, etc.), while in the later writings it implies "Chinese Turkestan" (see *BBB.*, p. 10).

A.....<sup>1</sup> who spoilt the Brahmanic religion and established the ten adversities in the world. (24-25) The second calumniator was Žāmāsp who slandered Azrošē (Zarathuštra), and (so did) King Nakintar (= Alexander)<sup>2</sup> who committed the murder of the Magi, and Kūyūne, the son of Ahriman, who (= Kūyūne) spoilt the Magian religion. (29-33) The third calumniator was WPR'TT (= Upagupta ?),<sup>3</sup> the *śramaṇa*,—and King Šoka (= Aśoka)<sup>4</sup> who slandered Buddha Šākman,<sup>5</sup> and further the sinner Devadatta who spoilt the Buddha's religion.<sup>6</sup> (33-7) The fourth calumniator was Iscariot who slandered Christ, and the (fourth) sinner<sup>7</sup> (was) Satan<sup>8</sup> the hard-hearted (?)<sup>9</sup> one<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Had this name been preserved, it might have given a valuable pointer to the source from which this curious statement was derived (Buddhist? Greek?). As far as I can see there is no equivalent report in the accounts furnished by the companions of Alexander, or by Megasthenes (Strabo, xv, 59-60, C. 712-13, from Megasthenes, *ibid.*, 68, M. 716-17, from Nearchos, *ibid.*, 70, C. 719, from an unknown source, is hardly comparable, cf. E. R. Bevan, *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, I, 418 sqq.; cf. also Palladius (Pseudo-Callisthenes, III, 7-16, *ibid.* S. Müller) and Barodanhus, *Lois des Pays*, p. 20, ed. Nau (pp. 43-5 transl.). One can hardly ascribe the statement of the text to Mani who never included Brahmanism in the list of the inspired religions.

<sup>2</sup> Corrupted from \*škaynt. Note the 33 (as in Pahlavi, etc.) against 22 in H. Per. 'Isyandpynd, *Mir. Man.*, II, p. 302 (in the Sogdian version of the missionary history, cf. *OLZ.*, 1939, 242, *rysant'ytyrē*).

<sup>3</sup> One would expect *wpkēpt*, or, if a Middle Indian form *Upagupta* had been used, *wpkēt* (*wpkēti*, *wpē'et*, *wpē'ett*). Even *wpē'it*, reproducing Middle Persian (?) *'wpt*, would be possible, in view of *š'twn* for *Šākyamuni*. Now, *wpē'it*, in an earlier Sogdian manuscript, could have been misread as *wpē'it*: one often experiences some difficulty in distinguishing the letters *k* and *r* from each other in even carefully written Sogdian MSS.—In considering this restitution one must bear in mind that *wpē'it* should represent the name of a man famous in the history of Buddhism, preferably of someone associated with Aśoka: cf. F. W. Thomas, *Cambr. Hist. Ind.*, I, 498.

<sup>4</sup> *šuk'* contrasts with the Central Asian forms given by Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 919. While the indispensable initial *A-* is missing here, there is a more than superfluous *A-* in the Sogdian spelling of Kaniska's name (cf. Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1942, 15 sq.) which occurs in P 8, 29: 'Indē 'w'wp' bry's = *Kaniska-śāpa-vāhara*; cf. *'kuc-* = *Kuc(h)*, *BSOS.*, ix, 566; *Sogdica*, p. III.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Mir. Man.*, III, 887<sup>a</sup> and n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> The stereotyped relative clauses seem to have been distributed at random among the "calumniators".

<sup>7</sup> Here again the translator has blundered, in mistaking the sex of Satan, cf. *BBB.*, p. 101. Previously I had suggested that *wpē'šuk'* belonged to *wpē'šuk'* (*wpē'šuk'*, *wpē'šuk'*) "*šuk'*, disciple", but that does not make sense. In view of the copyist's carelessness it may be permitted to ascribe another mistake to him and to read *wpē'šuk'* instead = *šymāšuk'*, fem. of *šymāšuk'*, Luke, 19<sup>11</sup>, 12 = Syr. *galyd* (*šym* from *šymā* from the base of Av. *drang*; here hardly belongs *šuka* *dīra* which could better be derived from \**dīry* from Av. *driyu*).—Satan and

who spoilt the Christian religion. (37-45) There were still other sinners whom Greed and Ahriman kept as their mounts,<sup>1</sup> and who slandered the Buddhas and the Arhants, the Righteous Dāndārs and the Pious Men. All these many sinners shall be bound in the eternal prison, together with Ahriman, and they shall be . . . . .

(Third section) (46-50) [And again the pure-hearted Dharṇarājā,<sup>2</sup> the . . . Light Apostle, the Lord Mār Mānī spoke thus to the Hearers: "If you please, listen, and I shall explain to you . . . . the faithful Hearers who [accept] my [teachings] . . . .

## M 549

Lower half of a folio. Manichaean script. The appending folio deals with astrological matters (not given here).

(R 1) jww (2) jxywyy prw (3) j(m) [ ] m w'ow 'lyh (4) prywyδ mryndd w' nywn xwrtztyc (5) δ'm oo 'lyān β't βyryy 'ly z'wr (6) wylyy 'ly 'xwandy' wyyh mywn (7) dyw'ātyy(y) δ'myy oo 'rtyy nwr [1 δt](y)w [ ] mzyx 'n(x)r' <sup>3</sup> 'ly prδβn ptyw'ond (8) ww rw'nsp'āyy oo 'rtty c'nw x' (10) rw'') [ns]p'āyy ptxxayy oo 'rtyy 'yw (11) [about 7] qwywnyy 'wātyy δw'n (12) [about 7] .

Isacariot: cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, pp. 890, 893. The translation of the first passage, i, 72 sqq., is to be corrected: "The cup of poison and death, hatred was poured (Pom. gawtr-) over you, Boy, βy Isacariot, etc."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M 504, 17-19: *nywn wjydw'āyy β'rycyf( ) δm'βrj 'ly n'w'ā't* "All mounts of the Holy Ghost: the Elect and the Hearers", *Mir. Man.*, iii, k [ ] (on the reading see below, p. 143, n. [ ]: "Satan made Isacariot his mount" (cf. Luke, 22, *αὐτὸν ὡς σκαμνὸν αὐτοῦ . . . Ἰσακαριώτου*). Possibly also *ibid.*, i 71, *δρόγαν δ' ἰδμεγίτ*. Cf. also the following somewhat confused Middle Persian passage (M 788, 2-8): *h'n h'm w'xā [w'c]dār [xw]x(p) δ'ry 'w' tynwān . . . [y] 'w'β qd' mry(m) mri' (p)wāys pytnes t'k'ly dāyr [ . . . ] (δ) 'w'ā'd (h) yrm' h'w'n [oo] 'w'ā'n qy(rā) w'ā'zhorc p'd šhr šhr 'w'd [ ] dyn p'd p'qā* "The Holy Ghost also took as His mounts: Simon, . . . , James, Cephas, Mariam, Martha, Paul, Peter, Thodā, BHVR (?), . . . , and Herman the shepherd. They became apostles in the various lands and kept the religion in a state of purity". (*tymen*, at the head of the list, is Simon Peter rather than Simon the Canaanite: Peter thus is represented three times, as *tymen*, *qd'*, and *pytnes*. Cf. M 13, V 12, and Alberry, *Psalms-book*, 142 sq., 152, 194. A gross mistake is "Herman the shepherd", instead of "the shepherd of Herman").

<sup>2</sup> Restore: *[rtj tym ZK 'w'w'yt'jāc p'āy* (but it should be *'w'w'yt-p'ā'y*), or: *[rtj tym can 'w'w'ā'd]w p'āy* (however, there should be ZK before *δm'g'w*). Possibly *δm'g'w* *w'ā'f* formed merely the end of a longer compound, "the . . . citta-dharma-rājā." The introduction of such Buddhist terms may be due to the translator; cf. line 40, "the Buddhas and Arhants" = "the apostles". In any case, the chapter beginning in line 46 need not have been joined originally with the preceding text.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly 'n(x)r'.

'rtȳān 'wrd βwt xw (13) [about 7] (xw) † qwywnyy w'βttt x' (14)  
](x') † 'spnd

(V 15) prp[ (16) xrtqxy [ (17) 'rtȳ ywyyd kw[ ]ryw[  
(18) 'wȳδδt 'rtȳ βwt xw ywxn' 'pāyyk' (19) 'spyy ptxwng ryyt  
(')ngr'nd' 'tȳh (20) ywāyy 's oo 'rtx' nndβ'mbn δn (21) ['y](n)rtȳyy  
wyy ytqwy' tȳys'nd ywδ(y)' (22) pīāq'fnd 'sk' wxwn'nd r'yynd  
(23) ryyδ'nd (f)tr'nd' 'tȳ yryw prw x'yy (24) frp'ē'nd oo 'rtȳ pncmx'  
[? qn]δδ' (25) kyy jymt xwyndyy 'wrd r[ . . . . ]δ (26) 'sp'δ 'rtȳ  
w' nfryyn[ (27) jmykyy' mnd'y'ryy' [ (28) qnδ [

### Translation

(First page) . . . so that thereby they would wreck the whole  
Ahuramazdian Creation, and that in the whole Demonic Creation  
they would have success and power, joy and satisfaction. And  
now, thirdly (?), they did much harm and injury to the "soul-  
service". For when the "soul-service"<sup>4</sup> is performed, one

<sup>1</sup> Or *ywān* 'pāyyx. A letter may be missing at the end of the last word ('pāyyk[.], or 'pāyyk[.]). Cf. *zwarag pāyax*, *S.T.*, II, 6, 9-10. As the past stem is *pāyt*, we probably have a noun *pāyt* here.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly (*mjngr'nd*). However, an imperfect is not wanted, the preceding and following finite forms being in the present. Probably *'ngr'nd* is an infinitive, or rather a verbal noun, parallel to 'pāyyk and *ptaxng* and depending on *βwt*. This entails taking also 's for a verbal noun, with the genitive (?) *ywāyy* depending on it. The latter may belong to *yōd* "ear" rather than to *yōd* "metal": there was also *yōd* from *yōdāk* "spy".

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *ywδ(w)*. Not cf. Chr. *yōdy*, *Harāh. ywδ't*, *RSO*, x, 91, *ywδ'kk*, P 6, 108 (cf. Av. *gōditi*). Different is *ywδ*, P 2, 942 = *zkr. gōdō*.

<sup>4</sup> Or (*p'rt*). Cf. 'p'r. "to pluck (hair)" *SCS.*, 68, and Pers. *fiar*. "to pull to pieces" (probably borrowed from Sogdian).

<sup>5</sup> *pncmx*[. . .]δδ. The first word, *pncmx*, is apparently complete. It is written as a single word, hence possibly not *pncm* "fifth" + *x* (cf. *pncm*, P 2, 1094, 1120). The restoration of [qn]δδ, on which the interpretation of *jymt* depends, is purely tentative: it is supported by *qnδ* in line 28, and *qy'wrd* in line 25.

<sup>6</sup> The significance of this term is not clear. It may refer to a religious service for the souls of the departed, a Manichaean *Requiem*. An allusion to the "soul-work" (3IPers. *roudnagān*, Turk. *arūlāq id*), the alms and tithes given to the monks by the laymen, is hardly intended (notwithstanding the title of the official who collects the alms: *roudnagān xwaxag* = "soul-work servant"). In Sogdian these alms were called simply *δβ'r* "gifts", or else the Middle Persian (*δβ'r* *rw'ng's*, T i D, R 3), or the Parthian word (*rw'ng's*, M 868) was employed. — The passage in *Mr.Mss.*, III, 42, p. 393, where I wrongly restored [*rw'ng's*], should read as follows (from line 39 onwards: based on the MSS. III 390, M 448c, and M 861b): *kyndat h'ry 'dtrynt' h' b'fīg frykštum 'mūst' c' 'byrnc'ng's oo sm'dyδ pd dštr "dyg (var. lect. 'dyg) 'w dūmngn 'byrpd (var. lect. 'byrpd' ?) tȳpōkr 'bynt'w'd' c' /'lygt (?) pd p'd'ry cy d'd yāw'd'a xrybyy xw'd'y' w' /'mūc'q p'rt*. The strange looking last word probably means "he gave up, sacrificed".

.... Kūyīne steps forward, .... and there they have the ....  
Kūyīne says: the .... sacred ....

(Second page) .... purifying .... without delay .... he dismounts, and there take place spilling of blood, killing of horses, laceration of faces, and taking (= cutting off?) of ears (?). And the lady Nan(a), accompanied by her women, walks on to the bridge, they smash the vessels, loud they call out,<sup>1</sup> they weep, tear (their garments),<sup>2</sup> pull out (their hairs), and throw themselves to the ground. And fifthly, the (?) city which is called Zimat, there .... an army. And the curse-....<sup>3</sup> city ....

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1942, 87 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Or (perhaps better) "lacerate (their faces, etc.)".

<sup>3</sup> *mand-dyāryā* contains neither Buddh. "y'r" "pam" (in Man. prob. "x'r" nor "y'r" "food, meal" (in Man. 'x'r and 'h'r), cf. *BBH.*, p. 98. It is doubtful whether the word is connected with *dyāra* "moody, juicy, etc." (*Sogdica*, p. 80, cf. *Peru, dyār*), or with Buddh. "y'r" "indigestible" (*P* 8, 124, cf. *Pashto dyār*, *Morgenstierne, ZVF.*, p. 9, *Charpentier, AO.*, vii, 181). Perhaps the most likely candidate is the word "y'r" in *M* 134 l V 7: p' yany jwady yrye mādēpady s'or oo wny rru'byyy apyān ('fly rurm'byyy i'yy oo m'rya) jfembdy frn 'm "y'r a' m'k'riyy (.)'n rru'a kyyen yrb B(r)yc arbyyy m'f'ro oo pr z'y pr en' n'ayaprb[yy] | jydyy dyblyy m(m)l' = for the strength of the elements, this was anima the grandson of Zrwan and son of Khotmazda (*Primus Homo*), the fortune (glory) and dyār of the whole world, the life (? jw'a ?) and soul of all living beings, which (= *vis animae*) since many myriads of years (= since the beginning of the world) up to now has been scattered and dispersed (cf. *S.T.*, i, 76<sup>12</sup>, and *M* 8 28<sup>12</sup>, Q<sup>2</sup> 3 everywhere on the earth and in the skies. Similar passages will be found in *Mir, Man.*, iii, p. 871, n. 4. The Parthian text translated there runs as follows: ry wad 'at b'm 'ud frh [cg] hwy mādēpady hwn 'm "c'r cy hwygy gy'n'n 'ed d'm'd'n c'ur jwār br'zān 'ud hwyhryf' i' kw d'gnd] jwrynd 'ud pr'wāt hwynd wye[p] jw'wng. The comparison of all passages indicates that Sogd. dyār corresponds either in Parth. *ādm*, Turk. *qiz* "splendour", or possibly to Parth. *hwn ud āfir*, Turk. *öz gilliz* "root and basis". Thus *mand-dyāryā* may mean "lustrousness", or "baselessness", or even "absence of moisture".

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE AVESTIC STUDIES<sup>1</sup>

THE Avesta was made known in Europe by Anquetil Duperron in the second half of the eighteenth century, but remained a dead letter until Eugène Burnouf, the great French philologist, turned his attention to it. The publication of his *Commentaire sur le Yasna*, in 1833, marked the beginning of modern Avesta philology. From Burnouf until the end of the century the interpretation of the Avesta made great strides. In 1895 appeared the last volume of Geldner's great edition of the text, and in 1904 Bartholomae's dictionary was published which ranks among the best dictionaries in the world. Thus, at the beginning of the present century, the main work on the Avesta seemed to have been done, and there was little prospect of further progress.

This dismal prospect was suddenly changed by the unexpected discovery in Central Asia of an enormous number of documents written in four previously unknown Middle Iranian languages. The oldest of these, from the second century of our era, were not far removed from the later parts of the Avesta. Thus it was to be hoped that the infinitely increased knowledge of the Iranian history, languages, literatures, and religions, which we owe to these discoveries, would greatly contribute to the elucidation of the many peculiar features presented by the Avesta, which had to be left unexplained owing to the absence of sufficient material.

However, this hope has been realized only to a limited extent. For at the very same time that the first Central Asian discoveries came in students of the Avesta began

<sup>1</sup> A few days after reading this paper to the Philological Society I received, through the kindness of the author, Professor H. W. Bailey's book: *Zoroastrian problems in the sixth-century books* (Clarendon Press, 1943). In his admirable chapters on "Favrand" and "Den-dîpirik" Professor Bailey has dealt with the problems discussed in the present paper. It gives me pleasure to find that there is a large measure of agreement between his views and mine, at least on the more important points.



follow a road which led them more and more to dissociate their work from Middle Iranian Studies. Broadly speaking, their work during the last decades was dominated by a hypercritical attitude towards the text of the Avesta, and by the attempt at reconstructing the supposedly original text, while the Middle Iranian Studies in the meantime tended to show that the text as it stands is perfectly correct and not in need of any reconstruction.

One of the most important steps on the road to the reconstruction of the original Avesta was the metrical theory which Geldner advanced in 1877.<sup>1</sup> He found that considerable portions of the Younger Avesta, in particular of the Yashts, or sacrificial hymns, were poems. In the manuscripts of the Avesta there is no distinction of the poetical parts from the prose sections. This was a discovery of great value.

Geldner then proceeded to dissect the text into lines and strophes, and noticed soon that the number of syllables that went to make up a line was fairly regular, mostly about eight. From this he drew the conclusion—and in this, I think, he was wrong—that the lines should have had eight syllables regularly in the original text, and that the metrical principle of the Younger Avestan verse was a mere counting of syllables. In a restricted number of cases he also admitted lines of ten or twelve syllables.

However, it was obvious that among the lines of eight syllables there were also lines of six, seven, or nine syllables, and in no small number of that. Now, it was well known that in Avestan the words were frequently shorter by a syllable than the corresponding words of theoretical Old Iranian. Thus Geldner was led to assume that at the time when those poems had been composed, the language had still approximated to theoretical Old Iranian, and that the shorter or otherwise deviating forms in the manuscripts were due to faulty tradition. In fact, he believed that the existing text of the Avesta was corrupt throughout, and this opinion was shared by many scholars.

<sup>1</sup> K. Geldner, *Ueber die Metrik des Jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877.

Let us take an example. Avestan *drīm* corresponds to Sanskrit *dhrīm*, the Old Iranian form should have been \**drūm*. Wherever *drīm* occurred in an apparently catalectic line Geldner restored *drūm*, and thus made up the number of syllables to eight.

Here one must remark that even if one accepted Geldner's theory of the eight-syllable line it would not necessarily follow that the text was corrupt, and that the poets actually had said *drūm* instead of *drīm*. For the difference of an ordinary *■* from an *ú* due *■* the coalescence of two vowels may have persisted in the pronunciation, probably in the intonation, and therefore *drīm* may have counted as a word of two syllables.<sup>1</sup>

Geldner developed a whole set of rules for the substitution of Old Iranian forms in lines which seemed *■ ■* short of a syllable or two. But he had *■* admit a great number of exceptions, namely, wherever the lines had already the desired number of syllables.<sup>2</sup> He also allowed himself some licence in introducing forms which were justified neither by the traditional text, nor by Old Iranian or Sanskrit. Thus he vindicated three syllables to words such as *uys*: Sanskrit *ugrá*, *maṣka*<sup>3</sup>; Sanskrit *marká*, *raoθra*: Sanskrit *hóirā*,<sup>4</sup> *drašta*,<sup>5</sup> *nmāna*,<sup>6</sup> *raozina*,<sup>7</sup> and so on,<sup>8</sup> but this should apply only where occasion demanded. Still more daring were his attempts at reducing verses of nine syllables to eight. Here he had recourse to such questionable expedients as reading *duḡḡarəm*: Sanskrit *duḡḡidram*, or *hvanharam*: Skt. *svāsāram*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, § 45 (pp. 50 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> Geldner, p. 10: *mazdā* = 2 or 3 syll.; p. 11: *mā* = 1 or 2 syll.; p. 12: *gōuš* = 1 or 2 syll.; p. 13: *hvanōpa*, *višōpa*, etc. = 3 or 4 syll.; pp. 16 sq.: *zōm* = 1 or 2 syll.; pp. 34 sq.: *-ama* = 2 or 3 syll.; p. 24: freedom in use of *-y-* and *-u-* as *-u-* and *-y-*; etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33, *ōtra* trisyllable, *hōišna* trisyllable; p. 35: "restitution" of the augment.

as disyllabic words,<sup>1</sup> or as reducing by a syllable the ending of the Nom. Plur. of *i-* and *u-*stems, *-ayō* and *-ōō*, in Skt. *-ayas* and *-avas*.<sup>2</sup>

Owing to the considerable latitude which Geldner had allowed himself, his theories met with little response. In fact it is not too much to say that his book rather had the effect of discouraging any further study of the Avestan metrics.

Geldner himself, in his edition of the text of the Avesta, took less notice of the metres than one would have expected. Therefore, it may seem rather unnecessary to discuss the merits of his suggestions now. That, however, is not so. For in more recent times they have seen an unexpected revival. Actually the belief in the eight-syllable line, and in the counting of syllables as the principle of the Avestan verse, seems to be one of the not too numerous points on which the students of the Avesta are agreed. How this has come about I am at a loss to say. For Geldner's demonstration was, I think, manifestly unsatisfactory, and there has been no attempt since at re-establishing his ideas on a more secure basis.

We now have to consider the reconstruction of the so-called Arsacid text of the Avesta, which is associated with the name of the late Professor Andreas. Since I owe my initiation into this subject to Andreas, it is painful to me to find myself compelled to disagree with him on this problem, perhaps one of the most important points in the field of Iranian Studies. However, I think he would have been the first to scrap his own theory, had he been allowed to see the flood of fresh Middle Iranian material which has become available only in recent years. For at the time when he first propounded his ideas, in 1902, only one Middle Iranian dialect, the Pahlavi language, was known, and this lack of information had inevitably the consequence that the picture of the linguistical development of Iranian was somewhat distorted.

The existing text of the Avesta, which is commonly referred

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53; cf. also the restitution of *-ā* in the place of *-āwi* (p. 52), the contraction of *-āyāw* to *-āw* (pp. 53 sq.), and the "Sapdhi" (pp. 54 sq.).

in as the vulgate text, or the traditional text, is written in an unusually elaborate and precise script. There are fourteen characters for the vowels alone, and altogether forty-eight. This contrasts with the other scripts used in Iran in ancient times, all of which derive from the Aramaic script of twenty-two letters (not counting cuneiform Old Persian, the Indian Brahmi used for Khotanese and Maralbasī Saka, Turkish runes, and Chinese for Middle Persian and Parthian, and similar exceptions). Of these comparatively few letters some were not even employed: thus, the Iranian parts of Pahlavi were written with only nineteen characters, and the Sogdians managed with not more than seventeen.

These scripts share the peculiar character of the Aramaic alphabet in expressing only the consonants, at least in theory. In practice, the letters Aleph, Yod, and Waw, which primarily represent the consonants: Glottal stop,  $\text{𐤀}$  and  $\text{𐤅}$ , are used also for the vowels. Such was also the script in which Pahlavi was written, the Middle Iranian language which was used in Persia in Sassanian times (third to seventh century), but also earlier.

Now, the elaborate Avestan script with its forty-eight characters was introduced or invented at some time during the Sassanian period, possibly in the fourth century. But if the Avesta had been committed to, let us say, leather, before that time (and the Zoroastrian tradition affirms that that had been done), the script used for it can have been only the Pahlavi script, or at least one of similar character.

Andreas believed that such an earlier text, written in a simple script of the Pahlavi type, had indeed existed, and that it had been *transliterated* into the elaborate Avestan script, which had been created because the ambiguity inherent in the older system of writing had more and more endangered the understanding of the sacred books. For convenience' sake the earlier text has been called the "Arsacid" text, because it is supposed to have been written down first during the half millennium when Persia was ruled by the Arsacid or Parthian kings, before the Sassanian period.

Andreas thought it possible to reconstruct the Arsacid text, with the help of the palaeographic analysis of the Avestan script, which in common with most scholars he believed to have been developed from the Pahlavi script. The regular substitution of a fixed character for each letter or group of letters in the traditional text, should produce the earlier text quite mechanically. The thus reconstructed Arsacid text should form the sole basis for our study of the Avesta, while the vulgate text constituted merely an interpretation of the original, which we were at liberty to accept or reject.

For the transliterators, he maintained, had been a bunch of ignoramuses, who had had at their disposal no information worth mentioning beyond the Arsacid text. They had done their work mechanically, but thanks to this mode of proceeding we were enabled to reconstitute the older text, which so to speak inhered in the traditional text. Their main mistake lay in assimilating the ancient language to their own Middle Iranian form of speech. We ought to take no notice of their reading, but interpret the Arsacid text in agreement with the Sanskrit grammar and the principles of comparative philology.

In so far as the form of the words in the original Avestan language is concerned the new method endorsed the results which Goldner had reached with the help of metrical considerations. Let us take the same example we had used before: for Avestan *drūm* Goldner had substituted *drutam* because in his opinion the metre demanded a disyllabic word. Andreas said that *drūm* reflected the spelling *D-R-W-M* in the Arsacid text, and that we should consider how a word spelled in this way should be read, without being deflected by the phonetic interpretation which the traditional text offered. Since our reading should aim at producing a properly Old Iranian form, in accord with the Sanskrit grammar, we obviously had no choice but to read *drutam*.

Before describing the effect which this theory had on the development of the Avestic Studies, I should like to state what objections can be raised against it. It is clear that the

acceptance of the whole theory depends on what credit we can give to its three basic points: Firstly, that the Arsacid text ever existed. Secondly, that it was *transliterated*, in the way Andreas postulated. Thirdly, that the transliterators were very ignorant people. The most important of these points is the third: For, to revert to our example, even if we agreed that there had been a word spelled *D-R-W-M* in an Arsacid text, and that it had been transliterated as *drūm*, we still might consider that the transliterators were justified in writing as they did, and in refusing to adorn their manuscripts with genuinely Old Iranian forms.

Firstly, that the Arsacid text ever existed. The Zoroastrian tradition relates that the Avesta had been written down already before Alexander, and that the surviving books had been collected by a Parthian king by name of Vologasus. However, since the reliability of this tradition is under review, it will be better to disregard it altogether for the moment. Actually, it has been doubted whether the Avesta has been written even as far later times, before the end of the Sassanian period, but such extreme views need not detain us.

But if we want to establish the history of the Avesta from non-Zoroastrian statements only, we must bear in mind that the best we cannot expect very much. If in writing the history of the early Christian literature one had to rely solely on non-Christian and anti-Christian reports, the picture would be neither complete nor correct.

There are no Greek or Roman accounts that in any way could be regarded as conclusive. Pliny tells us that Hermippus, the author of a book on the Magi, who lived in the third century before our era, had written a commentary on Zoroaster's verses, in which he had given a table of the contents of his volumina.<sup>1</sup>

More valuable perhaps is what Pausanias relates in his *Description of Greece*.<sup>2</sup> In describing the well-known Zoroastrian ceremony of re-kindling the sacred fire from the ashes, he

<sup>1</sup> C. Clémén, *Fontes Hist. Relig. Pers.*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 62 sq.

mentions casually that the Magian priest while reciting some invocations in a barbarian language, read them out of a book. Unfortunately, it was in Lydia, rather a long way from Persia, that Pausanias observed<sup>2</sup> that ceremony, although on the other hand ~~the~~ says that the temple in question belonged to the "Lydians who are surnamed Persian".<sup>3</sup> Also, it would be rather irregular for a Magian priest to read his invocations; he ought to know them by heart.

In view of the somewhat unsatisfactory nature of these references, it is fortunate that recently an unambiguous statement has come to light, which is all the more valuable for originating from a hostile witness. The witness I mean is Mani who was born in the year 216, in the reign of the last Arsacid king, and who spent most of his life in Persia under the first kings of the Sassanian dynasty. In one of the Manichean books in the Coptic language which were discovered in Egypt in 1930, Mani says<sup>2</sup>: "Zoroaster came to King Hystaspes and preached in Persia, and selected just and righteous disciples. . . . However, he did not write any books. But his disciples after his death remembered (his words) and wrote the books which they read to-day."

This, I think, is perfectly clear. If the Zoroastrians had had to rely merely on oral tradition, Mani would have been delighted to say so. For the point he wants to make is that the Sacred Scriptures of all religions other than his own were of dubious authority, because they had not been composed by the founders of the religions themselves. The written Avesta was, in the eyes of Mani, a well-known and long-established fact, obviously not a recent innovation. There is, therefore, no doubt that the Aramaic text of the Avesta existed. Incidentally, the Zoroastrian tradition on this subject is confirmed.

We now come to the second point, the question whether the ancient Arsacid text has been *transliterated* into the elaborate Avestan alphabet. It is important to realize that the assumption of such a transliteration is by no means a

<sup>1</sup> Αναστάσιος εΠα. <sup>2</sup> Αυθαίρετοί ενόχλησε Πεποντοί. <sup>3</sup> Χερσολοίς, ο. 7, 27-28.



necessity. The Zoroastrian tradition whose predominant interest lay in proving the continuity of the textual history, is silent on this point, and this, I think, goes a long way to show that there was no such transliteration.

The tradition merely says that the Avesta has several times been burned and dispersed, but collected again later, and that the last great collection took place during the Sassanian period. It has been suggested<sup>2</sup> that the word "collection" here means: "collection of the oral tradition," and this seems to be the correct solution. There is no doubt that the oral transmission of the Avesta, from teacher to pupil, was an important factor in the history of the sacred books.<sup>3</sup>

It would therefore be reasonable to suppose that when in Sassanian times the need for a new collection made itself felt the new Avestic script was invented, and the various texts were written in it at the dictation of carefully selected priests who were believed to have preserved the ancient texts best. Whether those priests found it necessary to refresh their memories by looking up old manuscripts, we shall never know.

Whatever the truth may be in this question, I have no doubt that in no way can we hope to restore the Arsacid text on the ground of any palaeographic analysis of the Avestan script. After Andreas there has been another such attempt<sup>4</sup> with different results in almost every point. The reason for this divergence of views is not far to seek. It is simply this, that the Avestan script is by nature a poor field for palaeographic studies. For the Avestan script is not the result of slow development in the course of centuries. It was something entirely new, a departure from the customary system of writing. In one word, it was an invention. Therefore, at best we could only find out what was in the mind of the inventor or the inventors--and that would seem rather a hopeless task.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nyberg, *Ed. Alt. Iran.*, 424.

<sup>3</sup> This point has now been fully discussed by Bailey, *Zr. Probl.*, 142 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> H. Junker, *Caucasian*, II (1925), 1-92, III (1926), 63-139.

That the Avestan script is an invention is clear also from internal evidence. Until more recent times it had never been doubted, and in fact it is obvious, that the starting-point for the inventor was the ordinary Pahlavi script of Sassanian times, which was different from the Pahlavi script of our manuscripts only in a few minor points.<sup>1</sup> Wherever the Pahlavi script was clear its characters were adopted by the inventor. This affects nearly all Pahlavi letters. But wherever Pahlavi was ambiguous, or lacked a letter, new characters were invented.

The third point was the ignorance of the transliterators, or, we should say, the priests who wrote down the traditional text. Since the original text is supposed to have been different from the present Avesta in almost every word their ignorance must have been boundless indeed. However, one cannot help noticing that the changes which distinguish the language of the traditional Avesta from theoretical Old Iranian, are fairly regular, and in fact have the character of phonetical laws. This ought not to have been so, had these changes been due merely to mistakes in transliteration. Thus one is led to suppose that the language of the Avesta was a real language, as distinct from a paper language.

But this is a quarrel of a hundred years' standing, in which we are unlikely to get very far with general considerations. There is only one way of establishing the genuineness of the Avestan language. Namely, it is argued that the so-called mistakes are due mainly to the influence of that language which the transliterators themselves spoke, i.e. Pahlavi or Middle Persian. But if we can show that changes which distinguish Avestan from Old Iranian and Middle Persian alike, are shared by other Iranian dialects, this should be regarded as decisive.

Such cases can indeed be proved with the help of the fresh

<sup>1</sup> This has been established by H. Seemann, *Ueber eine Persischhandschrift* . . . (vol. II des Travaux de la 3<sup>e</sup> session du Congrès International des Orientalistes, 1876). His results have in no way been shaken by Junker's arguments.

Middle Iranian Material. Let us take the shortening of long vowels in front of *y* or *w*. For Sanskrit *chāyā*, Old Iranian *sāyā*, "shadow," we have *sāyag* in Middle Persian, and *sāyē* in Persian. But in Avestan it is *sayā*, and this shortening of the first *ā* is shared by Sogdian *sayāk*,<sup>1</sup> Ormuri *syāk*,<sup>2</sup> Pashto *siyā*.

Similarly before *a* = *u*. Skt. *nāwāja*, OIr. *nāwāza* "a sailor", is *nāwāz* in MPers. and Parthian, but *nawāz* in the Avesta and *nawāz* (*naw'z*) in Sogdian.<sup>3</sup>

A characteristic case is Skt. *jīva-*, OIr. *fiwa-* "to live". In OPer. it is *fiwa-*, in Parth. *fiw-*, in MPers. *fiw-*, in Pers. *siy-*. But in Av. the *i* disappears, and this has happened also in Sogd. *fw-*, in Pashto *fw-*, Yaghnobi *fū-*, Khotanese *jā-*.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of Andreas' theory there is no way of explaining convincingly why the transliterators should persistently have written *fw-* for OIr. *fiw-* in face of *fiw-* in their own language.

One could mention a considerable number of such differences, but I think a single one is sufficient to prove that this language is not merely a huge mistake. In this investigation we are somewhat hampered by the absence of any modern dialects in precisely that region which must be considered to have been the home of the authors of the Avesta, the region from the Hāmūn lake in the south to the oasis of Merv in the North and to Balkh, the ancient Bactra, in the North-East.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> = 1. "shadow", 2. "canopy, pavilion". Persian *shāy* also has the second meaning, cf. *Fārschaw*, Introd., p. xxix. ■ Jewish Persian *shāy* renders Hebrew *shuklā* "booth" (Is. 1, 8; 4, 6; etc.) and *shuklā* "hut" (Is. 34, 20).

<sup>2</sup> Or Av. *shāwā*, Zoroastr. Pahl. *shāw* (Man. *shāw*): Skt. *jīva-*, OPer. *arīdwa-*, Sogd. *arīdwa-*, MPers., Parth. *arīdwa-*, Pahlavi *arīdwa-*. But Av. *shāwā*: Sogd. *arīdwa-* (dissimilated = Bal. *gidīp*, Ormuri *fiw*).

<sup>3</sup> For determining the position of Avestan among its fellow Iranian dialects, this point has no less weight than the arguments which led Tedesco, *Le Monde Oriental*, xv, 258 sq., to the conclusion that Avestan belonged to the North-Western group. I do not see how one can dismiss it, "la langue de l'Avesta étant un dialecte du Nord-Ouest" (Tedesco, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 25, 57).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, 1936, pp. 28 sq.; differently *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. II, p. 24, n. 1.

From the dialectological point of view the language of the Avesta takes its place between the Western Iranian dialects as spoken in present-day Persia, and the Eastern dialects on the Indian frontier and to the North of the River Oxus.

The theory of Andreas has sometimes been described as the "starting-point for the modern Avesta-philology". Many eminent scholars, Benveniste, Duchesne, M. Geiger, L. H. Gray, Lommel, Meillet, Wackernagel, and many others have, at some time or other, accepted it in a more or less modified form. It has been elaborated and developed in various ways.

For example, one has assumed that there may have been several independent transliterations of the Arsacid text which were reflected in the various readings of our manuscripts. One has also spoken of various readings in the Arsacid text. One has thought to discover cases where the transliterators had misread the Arsacid text. Further, it has been suggested that the scribes of the Arsacid text had confused letters of similar shape, but this would seem a rather unsafe way of proceeding since nobody can possibly say what the script of the Arsacid text was like. Finally, for explaining passages in late Avestan books the language of which is in no way up to the standard of Old Iranian, one has supposed that perhaps the endings of the words had altogether been omitted in the Arsacid text, and that the existing endings had been added by the transliterators.<sup>1</sup>

But the most important development was the union of the transliteration theory with the metrical principles of Geldner. On the one hand, the help of the "transliterated" text gave full freedom in reading the separate words. On the other hand, the eight-syllable metrics provided a means of adding and omitting words and syllables. The combination of both methods has served to transform the text of the Avesta in a fashion which I believe is unparalleled in other branches of philology.

In all this far too little attention has been paid to the soundness of the basis, which has mostly been taken for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lommel, *ZII.*, 4, 185 sqq., vi, 126 sqq.

granted. The consequence is that at present the students of the Avesta are split into two groups each of which takes little or no notice of the results of the other.

At the beginning of this paper I pointed out that Geldner's metrical theories<sup>1</sup> did not work out quite satisfactorily. At its end, I feel I ought to make ■ alternative suggestion.

Let us cast a glance at the newly-discovered remains of Middle Iranian poetry, of which the oldest, the Parthian poems of the third and fourth centuries, are in point of time not too far removed from the later portions of the Avesta. All Middle Iranian poetry, Middle Persian, Parthian, and Khotanese,<sup>2</sup> has this feature in common that the number of syllables to a line ■ variable. The important point throughout is the number of *stressed* syllables.

Here I take into account only those poems that are divided into lines in the manuscripts. They alone can provide a secure basis for metrical studies. For it is true, the hypothetical Avestan metrics have been applied also to Pahlavi books in which the text is not divided into lines, but in doing so one was forced to the notion that the Pahlavi texts, too, were corrupt throughout and had to ■ emended continually. The assumption that the principle of the Middle Iranian verse was the constant number of stressed syllables,<sup>3</sup> is in accord with the general character of the Middle Iranian languages which, ■ is well known, were dominated by a stress of great intensity.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> They have been elaborated also ■ J. Hertel (*Beiträge zur Metrik der Avestas und des Rigveda*, 1927) whose opinions I fear I cannot share. Musical rhythm formed the basis of the Avestan (and Vedic) metres according to H. Weller, *ZfV.*, i (1922), 115 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> On Khotanese (Saka) metres see St. Konow, *NTS.*, vii, pp. 7 sqq.; xi, ■ 6 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper in *NGUW.*, 1933, p. 117. Cf. Christensen, *Les Gloses des Rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique*, Paris, 1930, pp. 46 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> On stress in Iranian see Meillet, *Journ. As.*, 1900, i, 254-277; Gauthiot, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, xx, 1916, 1-25; Tedesco, *ZfV.*, ii (1923), 202, n. 4; Morgenstierne, *Report . . . Afghanistan*, p. 17 n.; Reichelt, *Iranisch (Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, vol. iv)*, 46 sq.; H. Hirt,

The favourite type of verse has lines of either three or four stressed syllables, the number of unstressed syllables being free.<sup>1</sup> The line of three accs comprised between five and ten syllables, as a rule, but in this case the average number was seven or eight.<sup>2</sup> It seems to me that the verse of the Younger Avesta is in no way different from the Middle Iranian line of three stressed syllables. Already Geldner<sup>3</sup> had noticed that 80 per cent of those lines which he recognized as metrical contained either three words or three words and a proclitic or enclitic monosyllable, but unfortunately he did not draw any conclusion from this fact.

So it may seem advisable to abandon Geldner's metrical scheme. With it, the need for emending not only countless passages, but the whole of the language, will disappear. I do not mean to say that the text of the Avesta should not be emended here and there. There are probably just as many corrupt passages as in any other book of equal antiquity. But I do mean that there is no justification for emending every word of it.

*Abstract*, 1929, 193-9. A remarkable study of the stress in Parachi was given by Morgenstierne, *IFL*, i, 30 sqq. Within the accentuation theory proposed by Meillet and Gauthiot, it is difficult to see why some words should be derived from the nominative, and others from the generalized genitive of -a stems. Moreover, the extension of the genitive in -šya can hardly be applied to the Eastern Iranian dialects. But Persian itself presents difficulties, cf. (noun) *paš* < *pašā*, *M'ers. bān* < *bānā*, but *šāh* < *šāhā*; (adjectives) *pān* < *pašānā*, *šāh* < *šāhā*, but *šāh* from *šāhā*; an unpleasant case is *šāh* < *šāhā* (instead of \**šāh*). In comparing several Iranian languages one finds striking cases of divergent development. E.g. Parthian *az* < *āzām*, but Chr. Sogd. *zē*, Pahlav. *zē* < *āzām*; Persian *šāh* < *šāhā*, but Sogd. Khwar. (o)mya < *myā*; Pers. *šāh* < *šāhā*, but Sogd. *šā* (Nom.) < *šāhā*, *šā* < *šāhā*; Pers. *šāh*, but Saka *šāh* < *šāhā*. Noteworthy is OIr. *upāri* which throughout had stress on the second syllable, against Meillet's rule, but in conformity with the Vedic accent *M'Pers. ušdr*, Pers. *ušdr*, Sogd. *por* (probably also Pahlav. *por*), Saka *virā*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Old Icelandic poetry.

<sup>2</sup> See especially the Khotanese Rāma poem, published by Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 366-374. On its metre see Bailey, *JAOI.*, 59, 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. viii.

## EXAMPLES

I. Three stresses to a line. Avestan.<sup>1</sup>

Y. 11, 6.	nōiṭ āhmi nūāne zānāite	8 <sup>2</sup>
	āθrava nāēda raθāēstā	8
	nāēda vāstryō fšūyēs	6
Yt. 10, 103.	yim harētāramča āiwyāxtāramča	10
	fradāθat āhurō Māzdā	8
	vīspayā frāvōiā gāōθayā	8
	yō hāretāča āiwyāxtāča . . . .	8
	yō ānavanuhābdumnō zāēnanha	10
	nipditi Māzdā dāman . . . .	7
	nishāurvaiti Māzdā dāman	8
Yt. 10, 39 sq.	isavāsēiṭ sēāqm orōzifyō. pārona	11
	huθāxtat hāča θānvanāt	8
	jīya. jatānbō vāzamna . . . .	8
	arētayāsēiṭ sēāqm hūxānūta	9
	tīyra dāroya-ārētaya . . . .	7
	zāstvadēiṭ sēāqm frādanānya	9
	vāzamna hāča bāzubyō . . . .	8
	kāretatēiṭ sēāqm hūfrāyūrta	9
	yōi niytdire sāraba māyākānqm	11
Yt. 10, 30 sq.	yāsa. θwā sōrtō. nāmāna yāsa	9
	rāθwya vāča yāzaita	7
	bārō. zāōθrō akāva	7
	sōrtō. nāmāna θwā yāsa	8
	rāθwya vāča sūra	6
	Miθra yāzai asōθrābyō . . . .	7
	rāθwya vāča savīsta . . . .	7
	rāθwya vāča sōsōyamna	8

<sup>1</sup> The accents are meant merely to indicate which words I imagine were stressed; so far it is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, which syllable of a word bore the stress.

<sup>2</sup> Approximate number of syllables. It is a feature of the Avestan language that the delimitation of "syllables" is uncertain and subject to fluctuation. This fact by itself runs counter to the current belief that the syllable is the determining unit in the Avestan poetry.



Yt. 10, 17.	yō nōiṭ káhmāi aiwi. dráoxšō	8
	nōiṭ nmānabe nmānō. pátsō	9
	nōiṭ vīšō vīspátō	7
	nōiṭ zāntōuš zāntupátō	8
Yt. 10, 50.	yáθra nōiṭ xápa nōiṭ táma	8
	nōiṭ áotō vātō nōiṭ gáramō	8
	nōiṭ áxtiā páura. máhrkō	7
	nōiṭ áhitiā dáēvō. dáta	8
	nāēda <sup>1</sup> dúnmən arjásaiti	8
	háraiθyō páiti bárazayā	8

2. Three stresses to a line. Parthian (*Mir. Man.*, iii, ■  
201 sqq.).<sup>2</sup>

'Áz rōm ud yaxšān hēm	6
'Ud izdēh būd hēm aē hawīn	8
'Amwāšt abar mán dušmanān	8
'Ušān au murdān idwāšt hēm	8
Šág hēm ■ xād aē bagān	7
Bāmōn humayšat ud nisāg	8
Brāzīg xumbōy ud hušīhr	7
Bid awāš gād hēm au niyāz	8
Grift hēm anāšg īmagān	8
Gastgarān kē kērd hēm warād <sup>3</sup>	8
Grīw wxēbeh nāmīr kērd	8
Grāt angāfād ud wxārd hēm	7
Dēwān yaxšān ud parīg	7
Dužārās tārig ādahīg	8
Duršīhr gandīg ud syāw	6
Dārdum was marān dīd ■ hawīn	9
Average :	7.4

<sup>1</sup> ■ studying the Gathas (which are outside the purview of this paper) Meillet observed that *no/ō* was stressed, while *nōi* could be proclitic. This holds good also for the Younger Avesta. See *Journ. As.*, 1900, I, 278 sq. Lommel, *ZII.*, vi, ■■ sqq., "emenda."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Mir. Man.*, iii, g 1-81.

<sup>3</sup> = "prisoner". Cf. Av. *caruīpa-*, etc.

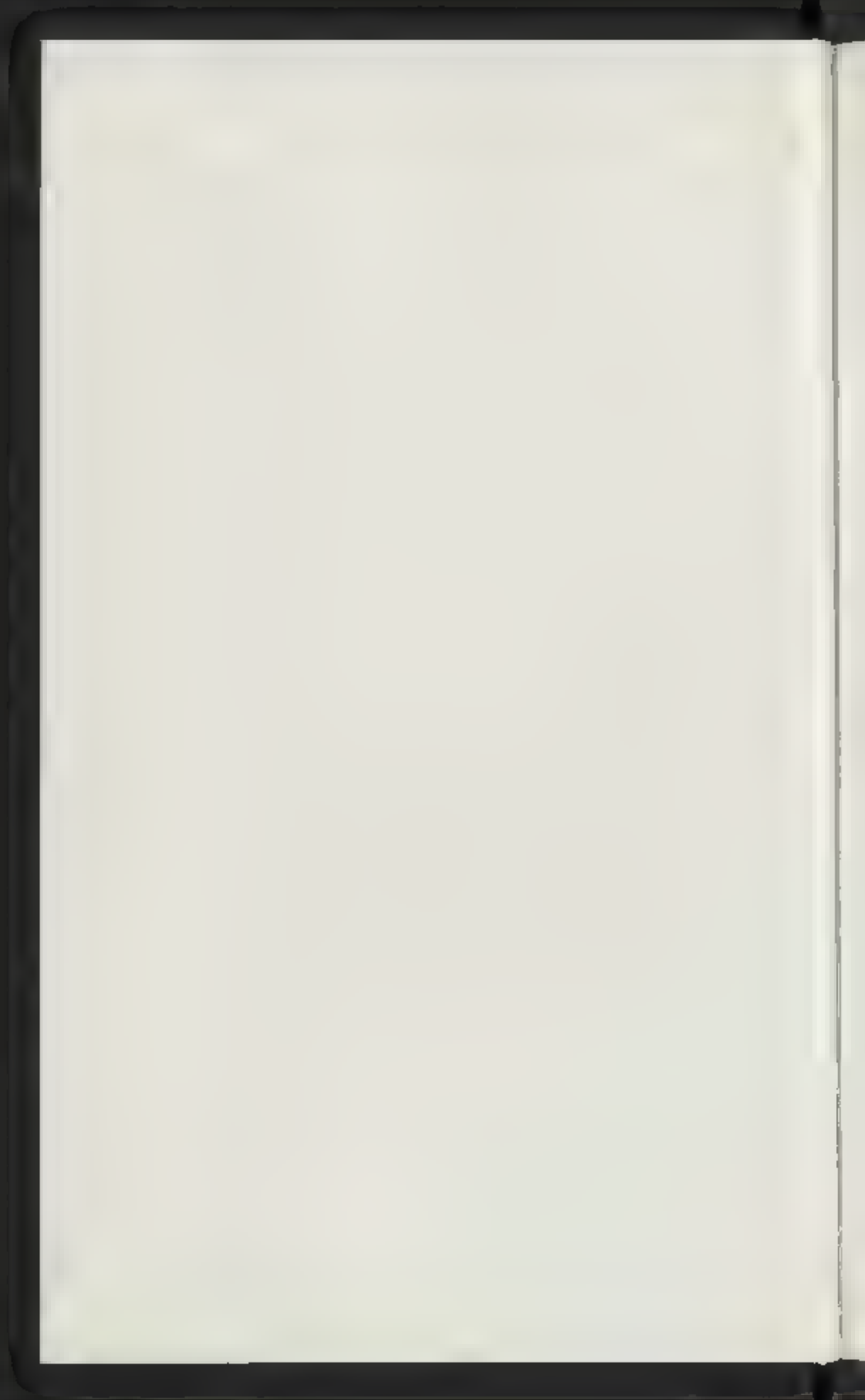
3. Four stresses to a line, with a rhythmical pause after the second. Middle Persian (M 83/2 + M 235: "canon" and additional verses here omitted; caesura marked in the MSS.).

Āfrīn nēw ud istāyān	ō frēstagān i wuzargh	7 + 8	15
Ba'ān tahmātarān	ud pāshānān i dēn	6 + 6	■
Gēhbān <sup>1</sup> wigrēd	Kaftinūs sārār	4 + 5	9
Dōšārmigār i nēw	Yāqōb Narīmān	6 + 5	11
Hanzamān Szārt	i Mahrespandān nēwān	5 + 7	12
Wizdagh abzār	ud dēn i xwāstih	6 + 5	11
Zōridān abzawād	az pidār bay-Zerwān	5 + 6	12
Hamēw istāyihēd	az hamāg wuzargh	6 + 6	12
Tahmih padirēd	az ba'ān i bārist	5 + 6	11
Yazdegerdih ud istāyān	az zōrdān i wuzargh	8 + 7	15
Xudāwān Yisō'	sārār i frēstagān	5 + 6	11
Rōšnibā wārēnād	ō sāmā tahmān	6 + 5	11
Mānī xudāwān	pūs i wuzargh	5 + 5	10
Nūrōguyēnād pad wehsh	■ sāmā xwābarān	8 + 6	14
Sāg i wisp istāyān	ud āfrīn i zindāg	6 + 6	12
Az hamāg yazdegerdih	ō sāmā sarruxān	7 + 6	■
Paiwāxēdum ■ wāng	um bawēd frayēdāg	6 + 6	12
Čunum az nōx ud frātūm	pad zōr i abzār	7 + 5	12
[Qār]ēdī drūd ud rūmān	pad wispih sahrān	6 + 5	11
Rāmēnād ō xwāstigarān	ud srāxēnād ō dōyān <sup>2</sup>	8 + 7	■
Šādih abzāyēd	ō rāyēnāgōn i xwāstih	5 + 8	13
Taxtīhā wārēnād	ō wispih hurwānān <sup>2</sup>	6 + 6	■
Average :		6.1 + 6	12.1

<sup>1</sup> = "shepherd" (not "watcher"), cf. the meaning of Pashto *yāf*.

<sup>2</sup> Var. lect. *dōyān*; cf. *BSOS.*, ix, III. *dōy* from *dōyay*. ?

<sup>3</sup> A profusion of similar Parthian verses has been published. For example, lines with two stresses: *Mir. Man.*, iii, g 109-200. Lines with four stresses: *ibid.*, m 50-62; n 15-35. Strophes with two lines, four stresses each, and caesura after the second: *ibid.*, d, v; Waldechmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Pers.*, 112 sqq. Strophes: 4 + 4 + 4 + 3, *Mir. Man.*, iii, text 4, etc.



## Sordian Tales

PLATES I AND II

THE rôle which the Manichæans played in the migration of tales and fables from East to West and West to East has received much attention in recent years,<sup>1</sup> but next to nothing has been published of the abundant Iranian material which was found in Chinese Turkestan. The present collection of Sogdian stories, taken (with the possible exception of text J) from Manichæan manuscripts, is meant to close this gap. These stories are also of some interest from the linguist's point of view. For while the Christian and Buddhist Sogdian texts are valuable merely as repositories of vocabularies, the Manichæan texts alone (apart from the few available Sogdian documents and letters) give us a clear idea of the true structure and syntax of the Sogdian language, and this quality is nowhere better apparent than in these stories, which are sometimes pleasingly vivid. Even the translated texts are written in good Sogdian, partly because the Manichæans were better translators than their Christian and Buddhist compatriots, partly because it was easier to translate from Middle Persian or Parthian, languages closely related to Sogdian, than from Syriac or Chinese. How different real Sogdian was from the miserable stammer of the Christian and Buddhist translators is shown at a glance by the Sogdian *Tale of Rustam*, of which we have a larger fragment now, thanks to the publication of the *Codex Sogdianus*, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Mission Pelliot*).<sup>2</sup>

### A. The Pearl-borer<sup>2</sup>

Two manuscripts, one, T i T M 116, in Sogdian script (— 8, printed in italics between the lines), the other, M 135, in Manichaean script (= M). The manuscripts represent slightly different recensions, but in the story itself the

<sup>1</sup> See especially W. Dong, *La Mission*, xiv, 1-36; cf. also ZHMG, 90, 1 seq., 1992, 98, III, 54 seq.

<sup>1</sup> Copenhagen, 1940). It is greatly to be regretted that M. Benveniste's edition of three MSS., which I understand was published in Paris in 1946, has not as far as we are aware available in this country. We have still to do without the facsimile of the MSN. In his preface to the facsimile edition, p. xii, M. Benveniste writes that he had no access to the *Tale of Ruzmān*, as it occurred page. It seems to me that P 13 preserves the British Museum fragment without break, in this way: *m'k'k' yunne'may M N Hw' ZKw-byr 'yēd wpa ZKw-wyā m'g' w'p' 'Br ZY Bz' {P'E'} b'fay tr' i'u'n'de'sen'yā k'eyr byr'e'k' w'y'. Half of the word "Sermon" P 13, the other half on the St. Mus. fragment. — A great interest in P 3 and its continuation, fr. Mus. fragm. II, it becomes clear now that this text deals with the "ravestone". Nozd. 23. (previously wrongly compared with Pers. *fida* and Skt. *pada*, see *Siebsch.* 5) = Turk.-Mong.-Pers. *ḡyū-kr'p'* *ḡyū-kr'p'* (cf. Quatremere, *Hist. Mong. Pers.* 428 sqq.; Juwainī, I, 162 note). In *yry'zh* (cf. Benveniste, J.R.A.S. 1936, 98) we can also recognize Pers. *rūspāh* "tent": *mā'thyr*, Frg. III, 17, beside "sulphur" is Skt. *mañjula* "redgar" — P 14 and P 15 contain a different version of the *Pindurimāmanidāraśī* (P 14, 1–15 = *Padm.* 40–52; P 16, ■ = *Padm.* 52 sqq.; F 15, 1–17, end of text on *malinā* which begins in P 14, 66, but P 14 and P 15 did not belong to the same manuscript). No doubt these points have been made by M. Benveniste in his edition.*

<sup>1</sup> [restored], (damaged or uncertain) letters, see RSO.4S., III, 56.

differences are on the whole purely orthographical, while in the allegorical explanation the divergence is greater: note that 'YKZY' = *Edicty* in M 21, but = *kz* in M 36. — The manuscript M 135 consists of two consecutive double folios, i.e. two sets of four consecutive pages each. One set contains the "Pearl-borer", the other a text in the style of the *Kephalaia* (given below as B). This shows that the "Pearl-borer", too, formed part of a *kephalaion*, or in other words that it was supposed that Muni had narrated the story to his disciples. This is presumably a fiction (it is mostly so with the *kephalaia* literature, Coptic or Turkestanian), but not necessarily so. For the story is known only from Burzō's preface to *Kallia wa Dimna*, hence is quite likely Persian and not Indian by origin. Cf. Hensey, *Panchatantra*, i, 78; *Kallia wa Dimna*, 28-9, ed. de Sacy, p. 22, 23, Beirut, 1896; Keith-Falconer, 258-9, 311; W. Bang, loc. cit., 4-5. Differently from Burzō, the Sogdian narrator told the story in the form of a lawait. It is noteworthy that of the two Panchatantra-Kallia wa Dimna stories that so far have been traced in Sogdian (texts A and C), the one occurs in K.-w.D. but not in the Panchatantra, the other only in the Panchatantra. — According to *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1923, 146, F. W. K. Müller had prepared the publication of this tale; it is a matter for regret that he did not proceed with this intention.

Captions: A i R swmby 'zynd Story of [the Pearl-]borer.

A i V en mry'rt

On the Pearl-borer.

B i R swmbyy

B i V 'zyndyy

[The explanation] of the story.

(M 135, A i R) (1) pty'ne wβ' (2) 'rlyny'c frst'h (3) βwt oo 'rly p'st (4) δβtyk myδ (5) xtw (6) pr xty'k iw'nd (7) oo 'rtxw xypδ'w'nd (8) w'nw w'β kt βy (9) mwnw mry i myδ pr (10) C δyn'z zyra p'sryl (11) δ'mw w'nw 'lynyy (12) mry'rt swmbyy oo (13) 'rly lym 'ydc mry'rt (14) nyy swmby o 'rly (15) qōryy prxyy

(T i T M 418, R) (1) (secah

xwjt (15) skwn oo 'rtxw mry'z (16) mryy kw w'xw w'r (A i V) (17) w'nw traces (2) mry'z kw 'ydc r' (w'n')|kw

ptyākwyy kt (18) βy ywnyy βy'ws (19) c'nw l'm' w'arn' (20) ptyδ(3)kw'y ktβy ywn'k 'βty'ws (4) c'n'kw l'm'k ZKwy w'ron'y (5)

kwayy wry o 'lymyy (21) w'nw (22) kōwtyh (23) cw 'rq yrβyy oo (24) kacy wry oo rlyy w'n'kw pr (6) 'YKZY cw 'rkh yrβ(7)ly' oo (7)

'rtly'w w'nw (24) ptyākwyy kt βy wyspw (25) 'rk cw 'lymy lyw (26) rlyy'w w'n'kw ptyākw'y (8) [k](t) βy wyspw 'rk cw [ZY] (9) (m)ly tyw<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> MS. *sw*.

<sup>7</sup> The S version seems preferable here: ZKwy (= wry or wy') is indispensable. Note the metathesis in w'ron'w from w'ron'w. The first to connect this word with Pers. *rodr* and to refer to the -t of Arm. *rodr* was Bartholomae, *ZSiv.Wb.*, 195. See further *BB.*, 130, and Hansen, *M.Pers. Papyri* . . . Berlin, 41.

<sup>8</sup> Before this a word has been struck out.

<sup>9</sup> After *lyw*, a malformed p (meant to be cancelled).

fr'm'yyo 'rtye't (27) wyspw 'rk' yrβ'm (28) 'gy'my o'nw kw x'n' (29) s'r  
 pr'm'yyo rty s'te wya(p)[h] (10) yrβ'm oo rty c'n'kw kw y'n'kh (11) s'r  
 sykr oo 'rty (30) wya' fr'm'y jtyy (31) oo 'rty βy'ryy pr'm (32) prw  
 tykr rty my wya'kh\* (12) pr'm'y z-y'e'g oo rty βg'r'k pr'm (13) prw  
 xypδ'wandyh (B i R) (33) fr'm'n wya' jyt(w) (34) δ'r'm o 'rtēw xlw (35)  
 yypδ'w'nty pr'm'nh wya'k (14) z-y'e' δ'r'm rtye 'ytw  
 w'nw pδk' nym'y (36) kt lyw wny mty m'r'z (37)  
 w'n'[kw] (15) pδkh nym'y oo 'YKZY tyw ZK'n (16) [m](r)ty m'r'z  
 ptxy'tδ'ryy o 'rtēw (38) eqn'e pyδ'r (39) mry'rt nyy fr'm'yy' (40)  
 ptyr'yt δ'r'y rty (17) [ckn'] [a]w pyδ'r mry'rt L' pr'm' [y] (V) (18)  
 swβ'ty o p'rtlyy (41) xww wya' jnyy fr'm't (42) δ'ryy o 'rty wny  
 [swβ't'k p'rZYty ZK wya'kh z-n'y] (19) [pr'm'i δ'r'y oo rty (ZK'n) (20)  
 mty (13) xww prxyy 'splyh (44) δβ'ty ywt'k'm o 'rt (45) qδ' lym  
 [mty ZK] prxyy 'sp't' δβ't'k (21) ywt'k'm oo rtkδ tym  
 'yδc mry'rt (46) swmbayq yw't (47) oo 'rty lym 'nyw o C (48)  
 'yew'h (22) [m]y'rt nompoyk yw't rty (23) tym 'nyw C  
 δyn'r zym [M'r'] (B i V) (49) 'rtlyy p't'r (50) 'nyw myδ mry'rt (51)  
 δyn'r z-ym δβ'r' (24) [p](t)r' 'nyw myδ  
 swmb't'k'm o 'rty [M] xww mry'rt xypδ'wnd (53) m'yδ pwak'ty ww  
 nomp't'k'm (25) [rt]y ZK mry'rtlyh yypδ'w'nt (26) [ZK]A  
 C (54) δyn'r zym [w] o 'rtēw\* (55) mry'rt n' swβ't kw (56)  
 C δyn'r z-ym tw't r(t)[y] (27) [ty] ZK mry'rt n' swβ't (kw) (28)  
 'nyw myδ s'r yxnyy (57) p'tks oo 'rty xwt'y (58) kww s'r 'ty  
 'nyw myδ s'r y'ym'k p'rt'y (29) oo rty ywt'y kw 'δβ'r ZY  
 kww (59) nm'nyy pr'y' oo o (60) 'rty x' yrβ'kt' w'nw (61) xwyq'wy  
 kw (nm)[n'k] (30) pr'y' oo  
 δβ'r'nd kt (62) xwyy mtyy kyy wyspw (63) ynyy 'ty qrw'ney' (64) yrβ'akwn  
 ZK mry'rt nomp't'k)  
 oo xwt'y xoy

\* Mistake for pr'm'yy.

† There is a gap above wya(p) in B, where 'rtē may have been written above the line. However, its presence makes the phrase a little awkward.

‡ Written above the line.

§ A letter or two struck out after this.

¶ Mistake for fr'm'yy.

‡ To fill the line.

h 'rtēw = rtytyZK: possibly *rtē* is not merely the accusative of the pronoun (the statement in BBH., 104, is certainly too sweeping), but also a contracted form, *J. + 'w (we)*? In this passage *rtē* clearly means "of him the", as the text of B suggests. Similarly, above in B 34 = B 14, 'rtēw (*rtēw*) seems to mean: "for it the."

(31) (ywy) ZK tnp's ycy on ZY C byn'r (32) [ . . . ]<sup>m</sup> C erδ'k 'zw'nā  
 (33) ycy on ZY mry'ryh yypδ'w'at (34) ZK rō'n ZY ZKk mry're mō[ . . . ]<sup>a</sup>  
 (35) [Z]K šyn'kryh ycy on c.1

### Translation<sup>1</sup>

. . . there was a quarrel, it could not be settled.<sup>2</sup> So on the next day they went before a judge for a trial.<sup>3</sup> The owner (viz. of the pearls) spoke thus: my lord, I hired this man for one day, at a hundred gold denārs, that he should bore my pearls.<sup>4</sup> He has not bored any pearls, but now demands his wages<sup>5</sup> from me.

The workman,<sup>6</sup> in rebuttal, addressed the judge thus: my lord, when this gentleman<sup>7</sup> saw me at the side of the Bazaar, he asked me: "Hey, what work can you do?" I replied: "Sir, whatever work you may order me (to do), I can do it all." When he had taken me to his house, he ordered me to play on the lute.<sup>8</sup> Until nightfall I played on the lute at the owner's bidding.

The judge pronounced this verdict: You hired this man to do work<sup>9</sup> (for you), so why did you not order him to bore the<sup>10</sup> pearls? Why did you bid him play on the lute instead? The man's wages will have to be paid in full. If again there should be any pearls to be bored, give him another hundred gold denārs, and he shall then bore your pearls on another day.

<sup>1</sup> Very uncertain; possibly also (mry).

<sup>2</sup> Return: [ywy ZKk]? Or [ywn ZK]?

<sup>3</sup> Presumably an infinitive, mō[š'k]?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M. Variants in S will be found in the annotations. At the end, both versions of the allegorical explanation are translated separately.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hitt, p. 88. Probably farāt from fō + wāt.

<sup>6</sup> sty't, 'sty't, sty'q (Hitt, p. 104; Sogdian, p. 63 and Syriac) "trial, judgment" is derived from sty' ("judge"). It would be tempting to connect this word with Av. stān<sup>1</sup>, but it is difficult to account for the y (stān > stā > sty > sty'). For uvular s in the place of lingual s see Gershevitch, *Gronov. Man. Sogd.*, para. 469. Cf. also the ubiquitous š'yō "paper", which some scholars (Lew, *Armen. Pflanzengesch.*, p. 65) derive from xāpāq. Av. stān<sup>1</sup> is st(ā) in Sogdian. Differentiation?

<sup>7</sup> Other words for "pearl" in Sogdian are: mō'kē Dhyāns 𐭌𐭕𐭅 (cf. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, 214) and mō'kē (P 2, 181, *ring 287* mō'kē). The latter, which also occurs in Uigur Turkish (e.g. Müller, *Uigurica*, III, 15), may be a Western Iranian word, with mō' from mō'kē. Hence, mō'kē probably from mō'kē. Cf. Parthian "mō'kē" (? = mō'kē) Bang-Gabau, *Parth. Turfan-texte*, II, 423 = yūn'kē "pearl". Also Persian mō'kē "glass bead" (etc.) may belong here (Pahl. mō'kē, *Man. Mō'kē*, *mō'kē*). So also Saka mō'kē "pearl", which Halley has explained differently (*RSO.*, IX, 72).

<sup>8</sup> — Arab. wfrāh. Cf. *S.T.*, II, 592a, and Persian baryāi (not baryā, cf. Rustan, ed. Graf, III, 99), see Benveniste, *RSO.*, IX, 515, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Or "hindering". In Arabic šān and afr. Cf. *Orientalia*, VIII, 89, n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 111, 429. In the Arabic version the possessor of the pearls is a "merchant" (Mō'kē).

<sup>11</sup> In Arabic šān.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. "you hired this man as a workman". The translation of this passage in *RSO.*, p. 67, is incorrect; mō'kē does not mean "work". Also Chr. mō'kē literally "to be as a labourer".

<sup>13</sup> In S: "order to bore your."



Thus under constraint,<sup>1</sup> the owner of the pearls paid the hundred gold dēnārs, his pearls remained unbored,<sup>2</sup> left<sup>3</sup> for another day, and he himself was filled with shame and contrition.

(M) The wise give this allegorical explanation: that man who understood all arts and crafts,<sup>4</sup> represents [the body]. . . .

(S) The pearl-borer is the body. The hundred [gold] dēnārs represents a life of a hundred years. The owner of the pearls is the soul, and the boring (I) of the pearls represents piety.

# B. The remainder of M 135

Captions: B ü R j[  
B ü V {  
A ü R myδδ iü pty'p βxäy  
A ü V myy[δδ pr] 'δryy

(B ü R) (1) xwtyy { (2) iü l'δyy prw (3) šyr'kty' (4) oo 'rly xwax xeyh (5)\* '(r)l' (w) δ[yn]δ'ryy kyy (6) yrβ 'y]δ[ly]lyh en (7) iün' xrynat o 'ty kw w (8) wāim'xā'r (9) r'δδt'k βwt oo 'rly (10) kδδryy ām'x nywδ'kt (11) s'r sm'ym w'nw (12) 'tyfa en t'w 'ty (13) x'wr βt'k'm r'mnd (14) 'ndwxsδ' pr xypδδ (15) zw'nyy štyr' o 'ty (16) mū' sm'n o 'ty (B ü V) (17) pr l'jy'h (18) δ'rδ' oo 'ly nū[nw] (19) wyzryy r'δδ 'lyy (20) rātyy q'rpδ kyy (21) ām'x (n)δ[ly]δ'kt'm (22) cw 'ty xwtyh xey (23) xprt δyyr oo 'rtyy (24) pr xyδ q'rpδδ (25) 'ndwxsδ' w'nw (26) 'ty mū' pryw kw w (27) 'ykw[n]lyq o jw'n (28) pryyaδ' oo wyδp'ty (29) sytm'n nywδ'kt (30) šyr wywānd o 'ty (31) xwānd 'kt'nd prw (32) βy'nyk wy'βtyr (A ü R) (33) 'ty pw 'ry sm'n (34) ow en fryāty βyy (35) mzyrn'ny ptywātδ'rnd (36) 'rly j'm nm'e (37) βrtδ'rnd = 'tyh (38) βznw ptyczānd

(One line left blank)

(39) (In red ink) myyδδ pr iü pty'p βxäy (40) 'rly tym fryštyy (41) βyy m'rym'ny' (42) m'yδδ sm'tδ'tt (43) oo kt wavy yrβ'k 'ty (44) fryyew'n

<sup>1</sup> These words are omitted in S. The meaning of *pašty* seems to approach that of Persian *pašr*. Cf. BHH., p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> In the Arabic version: *wa laqiyā faharukā yarra madghān*.

<sup>3</sup> *yany* = Persian and Turkish *yani*. The proper meaning of *yani*, as the Sogdian passage clearly shows, is "left over and put aside" cf. *Kāz al-hayāt under hānā* *yāni wāni fī al-ānān pa ašfan karā bāšān* (p. 104b). In Persian and Turkish the word is then restricted to the meaning of "leftovers" of food, and finally to that of "beef-meat". If *yani* is originally Sogdian, it may provide an explanation for the name of the twelfth (old Persian month, *Vignana* (4) *yr* may become *ya* in Sogdian). By the way, Persian *yānīdān*, with *yān* presumably from *wind*, may belong to Skt. *vyā-* (although there is no *ru* or *clav* present in Skt.). The meaning of *vyā-*, as given by Böhtlingk and Roth (in *nich faura, aufschmei*), is precisely that of *yānīdān*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BHH., pp. 66-67. On P. 123 we now Weller, *Soghd. Pim.*, 48 (ym = Skt. *śilpa*; *krw'nc* = Skt. *śilā*).

<sup>5</sup> Reading of this line rather uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> Doubtful; apparently *γδ'ra*.

<sup>7</sup> MS. "ekel".

"ðyy myyð (45) prw üi pty'p ðxy (46) ywt oo i prw xwt'wt (47) 'xš'wnð'rt'p (A ii V) (48) 'ap's w'aw 'ty (49) 'xwındyy skwynd (50) frn nyy 'zyry = 'ty (51) xßod 'nfr'yy nyy (52) qwaynd oo ðßtyq (53) pty'p pr ktyßryk (54) 'rk 'ndwzayy prw (55) 'kityy pr'qndyy (56) ð'y ptk'n xryc (57) 'ty pr'ðn w'aw 'ty (58) x'n' jyt' wßyy oo (59) 'tyh wðw "jwnd (60) ðj'wq nyy wßynd (61) oo 'ty ms pnd fryy (62) xyrxwzyy "ðyh (63) 'apst' wßyy oo

... (4) That one is a Righteous Dēndār who saves many people from Hell, and sets them on the way to Paradise. And now I command you, Hearers, that so long as there is strength in your bodies, you should strive for the salvation of your souls. Bear in mind my orders and [my words], that Straight Path and True Mould<sup>1</sup> which I have shown to you, viz. the Sacred Religion. Strive through that Mould so that you will join me in the eternal life.

Thereupon the Hearers became very joyful and happy on account of the divine words and priceless orders which they had heard from the Apostle, the Lord Mār Mani. They paid exquisite homage, and received the ...<sup>2</sup>

*To divide the day into three parts*

And again the Apostle, the Lord Mār Mani spoke thus: The wise and soul-loving<sup>3</sup> person should divide the day into three parts. The first (part should be devoted) to the service of kings and lords so that they be well content,<sup>4</sup> that their majesty be not infringed, and that they do not start quarrelling<sup>5</sup> and scheming. The second to the pursuit of worldly affairs, to tilling and sowing, to allotments and hereditaments, to buying and selling,<sup>6</sup> so that the house be maintained, that wife and children be not in distress, and that kinsmen, friends and wellwishers can be well served. ...<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *špnd*, the true Sogdian representative of *śāstāna*, confused by Hethell with Sogd. (*šydrp*), *SCS*, 80: *Vom.*, 108, in both passages. *šp* "contour, form, shape". Hethell, *RSOS*, IX, 506 sqq., while pointing out Hethell's error, proposed another explanation which is still less likely to be correct: (*šydrp* should equal Avestan *šdhrp*). There are two obstacles to the suggested derivation. Firstly, Sogdian *šr* (when not actual *šr* or *šr*) is historical (or inverse) spelling for spoken *š* (or *š*): *šydrp*, therefore, was pronounced *šdrp* (or *šdr*, or *šdr*). Secondly, the Avestan *šr* group with metonymical *h* appears in Sogdian always as *r* (see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, paras. 139, 141); hence, Avestan *šdhrp* should be *šdrp* in Sogdian (cf. *RSOS*, XI, 68, n. 6). It would thus be better to derive *špnd* = *šdrp* or *šdr* from OIr. *šdr* and compare Sogd. *šdrp* from *šdr* + *n* (Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 147), and *šydrp* *p* 2, 436 = *šp* = *špnd* (Parth. *špnd*). The assumed semantic development (flow, circle > contour > form, shape) is supported by Sogd. *špnd* "form, beautiful form", which belongs to the same base (*špnd* "to draw forth, lines, circle").

<sup>2</sup> *špnd* is "garlic" (P 2, 600, 608, 665, 669; cf. Yaghs *špnd*, *špnd* *špnd*, *špnd* *špnd*, from *špnd* - *špnd*). But what is *špnd*? One would expect a word meaning something like *χρησμός*, cf. *Kephalaia*, 28 sq. Possibly *špnd* < *špnd* from the root of *špnd*. [see now *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 117 sq.]

<sup>3</sup> I.e. *špnd*. Cf. *RSOS*, p. 77, n. 3, and Turkish *şatır* among (Turk. *Man.*, iii, 41, 42).

<sup>4</sup> Contrary to my suggestion in *RSOS*, VIII, 685, n. 2, *špnd* may belong to the base *špnd* "to satisfy" (*špnd* > *špnd* > *špnd* > *špnd*). It thus would be the past participle to *špnd*.

<sup>5</sup> Differently *RSOS*, pp. 111 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *RSOS*, p. 71: *RSOS*, IX, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> The third part of the day, of course, was to be devoted to the care of the Manichaean monks!

C. The Three Fishes

From M 127, lat and cursive Manichaean script. This Sogdian version is very concise. There were two such stories in the Panchatantra. In one of them the foolish fish is killed (1st book, 14th story; Benfey, i, 241 sqq.; ii, III sqq.), in the other the two intelligent fishes are caught but the fool is saved (5th book, 6th story; Benfey, i, 242; ii, 387 sq.). The first form of the story was included by the Pahlavi translator (cf. *Kalila wa Dimna*, ed. Sacy, pp. 107 sq.; Keith-Falconer, 31; also *Mathnawi*, iv, 2205, 58, Nicholson, see commentary), but not the second, which Benfey judged to be "undoubtedly a late addition". The Sogdian agrees with the second form. The names in Skt. are *sahasrabuddhi*, *śatbuddhi*, and *ekabuddhi* (the last is said to be a frog).

M 127 II 8-14

(8) oo i mzyx ['waxly] wmt (9) 'ulyy wōyy c[y]ndr iiii kpyā)t wmt('nd) i kpyā) 'yw (10) ām'r'yy<sup>1</sup> oo šštyk k(pyy) C ām'r'yy<sup>2</sup> š 'ty štyq (11) kpyy z'r ām'r'nyy<sup>3</sup> wmt qō 'rtyy wāp't kpy'ay (12) w'ym(k) š 'lyt 'ty š'm' pāt š'r qō 'tyy xwnyy šw' (13) yf ām'r'nyy kpyātyy ay't š'r qō 'ty xwnyy 'yw (14) ām'r'yy<sup>4</sup> kpyy nyy ny't š'r oo

There was a big pond,<sup>1</sup> and in it there were three fishes. The first fish was One-Thought, the second fish was Hundred-Thoughts, and the third fish was Thousand-Thoughts. At some time<sup>2</sup> a fisherman<sup>3</sup> came and cast his net. He caught those two fishes of many thoughts, but he did not catch the fish One-Thought.

D. The Merchant and the Spirit (Plate 1)

Very badly preserved fragment. The lines are incomplete and the writing is faded and often illegible. Nevertheless, the trend of the story is clear. Cf. *Judges*, 11 (Jephthah's daughter), and the story of Idomeneus (*Servius* in

<sup>1</sup> Mistake for kpyy.

<sup>2</sup> Or "lake". See *Sogdica*, p. 61, and *Addenda* (with reference to Minorsky, *ibid.*, 56, 105). Cf. also "w'ā" "lake" P 9, 38.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of wāp't (clearly containing -p't "now") is not known. For an explanation from Av. *ušpa* see Gershevitch, *loc. cit.*, para. 299. Note that the Avestan word is spelt *ušpa* in the *Frashōrōš* (and not *uštra*), and that the Pahlavi rendering is *yustāhād apak* (and not merely *yustāhād*). I take this opportunity to correct the reading of *Frashōrōš* III, p. 5, where *ušpa* should be replaced by *yustāhād* (cf. Reichelt's preface, p. 3, on the letters -s- and -š-); this is a bad spelling of *\*yustāhād* "of that which has an elbow, or forearm". The Pahlavi translation gives *lindād* (M 6) or *lād* *lā* (K 20) — "as much as an ell (allows)"; possibly the original spelling was *\*lindād* = *elbow/arm* (cf. B. Grigore, *WFLN*, 42, 110). From Av. *ušpa* we have Pahlavi *ušpa* "elbow, forearm", cf. also Saka *ušpa* (Mailey, *BSOAS*, XI, 5) and Bactrian *ušpa* "elbow".

<sup>4</sup> Lat. "a fish-catching hunter" (cf. *kyā*'s entry in O<sup>1</sup> and *Fr.* 114). w'p'ak = MPer. and Parth. w'p'ak "hunter" (cf. *BSOAS*, VII, 89, n. 2). Cf. M 523a, 9 sqq. 'ye w'p'ak hād) w' mōy'ā [d] d' m'g] [y]p'at 'āyad a' w' m' r'ay [d] m'g' w' w'ndy d'yd a' s' r'ay] 'n] xdy' w'nd brā' bād "There was a hunter, he had caught many birds in his nets. He possessed many kinds of nets and snares (cf. Sogd. w'p'at "snare" B 2, 273, w'eb' DN, 24). He was very meretricious and winked". M 523, 25 . . . w'p'ak w'nd y'ay 'ye p'at . . . the hunter, he had caught a wolf". Cf. also *Saka* *ušpa*, etc. (Mailey, *BSOAS*, X, 577; *Yadgha* *ušpa* (Morgenstierne, *IFL*, II, 202), *Qamr*. *ušpa* (Hilkebachmann, *Elym. Ouz.*, p. 30, beside Av. *ušpa*).

*Virgū. Aen., iii, 121: Idomeneus . . . in tempestate devovit sacrificiorum sedere quae ei primum occurrisset. Contigit in filius eius primus occurreret . . .*, *Beauty and the Beast*, etc.—Manichaean script.

## T ü D ■

(Recto) (1-2 orange ink) (1) [.]δβ(z)ʿt \* nyʿδʿ ■ (2) [ʿty] wystʿw wystʿ[w] (3) x(yδ) zwrnyy ʿneʿyʿt [ʿty] (4) (mʿx) xrxsym ooʿrt[ʿty] (5) . . . kww [βtʿmyδpr[m] (6) . . . (wy)δβz ʿty nwy[.] (7) . . . wystʿw kwnʿ [ʿty] (8) . . . nyy nmʿ(ʿ) ■ . . . t ooʿrty xwʿq(r) (10) [kmyy ■ (11) [r ʿty xʿnʿ(ʿ) (12) (mzyx) (wyδʿ)β ʿty rtyry[ʿ] (13) . . . cyk ʿm oʿ [ʿty] (14) . . . wʿt ooʿ tyh (15) (xwʿ)[qr kw] wʿxayk [ʿty] (16) (cyt)lyy aʿr wʿnw (17) (wystʿw) kwnʿ oo kt (18) (cʿnw) wβʿt ʿty cymayδ (19) nzwirʿ(ʿ) pww wyδ(β) (20-1 orange ink) (20) [ . . . p]tʿr [ (21) . . . (Verso) (22) tyδ[w] [ʿa]mkʿm [ʿty] (23) [δy]myδ a[m[w][t(r)]yk c[ʿy][ʿty] (24) [p]wky kwnʿm ooʿ rtyh (25) cʿnw viimyk myδyy nzwir (26) [w]ystʿw kwnʿ oo p[ʿt]r (27) xyδ ywnyδ zwrnyy [ʿty] (28) poʿwʿ mneʿy ooʿ (ʿrty) (29) xwʿqr δa ztyy (ʿtyh) (30) [ʿw]ndyy yxnyy yrlʿ[m]yy (31) [ʿryw p[ʿww wyδβ] (kww) (32) [z]mb sʿr nyjyy moʿ (ʿrty) (33) mʿyʿa kmʿrʿk(yn) \* (xrt) t (34) [pʿ]δy ʿndwronʿk (ʿwstʿt) (35) kt cʿnw wβʿtkʿm (prw) t (36) wyeʿw ky kδʿm oo (37) δβʿt cʿnw (xʿnʿ) (aʿr) (38) [p]ndʿ d βʿwn [ʿty]myy δ(wyʿt)ʿ (39) pcpʿt pyrmu [p]ynyy (40) ywʿt ooʿ rty (cʿnw) (41) [ . . . ]k sʿr pnd [βʿwn] (42) [p]tʿr (xryw) t (qacyk) t \*

" . . . pray and swear the oath, the very moment it will calm down and we shall be saved." For a full week . . . [he pressed<sup>1</sup> him], "take the oath," but . . . he did not lend himself [to it]. The merchant [thought], "great injury and decline in [threatening] my . . . house," and [gave in]. Before the spirit and demon the merchant took this oath: "If it be that [we escape] without injury from this ocean, then . . . I shall take it and offer<sup>2</sup> it to the spirit of the sea." When on the eighth day he had taken this oath, at once that very moment the turmoil ceased, and the merchant with his son and huge treasure and wealth came out on the shore in safety. But he began to walk deep in thought, to stand still anxiously, (thinking) "How will it be with the oath I took? Perhaps when I approach my house, this time my daughter will come as the first to meet me? But if I approach the . . . then the . . . girl(?) [will meet me first]. . . .

\* Presumably [wy]δβz, cf. line 5. Meaning unknown. Possible connections: Sogd. nyδβʿga, Sogdian, p. 32; Sogd. δβa "budget"; Av. βeyz 17; Av. δβaz (cf. Duchaux-Guillemin, *BDS*, IX, 884 sq.; the assumption that the *dāmad* oblation *qai* figure notamment dans nr. [hādā. mād] occur in Sogdian and other later dialects, is strange).

<sup>1</sup> Or *maqrnyy*?

<sup>2</sup> *dmʿt* is certain, but cf. *dmʿtya* below, § 24.

† [p]nd (very faint) added in the margin.

\* The whole line is one long blur. *paqyt* is merely a guess (cf. *BDS*, 101). What *pyrw* (if that is the correct reading) could mean here is not clear.

<sup>1</sup> *nyy* presumably from *nyyδ*, and *wyδβz* from Av. *βeyz*?

<sup>2</sup> I have restored [wy] to [p]wy. Uyur Turkish *paş* "alone, offering". However, this originally Chinese word has not been noticed in any Sogdian text so far.

## E. Βασιλειανος ὁπος

Two pieces of a folio, respectively its upper and lower end. The central part is missing. Manichaean script.

## T 5 D 117

Captions: *Recto* *mtkmny* "and The Story of the [Magian] man.

*Verso* *cn 'sp'sygh* On Service . . .

(*Recto*) (1) m'yδ wyyān jwyty' myδ'nyyh (2) 'wrt nwrtyy swt o 'rty pytē  
(3) r'mndyy xypδ ay'δ'rt o 'rty xw (4) rw'(nm)yc frty' ayy "yfett o (5) 'rty  
yyrt wny βyyātē 'tyyh (6) mrd'apnd ty pwtystyy pynm (7) s'r m'yδ ywβ(t)[y]  
'ty āyn'my [ ] βwt m c'nw xw(n)[yy . . . .] xwt'w wny (9) xypδ n'tyy  
m[yδ'nyy ywβtyy 'ty (10) [ ] (w)yδ'β wy(n)[. . . . .](t)y oo mwy[. . .]<sup>a</sup>  
(The following line was apparently left blank; after it a lacuna of undetermined  
extent) (11) [w'n[w (12) [m]y' . . . .] (13) fryytē 'ty (14) βwt'my(k)[y]  
(15) 'ty jyn[. . .] (16) r'tāyma(t)[y]m k[ (17) m'owq xwp 'ty n[ (18) o o c'nw  
'ty [ (19) qdwt y pr ny'wr jm(n)[w (20) r'mnd y'βyy 'ty [ ] (21) βyyt'βr'n  
āw'zskwn [ . . . .] i (22) m'yδδ mē kw y'βy[y] (cn) δβr'h (23) jyw tyyt'yy  
'ty wx'(s)on āyyr (24) 'ndwxen'k 'ty ām'rykyn tē' (25) zskwn o 'rty pop'tyy  
on βry'h (26) c'ōm'r wxt ptyywt jyyr 'tūy (*Verso*) (27) w'nw w'β nrt'y'  
prrr 'tūnyy (28) jyw d z'ryyāy'zskwn o [ ] āwnyy tw' (29) wynoyk βjyy m'z  
'rt'yy xw n' (30) wyyt ayy poy'yq'm 'rtkδ' kōryy (31) mn' w'xh nywīyy  
'rt'yy w'nw jn' (32) βyndmq'm 'ty i jw'nyy āyrt'n (33) wβyk'm o 'rt[aw]  
mrt'y(h) \* 'akyy kw (34) kywyδ wnx[r s'r w'ow [ ] tyww (35) 'tyβy' ky  
[yā [ty t'm'h w'nw (36) [z](')ryyāy(y)[skwn a 'rt](y)nyy cn '(s)[kyy] (37)  
[a'δr]s[rt w'nw p'] (tohy(n)[yy kwn') (A lacuna of undetermined extent) (38)  
'[s]k[y] qyr'nā'r (39) [ ] mzyyā yrw (40) jrtty pō'mnyh (41) [ ] βyyt[sk]n  
'styy (42) βjwyδ βyn' \* c'ōndr (43) [yrt βyyātē] 'skwnd ky 'ty wy'βnyyt  
(44) [xnd pytē i cn 'βp'ayy kōny ākwrδrt (45) [xnd 'rtms i pr] yryy "wryy  
'akyy (46) [ . . . . . ty](m) 'nyw ū βynyy 'aty i (47) zyr(ny)[nyy 'ty δ]βyk  
n'ktynyy xyy o (48) 'rtty δywy[δ δ]βnw βyny' c'ōndr cw (49) βyyt[sk] 'skwnd  
s'z wysprīnyyt (50) xnd pytē mrt'myzyy pryw ayy j'ynd (51) 'rty q'tm  
"δyy (')ww rōānyt βyyāt (52) ky 'ty wy' βyny' 'skwnd 'xōndyy

. . . so he goes to and fro amidst those cruel ones, but always keeps [ ]  
consciousness so that his spiritual welfare is not perverted. And later on,  
before the gods, elements, and Buddhas (apostles),<sup>1</sup> [ ] is honoured and cheered

<sup>a</sup> Restore [pr] or [pso].

<sup>b</sup> mwy[ac] or mwy[ay] "Magian" ? Apparently subscription to the text ending in line 10 to which the caption of the *Recto* page refers. It can thus be restored to mwy[ay ?] mrt'mny "and. The caption of the *Verso* page (which was continued on the *Recto* page of the subsequent folio) gives the title of the story of lines 11-52, cf. line 44.

<sup>c</sup> Restore [t'zyy] "from", or [t'zyy] "enlaid" ?

<sup>d</sup> Added above the line.

<sup>e</sup> (h) written over (or under ?) (tw), i.e. "read mrt'y instead of mrt'y tw" or vice versa.

<sup>f</sup> I.e. after his death.



(10) skwn ZY nymy ZKñ nyšyryh (11) mynt o ZY kōry 'z-yrt šwy-m (12) ZY prw yw'dk<sup>a</sup> pš'y-š o ZY gr (13) nys'y-šty cwpt ywβw myn o ZY (14) ZKh yxy mkr' m'yz ZY ZKñ (15) twpay nš'nt yyr o o'akw 'yw (V)(16) [... ] s'r pnt β'w'nt o (17)[twpay] 'z-yw'rt ZY ZKñ (18) [mkr] s'r m'y-š w'β (19) [... ]n o šyry ZY-mn ryty (20) [yrt ZY šyry pty-ryh ktyš (21) o 'mpty [... ]k' pš't'n (22) L' [... ]y o skwn yw'r ZKñ (23) tw'pray [s't] βty ZY pcp'n (24) ššry-t'kw ycy o 'YKZ-Y ywβwy' (25) šyr'kw ywry-k'm o cywyš (26) pyš'r kt tyw kšy šyy'k (27) kwn' 'yny pš't'n pr (28) šst' ny's o rtyh yxy (29) mkr' mwnw w'yš pty-ywš (30) epō' šyr 'yws'nt 'kry

"... Who will now be the right king for us? There is none better than you! [ ] animals have approved Your Excellency<sup>1</sup> as absolute king and are at the point of declaring<sup>2</sup> you king. For Your Excellency's body is half like a man's, and half like an animal's. Let us now go quickly, and you shall seat yourself on the throne and be king over the animals."

The foolish monkey got up and went along with the fox. When they approached the [trap ], the [fox] turned back and spoke thus to the [monkey]: "Good... has come before us and you have been placed before a good thing. Piled... you would not... the frame ( ),<sup>3</sup> but it is all presented and ready<sup>4</sup> prepared for Your Excellency so that you shall eat well like a king.<sup>5</sup> So if you will now take the trouble,<sup>6</sup> take this frame ( ) into your hands."

The foolish monkey heard these words, at once<sup>7</sup> he became very glad...

<sup>a</sup> There is hardly enough space for the abstract noun (ydyryš): P 6, 161. ZKñ to' pray can be nominalized as well as gerundive dative, cf. (šyryš - Persian to-mōd) is probably appositional to ywβw, cf. P 2, 1144 sq.: 'PZF wññ 'ygyw's 'arjym rtyt'4. Cf. also epō' šyr, 101. This only scarcely need rtyt-(y)š'w, see in Vd. 1140.

<sup>b</sup> MN. apparently šmwyw, but several times in this manuscript one can hardly distinguish -kw from -ru.

<sup>c</sup> MN. mštyr'š'y-š.

<sup>d</sup> - y'šyk. Mistake or genuine form?

<sup>e</sup> Or [... ]. Three or four letters missing. [ZYβ]a.

<sup>f</sup> Possibly [yuc]n'š? But the third letter looks rather like -c. Hence, ['pš'k? ['β'š'k?

<sup>g</sup> [š]w'ny? [w]β'ry? [y]w'ny?

<sup>h</sup> šurn is freely used in Sogdian texts as a polite form of address, especially to dignitaries of the Manichaean church.

<sup>i</sup> Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 101a.

<sup>j</sup> The meaning of pš't'n is unfortunately not known. It is connected with pšty. "In prop. Iran" (Dharmapala 25, cf. Willson, cf. šyryš "to withstand" (Pitt, p. 104 and P 8, 126). I am assuming that the trap itself is meant here, but the possibility that the word refers to the piece of meat in the trap cannot be overlooked. In that case pš't'n may have the same meaning as Av. pš'tišna ("log").

<sup>k</sup> Cf. S.T. I, 50, 5; III, 20; P 7, 60. Anc. letters pš'y-š "to be ready for" (the preceding word in Reichelt's glossary, pš't-š "to wait, expect", cf. S.T., I, 39, 3; "if I shall lead you, then wait for me." The simple verb may occur in Anc. Lett., I, 12, šyr'kš š'm "I shall have a good time", where Reichelt has š'm's. Av. š'm, etc.).

<sup>l</sup> ywβwy' may be a "positive instrumental", see Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 1182, 1223.

<sup>m</sup> This sentence is not clear. Literally "on this account that you now make or shall make (trap, or sub), eg. 2) hardness". For šyy'k see S.T., p. 105; Šophro, p. 20, and particularly šyy'q wñ- S.T., II, 5, 33: "Through these great (wñ's) efforts they earned the paradise. So we, too, when we hear of such great (wñ's) tribulation, should take much trouble, etc." See also below text I, line 5. <sup>n</sup> pš' possibly from šōš pōšš(š), Persian as pā.



## G. The Daśā

Fragment of a scroll, recto Chinese. Cursive Sogdian script, carelessly and irregularly written. This is not a story; it is given here as illustration to the next number (H). Better than any Manichaean text so far known, this fragment shows that the Manichaeans shared the Zoroastrian idea of the "religion" (*daśā*) of a man meeting him after death in the shape of a virgin, cf. Polotsky, *Le Manichéisme*, xlv, 268-271.

## T ū Tayoq

(1) 'yw 'z-w'nh [ (2) mrtymy pwny'nyh [ (3) m's ZY ywty pw r'yh<sup>a</sup> βwt [ (4) šyr'nk'ry pwny'nk'ry kwδ prum<sup>b</sup> 'z-wyt<sup>c</sup> rt[y (5) cyty<sup>d</sup> 'tōrnkw'neh<sup>e</sup> δ'm l' δβ'yāt [ (6) MN wyapn'ch pw pekwyrt m's ZY n[ (7) pšyh pw "y' 'yā'nt (8) 'r'nt<sup>f</sup> (ZKw) [ (8) p'āy 'āy[rtiy cw amrnh myrty pterδ xxxx] <sup>g</sup> (9) δwyth βyāpāyt<sup>h</sup> p'tyey s'r 'yā'nt [ (10) 'sprymy ZY syrn'yny kwā'k'r rāy myδ w(')hβ'nt (11) l' pekwyrt 'rt'w r'w'nh p'rZY [ (12) pty'p nyst p'rwtly yr'm<sup>i</sup> [ (13) rty yr'm<sup>j</sup> rwyān'yrδmnh s'r p(w) [ (14) p(')šy<sup>k</sup> yw wyδy pcy'z p'rZY pma [ (15) 'wz'ny p'ty wnt'yδ m's ZY ZKn (w)[y]spw w'tδ'(rt)[y] (16) ZKw 'z-wnh<sup>l</sup> z'ry sy'tδ'ry m's ZY ān l' ZY<sup>m</sup> (17) ptywātδ'ry l' MN y'ty<sup>n</sup> ywrtā'ry rty kδry (18) yr'm<sup>j</sup> βwδ'ntly p'ryz wātū'yw s'r kw ZY yw nūy (19) wyδy[rtāy yw yypā<sup>o</sup> 'kryh p'ryz βyy-pt(y)[c] (20) [...] δwyth<sup>a</sup> pwr'yow my<sup>a</sup> rty 'yātū nūy mryty<sup>b</sup> (21) [...] ZKwyh pr arw 'sprymy myn[ch] (22) [rtāy ywty z'δ'kw βwt

... one life ... a man's *pūya* ... so that he will be free of guilt (?) ... pious and meritorious as long as he lives ... does not hurt even the demonic creatures ... without fear of anything so that ... immediately after ... without

<sup>a</sup> Or *ruyā* 'ryā? (Dr. Gershevitch suggests: mistake for *pu* 'ruyā).

<sup>b</sup> Mistake: read *pru*.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 810.

<sup>d</sup> Hardly = "demon"? Possibly = *cyty* in the *Ancient Letters*, II, 841.

<sup>e</sup> Mistake: read 'tōrnk. (the same compelling error in P 8, 103).

<sup>f</sup> Or 'ny, or 'zy. If 'y, one might think of Old B. *šyn* and compare 'yō' 'yā, *SN*, 76; *prw* 'yō, P 2, 165; 'yō' 'yā ... l', II 8, 19, 181. "ny" other? is less likely here. "He birth" should be spelt 'zy. I do not understand this line.

<sup>g</sup> The first two letters are illegible; hardly β.

<sup>h</sup> There may have been four symbols for "twenty", followed by other numerals. Only the first two symbols for "twenty" are clearly visible, after them only a few traces. Perhaps one should restore: *xx xx* [ *xx xx* z *ūūūūūū* *N.P.W.*] (there is certainly not space for more) = 20,000, and compare the traditional number of Yavana, 99,999 (e.g. in *Yasr* 13, 50-52; *MS*, 48, 15; *Jad. RL*, 22, 9).

<sup>i</sup> Or *šyapāt*. Presumably mistake for *šyāpāt*.

<sup>j</sup> m over (or under l) *hā* (= *yr'nh*).

<sup>k</sup> p(')šy?

<sup>l</sup> Mistake: read 'z-w'nh.

<sup>m</sup> At first sight one would certainly read *šyγ*, but *š'γ* was no doubt intended.

<sup>n</sup> Restore [wγ]hcyth? (Cf. e.g. *wyāhcyth*, P 8, 165).

<sup>o</sup> = Buddhist Sogd. *ny* (oblique case of 'mā).

<sup>p</sup> Or *nyty*? "birds" + "meadows"? "even ones" + "clouds"? "nash"? Cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 26.

interval . . . they obtain (!) . . . the watcher. And at whatever time ■ dies, 80— . . . girl angels will come ■ meet him, with flowers . . . and a golden litter,<sup>1</sup> and speak thus to him: "Fear not, righteous soul, for you have no part in . . .; but come forward . . . step forward to the Light Paradise, without . . ., receive joy. For in this [world] you have abstained from slaughter, you felt compassion with the lives of all creatures so that you did not kill them nor eat of their flesh. Now step forward to the fragrant, wonderful Paradise where there is eternal joy."

And his own action, as<sup>2</sup> a wondrous, divine princess (!), a virgin, will come before his face, immortal . . . on her head a flowery . . ., she herself will set him on his way<sup>3</sup> [to Paradise . . .]

### B. The Caesar and the Tuluwa

Three pieces of a book, T i α, cursive Sogdian script, beautiful handwriting. One piece is a nearly complete folio, the second a large fragment of a double folio, the third is a smaller piece which helps ■ complete the text of the double folio. Thus there are three folios; one of them contains the story B, the two others are given below ■ I (admonitions and enigmas, cf. the Parthian text ■ 48, *HR.*, ii, 86). — A most peculiar story which despite prolonged study remains rather nebulous. A "Caesar" is tricked into the belief that he is dead. A thief impersonates his *Farn*. Apparently this is not (as I had been thinking at first) his *dātān* who should have the shape of a virgin according to text G, but the guardian spirit of a royal person or possibly of his country. Cf. *farrah ud wāz* of a province, *BBB.*, p. 11, *farrah ud wāz i ʾn iahr*, *Man. Dogm.*, 553 (VX 3-4), *Qoḥo uluḥ . . . qut warkiki*, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 40, *Khūmān xwarrah*, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, ix, 157. The *Farn* is male and wears royal garments; this agrees with the representation of Pappo on Kushan coins; see Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 64 sqq. — The narrator placed the story in the third century, as the reference to *Santai* (line 25) shows; ■ was a disciple of Mani, *BSOAS.*, XI, 69. A *kyr* "Caesar" who was the brother-in-law of *Npā/Nḥs* (see *OLZ.*, 1939, ■ 2) figures in the Sogdian version of the Manichaean Missionary History. In Iran *kyr* designated the Roman emperor only (*BSOS.*, ix, 834, inscription of A.D. 262; further references: Schaeder, *Iranica*, 35), but the Manichaeans may have followed the usage of the Roman empire, as indeed their brethren did in Egypt (cf. *Kephalaia*, 186<sup>41</sup>, 187<sup>42</sup>). Valerian was a prisoner in Persian

<sup>1</sup> *ken't'r*: the context of *VJ.*, 1258 sq., shows conclusively that a *ken't'r* is a seat that is movable ('ay . . . *ken't'r* aydy hōy'akre "he went along sitting in his *ken't'r*"), cf. also *VJ.*, 1431. ■ *Dāpāna*, 285, *ken't'r* is, on the other hand, a fixed seat, or a "poch" (see Weller on the passage). I do not see why *ken't'r* should be translated as "pavilion" (Rosenberg, *Iran.*, 1927, 1385; Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1933, i, 235); neither its meaning nor its form agrees with *Skṭ. kṣhṛṣṭm*. [Cf. also *Uyghurica*, iii, 71 line 8, and *E. Sieg. St. P.A.W.*, 1937, 137 n. 2.]

<sup>2</sup> Or "and his own action, a wondrous . . . virgin".

<sup>3</sup> *rāḥk* = *rāḥak* "setting on the way, sending along the road" (see above, text B, line 9) corresponds with Arabic (*al-ḥakīm*) *al-ḥakīm* in the *k. al-Fihrist*, 235, 11.

banda, Cyriades (Mariades) was emperor by the grace of Shapur (cf. *BSOS.*, IX, 835; see now A. Alföldi, *Berytus*, iv, 1937, 58 sqq.). The Manicheans may have approached one or the other.

## Tia

(Recto)(1) ]. o ZY kyar wdyðð [2] [.. wlyðp't wyðntw t'yt [ (3) [.. ](w)r' tyt'nt o rty yw w'nk[. . . . .] ] oo 'YKZY ZKwyh yð'ny cynt' or'y ZY ðmt[yr]' (5) plswyt'kw 'sty = rty p'ts'r MN wyðnt['](y) (6) (t')y'ty 'yw prn ðyðym prw (s)rw 'wetyðð't (7) ZY MLK'myne' nywðn p'mwytð't Z(Y) [8] [9] ðywyð t'pn' RW ZY yw kyar n'p'ty (9) (w)m't pnt yyr 'táy w'nk w'ß 'yy (10) 'yy kyar wyr's wyr's 'ZY n' pckw[yr] (11) p'rZ-Y ('zw) tw' prn 'ym o rty kðry 'ny(w)n' (12) yw p'(ð) ['](y) prn' 'ym ywßw t'yt ZY ð[ym]ßynt' (13) 'ktw 'p'ryw ['] ('tðy kðry 'z-w . . . . . [ (14) [ßr]y' 'ðk[rcly' syw('ym)k'm w'nk(w) [ (15) L' (wß) ['](t) = rty wyð(p) ['](t) Z(K) [ (Verso) (16) ](ð)y w'nk w'ß 'nßy [16] (17) ]y 'amy ywty 'p'atk'ry wß' o [ (18) ]y ZKn kysry w'nk w'ß oo . . . . (19) ]. prw ðry' p'rß'rcy 'ðkr'n o rty (20) [Z](K)[w]yb ryt(y) 'ys'ntk'm wyð'ntw ðymßyntyt (21) (21) (p')rækt t'(y) [t] ZY m'yw w'nk w'p'nt (22) k'm mwnw cw t'pn' yey ky ZY 'am'yw (23) (ß)rð'akwn o rty m'yw w'nk w'p't[ç]ny (24) kwnymk'm o ktyw kyar 'yw mwðk[y]ch <sup>12</sup> p' (25) '(s)y'nt <sup>13</sup> kw s'nk'y s'r ðe'ðy oo ZY 'ph (26) . . . . y cynt' w'aty = 'táy prw yypð t'pw (27) t'ph o rty kð' "ðy ðst' prw [t]pn' (28) ] . . . oo rty tyw [yw](t)y prw (29) [mwðk(y)ch] ðryn' ðyke'r wny[r] kwn' (30) ] t'yt ZKw t'pn['] prw

. . . and the Caesar there . . . thereupon those thieves entered the . . . and so he . . .

When the lights and lamps had been [ ] in the tomb, one of those thieves placed the diadem of majesty on his head and put on royal garments. He

<sup>1</sup> Or [t]r (= *cynt'*?).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Sardica*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> mðð'myne.

<sup>4</sup> Some letters from the preceding page seem to have imprinted themselves on (w').

<sup>5</sup> Or 'aywn[.] which could be 'aywn or 'ayw, or 'ay[ð], or 'y[ð] (meaning respectively "such", "light", "whole", "came").

<sup>6</sup> Reading doubtful. One or two letters are lost between p'(ð) and ]y. The y, however, is uncertain, and may be connected with the following word. The p. of prn was possibly connected to the right side. Thus one may have to read ðpn' instead of ]y prn although the r seems to be fairly well marked.

<sup>7</sup> The margin is cut off after about three-quarters of the letter t. There hardly was left any space for the ending -ß which may be represented by 'tæ at the beginning of line 13.

<sup>8</sup> This would fit the gap nicely, but it does not make sense. Perhaps 'x[ym], instead of 'p[ym]? I feel dissatisfied with the restoration of the lines 11-16.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Reichelt*, ii, 89, 11.


<sup>10</sup> Or "ðy, or "ß[. Possibly a mode of address, a (interjection?) + enclitic -ßy ("my Lord").

<sup>11</sup> A piece of paper is folded over the last letters; they could be read on the original. At first I read s'[ß](), but this is not satisfactory.

<sup>12</sup> The damaged fifth letter looks rather like (e) or (f), but mwðk[y]ch can hardly be anything but mwðk(y)ch.

<sup>13</sup> '(s)y'nt?

approached the coffin where the Caesar was lying, and spoke thus to him: "Hey, hey, Caesar, awake, awake! Fear not, I am your *Farm*! Now, besides I am the guardian *Farm* for (!) many thieves and jugglers (!!).<sup>1</sup> I shall lift you now . . . to guide you [through the] air, so that there shall not be. . ."

Thereupon the [Caesar] . . . and spoke thus to him: "Ah, my lord . . . be you my helper!" [The thief] said to the Caesar: ". . . as charioteer<sup>2</sup> I shall guide [you] through the air. But those jugglers (!), the Persian thieves, will come face to face with us and ask us: 'What coffin is that which you are carrying?' We shall then reply in this way: 'The Caesar has sent a cat to Sanāni for a joke (!). He has put (her) in (a) water[-chest ?],<sup>3</sup> and sealed it with his seal.' If one of them [should lay] hands on the coffin,  your voice be heard in the manner [of a cat]."

The thieves [lifted] the coffin on [their] shoulders. . .

#### Notes on *tpn'*, *γδ'n*, and *δymβynty*

The understanding of this story depends largely on the interpretation of three words of which, I think, I can explain two.

(A) *tpn'* (one could also read *tp'n*) is here translated as "coffin". It is evidently an Aramaic word, cf. Syriac *dapnā* "bier" and *dupnā* "coffin". The spelling rather points to the word for "bier", but the story clearly requires "coffin". The fact that *-g-* is preserved (*-faū* would appear as *-fn'*), suggests that the word was borrowed from Eastern Syriac.

(B) *γδ'n* (line 4), translated as "tomb", furnishes an explanation of the mysterious Pahlavi word *hē'n* (*'z'n*), regarded by some as an ideogram, which is employed to render the Avestan *darna-* in the Pahlavi commentaries. The relation of *γδ'n*, which may reflect Manich. Middle Persian *\*hād'n* or *\*xād'n*, to Pahl. *hē'n* is the same as that of Av. *pazd-* to Pahl. *pazūk*, cf. Pers. *dūd* to Pahl. and Man. MPers. *dūz*, etc. Assuming the initial aspirate to be secondary, one could derive *haz(d)ān* or *xaz(d)ān* from Old Iranian *\*ardāna* < *\*ard'āna* < *\*ast-d'āna*; the word would thus be identical by etymology with *astodān* "osuary". A slight difficulty is provided by the isolated and doubtful Av. *uidāna-* (or *uzdāna-*) "osuary", Fd. 6, 60; while *haz(d)ān* could probably go back to such a form, one may prefer to emend it to *\*ardāna-*.

(C) *δymβynty* (lines 12, 20), provisionally rendered as "juggler". In this manuscript the letters *y* and *β* are not distinguished, nor *am* *a* and *'*. This makes for a great number of possible readings, such as *δymyy'ty*, *δβmβynty*, *δβmyβ'ty*, etc. My reading is suggested by MPers. *dymbndyy* (abstract noun to *\*dymbnd*) which occurs once in a Manichaean fragment

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is not clear, owing to several gaps in the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> *prf'ry* from *prf'r* "chariot". But see *ESQAS.* XI, 68, n. 2. Possibly there were two words *prf'r*, (1) "chariot", (2) "explanation, pronouncement".

<sup>3</sup> Implies: "This is not a coffin as you suggest, but merely a water-chest"! But conceivably the sentence could mean: he has put water [and food] inside (the coffin, namely for the cat).

(M 204): ] *dymbudydy* 'ud *qregyh* 'yg *gung gung xyr'n* "yuelg'n 'ud tra 'y *wygygyy* 'ud *hmyg* 'n 'uelg'n ky *mdchm'n* *wylynd* 'gnyr *hmyap'n* *dy'yn'n* *ws'n* u *kyrwygh'n* [= "... the jugglery (?) and framing of various perplexing points, the fear of (= belief in) error and perverse deeds which mislead mankind, all these many clamours and artifices ..."].

In this passage *dymbudydy* stands beside *kerrāgh* "art(ifice)s", while the Sogdian *šymbydyt* are associated with *t'yt* "thieves"; hence, "impostors" or "jugglers". MPers. *dēm-band*, Sogd. *šēm-bende* may mean "right-binding", i.e. preventing someone else from seeing what is being done to him. Compare Baluchi *dam-band* "eye-fetters" = "deceit, illusion" (see Geiger, No. 52), and Pers. *šaim-band* "a spell put on the eyes".

### ■ The remainder of Tia

(First fol., recto) (1) [ . . . ] nty ymy wšy-k'm o ZY šyr(y)[wzly] (2) [ntw](y)oh šwtk'm wšyw nny w'ywoc rβ (3) 'yatk'm [β]zy[kw pty'r kwnty-k'm oo rty (4) m'nh r'm'n(t) [ . . . ] w\* š'r o ZY CWRH kβ[c] (5) yw't. n' w'n oo (w)nkwy šyy-kw (kwn)[ ZKwy] (6) [nt]wcy ZY wy'ay myš'ny ZKw] (7) L' pryoy oo p'r-Z-Y 'š'ap[šy (8) By'nykw 'nwty mny 'iz 'nwt nwt (9) kw turep'm MN CWRyh aw 'nwt n' (10) wβ o mš MN yβ'kw šy-nδ'r ky pwpw (11) wnyš ptywāy ky pwy rāt' š'ty (ZY) (12) [p]m'nty- š'r't tyw wyš wnyš pte[ . . . ]<sup>a</sup> (13) [ . . . . . ] pr šyr'kw 'z-n'ptaym wβ't (14) ]y rāt' š'ty ZY p'm'nty- (15) [(n)y'a oo r(t)y] [kδ']o ZKn (verso) (16) [yβ'kw šy]nδ'r n' yryš oo rtmā y[ . . . ]<sup>c</sup> (17) yz-ny ZY šry'w p't'š'wn š'r ZY Z[Kwh] (18) wšw pr pšywy š'r w'nkwy ZY prw tw' (19) [ . . . ]t(y)pt ywr'nt [L' t δβ]z wyn'nt (20) [ . . . . . ] (MN) mwtik'r(y) ZKwh tw' (21) [ . . . . . ] MN n'nty pwy'n a L' (22) ] rtmā tw' špy [ . . ](y)w (23) [ . . . . . ] wynt prw ywrt ZY uywōn (24) [š]y'kwδ'r oo mš p'm'ow tra ZY nmrw (25) p'm'y oo rty tw' prywyδδ RBkw šyr'kty- (26) [β]wtk'm oo kδ' 'yšy'w δβyāte ZY šyry (27) [p]t(y)-p(t) = šyr 'ntwyw kwn' yw'r) t(p'r)[y] (28) . . . . . n' [β] kt yypδ rē'n[h kw tmw t] (29) L' škry L' ywly RB[kw (30) rty pw p(r)[ . . . ]<sup>b</sup> y(yā)ypw [

<sup>a</sup> Or *kerrāgh*, cf. *OLZ.*, 1934, 735; *HBB.*, 70; *Memina*, *Zamāzprk*, 51, n. 8, 128. I still do not see why the word should be read sometimes as *kerrā* and sometimes as *kerrōt* (Bailey, *ASOS.*, IX, 231; *Zer. Problems*, III, n. 2). Old Persian *karra* would regularly result in MPers. *kerrōt* (or *kerrā*), which could be spelt either *tyrck/g* or *krrck/g*. Armenian *kropet* (Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, 512 sqq.) disproves *kerrōt* (= Arm. *karrck*) as well as *krrck* (= Arm. *krrck*). There is no need for assuming a case of special treatment. The Old Iranian form *karra* postulated by Bailey does not seem very plausible to me; it should, however, result in *karr* (not as *krr*), to judge by MPers. *zarr* from *zarayn*. (Aldi Pers. *karōgar*, Loxx. *g.* and *t.*, "one of God's names," presumably = *artificer*, *Dīdā-i 'I-nawī*, Tehran 1298, fol. 29a; *Dīdā-i Yāqūb Khazra*, 173, 4; *Dīdā-i Khāqānī*, 226, 1; *Darkhshams Ol*.)

<sup>b</sup> Possibly *(y)w*?

<sup>c</sup> *pt(y)w*? *pt(y)g*?

<sup>d</sup> Or *yw* or *β* or *βw* or *βw*.

<sup>e</sup> Or *pyw'n* (less likely).

<sup>f</sup> Or *(p)w* or *p(t)*.

<sup>g</sup> a ly tops of letters, hence could be *(w'r)(r)*. See below text J, line 8.

<sup>h</sup> ('f')? ('z')? ('r')? ('s')? I cannot read this word. (Possibly *aca*).

<sup>i</sup> Restored *p(r)[m'n]*? Cf. *Sogdica*, p. 10 (a 9).

(Second fol., possibly continuing the text without break, but whole folios may be missing) (recto) (31) [L'] wš't oo oo ma yw 'yar(w-'yš)yš\* (32) [MN] yntwry m'yš 'pra' oo kt (MN) (33) ['jam'ay cw 'ak'tr = [ ] cw MN z'y-y (c)'str oo (34) ma MN ywry cw rwyāntry MN tm' (35) cw t'rtz oo MN (y)[r] cw yr'ntz oo ma (36) MN w'ty sw zyncwkatr oo ZY MN z-ry (37) cw trykystz oo rty ms ky 'šw y'wr "z-yt (38) ZY 'yw p't myrty o ky nysty may'tr 't[. .] (39) 'n(yš)[t]y rystz o ky' yw ywšay t'w'ntz (ky) † (40) yšš [wy]r'ty šwt o rtkš' yw ('z-)my ('šy) (41) yw "my-n'y [ . . . ]<sup>b</sup> o [ ] yw "myny 'yš(y) (42) yw 'z-my k(w)[ . . . ] ms ky' yš 'y(ryw) ‡ (43) [t] c.wy cw . . . . . (44) [yaty oo cw twy (45) It oo rty cw (verso) (46) ycy ky MN šwry wynty ZY MN put [L'] (47) wy-n(ty) oo ma ZKš mrtymy cw pš'šr p[. . .]<sup>d</sup> (48) oo ma cw šš'r šyr'krty-<sup>e</sup> pšmyrty ZY 'krt(b)\* (49) šwt oo ZY cw y' š'my rtyr ZY z-wytry (50) pš(wr)t' ZY cw ZKš mrtymy-ty z-šty š't (51) z-yty = ZY MN 'yrywy šwr ZY ywty p'ty š't (52) 'akw't oo rpts'r yšš 'nc(yw) . . (rykw)\* (53) [r'š]y ZY pš'ny z-wr ššry ZY pš'y-y oo rty cw 'yw (54) ky pšr šwt oo rty cw ycy NLPW kyZ-Y rtyr (55) [š]wt oo rty mrtymy kn'v pyš's (z)šty (56) (y)wrt ? ZY pš'wy (nin) . . [ . . . . . ] ky "n'ty (57) (ywr)t † ZY pš'wy [ . . . . . ] ty ZKwy (58) knšš ZY 'wt'ky [ (59) rtyr ZY z-wytry w[ (60) mrtymy-ty put. (First fol.) . . . [if] you are despicable<sup>1</sup> [even] to your enemies, [if] your friends have sorrow, even [if] ever so many illnesses come which may cause sore tribulation, always keep your mind firm (†), never let your body<sup>2</sup> grow weak. So make efforts,<sup>3</sup> in grief and feebleness,<sup>4</sup> do not leave. . . . For in the world there is no greater help than the help of God . . . until death do not [ ] without help from the body<sup>2</sup> (†). Also, you should hear the good salvation from the wise šwšār who possesses the Right Law and Forgiveness<sup>5</sup> . . . through that salvation you should . . . shall be recognized<sup>6</sup> for goodness . . . take . . .

\* The autograph I am using is slightly blurred. It may be possible to read the name without difficulty on the original. The fifth letter = either a final -w, or a -p, which is connected to the left side. There is little doubt about -w, but -p is uncertain (-z-†). "King Khurrah" ?

b [wato] : [the first] ?      c Restore : [šwt oo rty] ?      d Restore : p[rt] ?

e The tail of the h is damaged, but no other reading seems possible. Surely this is a copyist's mistake for 'kr'nyh ?

† The letters (wr) are plainly visible, but so badly executed that the reading is doubtful. One thus has to consider also pšwt (†) and pš' (cf. BNB., p. 36, pšwē "dry" from pšw + rd "to blow", cf. now pšw' 1° 6, 86, "to dry out"; note that w's- 2°p. 11, 16, is not "to howl" as Heibell, i, 42, n. 3, assumed, but "to start to blow").

‡ Cf. (c)ys. (rykw).

<sup>1</sup> Heibell, II, 64, 10, wyšw w't'ry š'ntyt ? yry šwt "w becomes an object of ridicule and abhorrence (or disgust) to all living beings". Cf. S.T., ii, 3, 14, Lantz translated "wealth". The corresponding Syriac wšwš (ibid., p. 609, line 17) is only partially preserved; Polotsky read mawš which could be completed to mawš[ ] = wšwš "macula, vitium", or mawš[ ] = mawš "accusatus".

<sup>2</sup> Or "soul", or "self".

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 473, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Or "trouble", cf. BNB., 82 sq.; P 2, 15, 144, 163; P 12, 59.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot construe this sentence; the first šy seems superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of 'šwšaym is not clear to me. See P 2, 1165; P 12, 70; Man. ju'šaym, BNB., [ ] (where the translation is wrong).



the Right Law and Forgiveness. Never irritate<sup>1</sup> the wise *ḡānḡār*. Furthermore, keep control . . . of treasure and wealth, honour your wife so that by your . . . they shall eat, not experience hunger (1). . . so that after your death . . . there [shall be] no defamation<sup>2</sup> from the side of your enemies. Keep also your horse well . . . in fodder and cover. Give your orders humbly and mildly, you will gain great merit by it. If gains and profits begin to reach you, double your efforts, but do not be too greedy (1) so that you will not lead your soul to Hell and that great . . . and merciless (1) injury to yourself (*Second fol.*) shall not be. — And again the 'yāw king (1?) asked the water sprite<sup>3</sup>: What is higher than the sky? What is lower than the earth? What is brighter than the sun, what darker than Hell? What is heavier than the mountain<sup>4</sup>, what lighter<sup>5</sup> than the wind? What is bitterer than poison? Who is born twice and dies but once? Who is taller when sitting, and shorter when standing up? Who is stronger in his sleep than waking? When winter comes, [where is] summer? When summer comes, where [is] winter? . . . What quickly . . . What is it that can be seen from afar, but cannot be seen from nearby? What provision is [best] for man? What gift is counted as a good deed, but is a sin? What are the worst<sup>6</sup> and hardest (1) retributions (1) in this world, and what is it that man must hate and keep away from himself and guard himself against, but that later on, in . . . sickness and trouble, gives strength and is useful? What is one and superior, what is a thousand and inferior? And a man, for what reason . . . unreasonable<sup>7</sup> food (1), and honour, . . . to whom ready food (1), and honour, . . . in town and country . . . worse and harder . . . to men near, . . .

#### J. The Kar Fish (Plate 2)

Large piece of a scroll, recto Chinese. Between the Chinese text some Sogdian scribbles, written in such a way that even a Sogdian might have had difficulty in deciphering them. Possibly: 'yng pusk rīn (1) yypδ yey ky L' pyp't p'ys(1) (1) s'r pδn (1) "This book has 14 bundles (1). He who does not believe it, can go to. . . ." Cf. a similar Sogdian note on another scroll-fragment (also T ii T): ZY "ytpm (! -Ar') yypδ = x z'm Kyδ' yypδ yey "Belongs to Ayat-farm. Has 20 fine pieces of paper". — Curative Sogdian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. yr<sup>2</sup> 4, SCB., 446, and Pers. *mafidan*, cf. Benveniste, *RSOS*, IX, 224 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *pyw* from *apa-saraca* - 1

<sup>3</sup> *yaw* = Av. *yandarnan*, cf. *wp'p-yaw*, P 3, 131 - III, *wp'p' gandarman*. This is the genuine Sogdian form; Skt. *gandharva* is transliterated as *and'ar* (e.g. P 8, 54). Sogd. and Skt. show final -n, but Av. and Syriac *andar* (Skt. *Pamirpr.*, 112) have final -m.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Pahlavi text *Yōk-i Frydā*, III, 22-23 ("he and his beloved").

<sup>5</sup> *rywck* - P 9, 183; P 12, 55; *Walchi rāst*. From *carfu*, cf. Av. *rayu*, *rauf*.

<sup>6</sup> The answer is "a dog", cf. *Yōk-i Frydā*, II, 17-18.

<sup>7</sup> The construction of this sentence is not clear, but there is no doubt about its meaning.

<sup>8</sup> *ryr* is opposite to *pry* (on which see Gershevitch, loc. cit., para. 437), cf. below line 54. The abstract *ryry* (*ryryā*) occurs in P 6, 192 (beside *pryry*); P 12, 33; and above, text D, line 12. (On *ryal* "unusual" see now W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*, 427-34a)

<sup>9</sup> *irp'yt* - "untimely, too early, unreasonable, premature" from Av. *tarō.bayta* - "against (normal) fate", see P 22, 450; P 6, 176, 183, 189, etc.



script. It is generally possible to say, with a fair degree of certainty, whether the scribe of a fragment written with this script (the worst script I know) was a Buddhist or a Christian or a Manichaean, even where the contents give no hint. In this case, I think it was a Manichaean, but there is no certainty. It is thus possible that this is a Buddhist story. — *R's'n ywšw* can mean (1) the king of the country of *Rāṣān*, or (2) the king 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 the *Rāš*, or (3) King *Rāṣān* (cf. Skt. *Rāvaṇa* ?); if (2), cf. *Rāš-tōr*, Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 332 f. His son's name is *kwl'* (only as vocative, hence -' could 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 Sogdian ending), but one could read *kich* instead. *Kich* conceivably = *Kū-lang-na* (Middle Chin. *kju-tang-na*) as Hsüan-ts'ang writes for the name of Prince Kunala (cf. Watters, i, 246). There is some faint resemblance to the story of *Kunāla*, who was (1) a prince, (2) hurt by his evil stepmother. According to Anquetil and Markwart (*Wehrd.*, 188) the *Kar* fish was the sturgeon, but Justi (*Bund.*, 203) correctly identified it with the wels (*Silurus glanis*). Av. *kars* is by etymology the same word as Germ. *wels* (cf. Walde-Pokorny, ii, 541).

## T u T

(1) [wya L' . .] (2) [a]t CWRH sn'y'y yrt rm z'kt p[r'yw + about eight letters]  
(3) ZY kww kpy = ywrtδ'rt mn' ew yw'n 'aty rty (4) c'n'kw ywšw MN šš'imphw  
mwaw synw<sup>1</sup> pty-ywš (wntu)<sup>2</sup> 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 wntu šty yn'š(w)<sup>3</sup> kt ew myδš<sup>4</sup> ew  
p'yaynt (5) win'tnt s't mntw-nt wyapw prw tk'wā 'ys (7) 'nt ZY ZKn ywšw  
sn'tyh<sup>5</sup> ZY rāt'we'r kwn' (8) rty ZK t'š'n ywšw t'p'ky 'ntwyc<sup>6</sup> "pznph  
(9) s'r<sup>7</sup> rty c'hw kw "pznph s= pr'ys rty yw mywn (10) 'nw'z-y nš'nt rty  
nyz-nt rty 'yāy'wn<sup>8</sup> kwnnt (11) rty t'š'n ywšw w'-š'ty yn'šy myδ w'š pr'y'n  
(12) prytm š'ty kw<sup>9</sup> 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 prw tw' c'n'kh mōy "y (13) tym L' 'z-w'nty zow  
šyr'n L' šy<sup>10</sup> mntw zow šyr (14) 'n pr'y'n<sup>11</sup> s'ty kw<sup>12</sup> ZKn m'z'-ych ZY m'th  
(15) (R)Bk's<sup>13</sup> rāt'we'r kwn' rty kō'tw' šy' myδry (16) 'skw't tw' m'z'-ych m'th  
ywty prw'yδ kwn'<sup>14</sup> (17) rty yw'rt 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 yppδ lykny tya mywn n'šy rty [ ]  
(18) (rāt'we'r kwn' šš'm šš'vkw myδ pr'm'y mn' pr'y[n] (19) [prytm] (š'ty)  
"pznph s'r yrt kw<sup>15</sup> "py 'npst ZY (20) šy kww kpy ywrt] δ'rt [

" . . he went to [the river-bank] to bathe, together with the children,  
... the *Kar* fish swallowed [him]. How can it be my fault ?" When the king  
had heard these words from the queen, he wept so very pitifully that all the  
ministers 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭 the councillors<sup>2</sup> ran together; all came to see, and to calm  
and comfort the king.

<sup>1</sup> Before kpy a cancelled š.

<sup>2</sup> Badly written, meant to be cancelled.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps yn'š(y).

<sup>4</sup> = m'gtyh, mntyh, V.J., 379, 247, 1434. Probably connected with Skt. *śam* "to be calm", etc., which would be \**śam* in Iranian. The ending, however, is somewhat unusual. Hence perhaps a loan from Middle Indian *śama* + Sogdian abstract suffix -yā.

<sup>5</sup> A verb seems to have been omitted by the scribe (yrt).

<sup>6</sup> Mistake for 'y'f'yn.

<sup>7</sup> prytm left out by the scribe.

<sup>8</sup> On 'YK' = how?

<sup>9</sup> There is a smudge at the end of this word. It is difficult to say whether *kwn'* or *kwn's* was intended. I think, one would rather have *kwn's*, even in the preceding line (15) where the MS. has *kwn'* (which at a pinch could be read hence).

<sup>10</sup> Corrected p.m.

<sup>11</sup> 'p'y'yn. Chinese? First part possibly the same as in *laydi* (cf. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, XI, 48, n. 6).

And the king of (?) Rāṣān went to the bank of the river in boundless<sup>1</sup> grief. When he had reached the bank—the whole crowd came out with (him) and mourned —, the king of (?) Rāṣān very pitifully weeping spoke thus: "Oh, most beloved son Kul,<sup>2</sup> I have come here in the hope of seeing you. Shall I find neither his living nor his dead body?<sup>3</sup> Oh, most beloved son Kul, I shall (?) greatly console your stepmother,<sup>4</sup> but if your Lordship's death<sup>5</sup> should have taken place, I myself will call your stepmother to account."

He returned and entered his palace. The whole people consoled him. On the next day he ordered a proclamation<sup>6</sup> to be made (?) in these terms: "My most beloved son went to the bank of the river. He fell into the water. [The Kar fish] swallowed [him. . . .]"

*Note on prw'yō (line 16)*

The verb *prw'yō* "to demand, seek, ask for" is common enough in Sogdian, but the noun *prw'yō* does not seem to occur in the hitherto published material. *prw'yō* in P 3, 102, is merely a misspelling of *pr'yw'yō*. Beside *prw'yō* = Yaghnobi *parwid* ("to demand, ask, let come") there was also *frw'yō* (= *frawēd*) which in Sogdian script may be spell *prw'yō*, too. *frawēd* means "to reach, hit, attack" (as a misfortune a person). B 3, 117: who possesses such a stone, *sty sy 'icyh y'n'kyh nwk'lc βš'yk' p'βr'a frw'yōt tns ZY wcy'yy ZY ryyβ'm ZY 'ntwyc* "in his house tribulation will reach him continually, grief and trouble, suffering and sorrow". B 3, 108: who keeps such a stone in his house, will be superior to all his competitors, *styky nš'yyw w'yāy mš'yy ē'twyy'kh prw'yōt* "and great joy and happiness shall reach him". M 502 p. 6: *ixw k'p'n jmn'y' pr m'yōd z'y mny' . . . .* *zw'r e'f frw'yōt* "When there is an earthquake on a Saturday during daytime, illness and sickness will attack . . .". Both *parwid* and *frawēd* belong to the base *wād* "to find" (cf. Av. *frawēda*, etc.).

The noun *prw'yō* is met with in the Sogdian version of a Middle Persian poem. MPers. M 651 + Tt Hi — Sogd. T ü T 10, 3.

<sup>1</sup> *tr'yky* from \**tarō, pdrān*, cf. Av. *pāraman*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Kul*, *Gul*, *Gula*, *Kāla*, *Kāla*, etc. Or *Kulga*, *Gulga*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *šw* = *šw'kh* (S.T., 11) Cf. above X 17.

<sup>4</sup> The whole of this sentence is not clear to me. . . *m'z'ych* = *zh* also in N.E., 242 (where the wrong reading *m'z'ych*). Not apparently connected with Pahlavi *mōt mōt* (from \**mātrawō* = *mātrōd*, Arm. *mawōd*).

<sup>5</sup> Henning, *BSOAS*, ix, 507, derives *mydry* from Av. *maida*, *maida* = Old Iranian *mātrōd* *mātrō* (the spelling *mydry*, given by Henning, is not attested in the published texts; it is agreed that *mydry* at I.J., 1266, means "death"; possibly "Mother"). However, Old Iranian *mātrō* becomes *mātrō* in Sogdian, while Old *mātrō* in Sogd. *mātrō*. A further obstacle to the proposed derivation is the difference in meaning ("dead": "death"). It seems that Sogd. *mydry* continues Old *mydrya*, see Gershevitch, loc. cit., paras. 185, 507. — The equivalent of Av. *maida* in Sogdian is *mātrō* (*mātrō*), *mātrō* (*mātrō*).

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps rather: "He returned to his palace, the whole people entered, he dismissed them with words of comfort. On the next day he ordered," Or: "the whole people with words of comfort accompanied him." *βš'm* is not too clear here (cf. V.J., 356, 1243).





joyous life, great house and household, much treasure and wealth, many sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandchildren, maidservants, slaves, cattle, great prosperity<sup>3</sup> and beautiful equipment, and name him with laudation and praise in the whole town and . . .

But afterwards, at a later time (?), [he becomes separated !] from his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren : they begin to die [before their] time. People [think little !] of such a man to whom children were born but whom no children mourn (?).<sup>4</sup> And at some time he falls into poverty and want and becomes destitute (?) and needy in every way. He finds neither hireling nor helper, neither menial nor servant, and becomes lonely and solitary. At such time the baker (?) even [denies him] bread. His food is milk from the cow, he sleeps in the shadow of a tree, he defers to the . . . poor and to the slave-girls. . . .

Additional note.—Attention should be drawn here to the Sogdian liturgical text *BBB.*, 48-7, where the reading of a Parthian tale is prescribed for the "body-and-soul ceremony"; its title is given as *wrypchr 'd and' l (?) r'dg* == the Prince with the Candāla's son. It is likely that this was a Manichaean text of "Barlaam and Yousaf" (cf. *BBB.*, 99) the Hebrew version of which has the title *ben hammelek u'haqqanizir* the Prince and the Ascetic. The Hebrew derives from an Arabic version which in its turn was translated from Syriac; for *جوانية* in the presumed Arabic text is evidently a misreading *مريانة* (a common mistake!), not *هدية* as Kuhn boldly proposed (*Barlaam und Josaphat*, p. 42). Should the other Arabic versions, too, derive from Syriac texts (and not directly from an Iranian original), one would be tempted to explain the ascetic's name (*Barlaam*, Georg. *Βαρλαάμ*, Ar. *Bolauhar*) as a misunderstood Syriac appellation, a compound with *bar* "son", corresponding to the Parthian compound *šandāl-zādag*; Kuhn took the name for *bhagavān*, Sachau for *parahita*. But I cannot say what word the Syrian translator may have thought suitable for rendering the Indian *candāla*. The gruesome tale of *Türkiye Manichaica*, I, 9-7, which S. von Oldenburg discovered in Ibn Ḥabūyr's version of "Barlaam and Yousaf" (*Iran. Imp. Ak. Nouv.*, 1912, 779-82), occurs also in al-Ghazālī's *Kimīyā-yi Sa'ādet*, lithogr. Lucknow a.h. 1279, pp. 51 ff.

Sigilant word does not seem to contain late "honor", in spite of the spelling. Like in new case and the Syriac equivalent, probably the form *honor*. The centre part of the Sigil. compound, *gh. sp.* could be explained with the help of *gh. sp.* found in the above passage, but the reading is very uncertain (*gh. sp.*).

[illegible]

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* 87, ii, 570b.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is not very clear. On *you're too* *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 140, n. 2.



## BRÁHMAN

ORIGIN and meaning of this word have been discussed so often and so thoroughly that it may seem hardly possible to add anything new. Not long ago the late Jarl Charpentier devoted a whole book to it (*Brahman. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1932), with its full survey of the various theories put forward by Indian and European scholars an indispensable guide to the student, even though he may find himself in disagreement with the solution favoured by Charpentier himself. However, it appears that perhaps insufficient attention has been paid to the Iranian side of the problem which may help in reaching a definite conclusion.

In a recently discovered Xerxes inscription ("Xerx. Pers. daic.", 41 sqq.) there is a recurring phrase "to worship Ahuramazdā *ariāda brmniy*". To all appearances these words mean merely "to worship Ahuramazdā in proper style, in correct fashion", but opinions vary greatly on their grammatical analysis.<sup>1</sup> Most likely *brmniy* is the Nom. Sg. of an adjective (referring to the subject of the verb "to worship") in *-iya* from *brmn-*, while *ariāda* = *ariādā* is either a second adjective OIr. (*a*)*riānhaōō* "following Rta" (thus Bailey),<sup>2</sup> or an adverb explaining *brmniy*, OIr. (*a*)*rtūt haōō* = Av. *aštūt haōō* "according to Rta". Thus one could translate either "following Rta and possessing (associated with) the *brmn*", or "following the *brmn* in accord with Rta". The translation I had given "holding Baresman (twigs) according to the Holy Law (Rta)" does not meet the case. The stressing of such a minor detail of the cult as

<sup>1</sup> See Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Mitt.*, viii, 55 sqq.; *Alpers. Inschr.*, 27-35, 116-18, 287-9; Kent, *Language*, 13 (1937); Hartmann, *OLZ.*, 1937, 146 sqq.; Nyberg, *Rel. All. Iran*, 367, 478; Bailey, *Zer. Problems*, 87, 229, and my remarks, *BSOS.*, x, 506.

<sup>2</sup> However, similar adjectives are formed with *-ak-* (not *-haōan-*) in Avestan where *aštahak-* occurs.



the Barasman twigs were would appear to be incommensurate with the tenor of the inscription. *Brzmn-* must have a fairly wide and general meaning here; it has quite rightly been compared with the Indian *brāhman-*. Also, the spelling of *brzmnīy* in the Elamite and Akkadian versions, *pīrtacmanniya* and *birazammanni*, necessitates the reading *brzmaniya* (in preference to *barzmaniya*).<sup>1</sup>

It has not been noticed so far that Old Persian *brzman-* survives in Middle Persian and Parthian *brahm*, Pahlavi *brahm(ak)*. There is no difficulty about the phonetic development. OIr. (u)vrōzman- (Gothic *urōzman-*, Av. *urōzman-*) which appears as *urōāhm-* in Middle Iranian (MPers. *urōāhmīh*, Pahl. *urōāhmanīh*, etc.) provides a close parallel; one could also cite MPers. *šmag* (Pers. *šime*) from OIr. *aizma-* (Av. *aēzma-*). The frequent Pahlavi spelling *br'hm(k)* happily leaves no doubt that the Middle Iranian word was pronounced *brahm(ak)*, not *barhm(ak)*.

The Pahlavi word has been discussed by Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, ■ (cf. also *Man.*, iv, a.v.), and Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, 311. According to Zaehner ■ means (a) garment, (b) manner. However, it is used not so much for the actual clothes as for their appearance or style. Hence, one would prefer "dress" or "costume". Perhaps the best equivalent in English is "fashion" which covers both meanings.

■ may be useful to treat the Manichaean passages in which *brahm* occurs, more fully.<sup>2</sup> As in Pahlavi the word refers to clothing: *Mir. Man.*, iii, a ■ (p. 851) "For a short while they gladly<sup>3</sup> clothed themselves inwardly with the costume (*brahm*) of joy, but outwardly they were visible in armed and warlike appearance (*šīhrag*)". M 177 V 17 (*HR.*, ii, 90) "And lo! angels brought the soul of Dārāw and placed him before me, arrayed in the customary dress of kings (*šhrd'r'n brhm 'bdyy'n*)".

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henning, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Unimportant or incomplete passages are not quoted here.

<sup>3</sup> *fr'h* is adverb and belongs to *fr'yh*, cf. *frāgō*, *JRAS.*, 1942, 220, n. 5.

Here we must pause to consider Parthian *abdēn* ('bdyn or 'bdyn) which hitherto has been translated as "wonderful" (by F. W. K. Mueller, Salemann, and myself), while in fact  $\square$  means (a) custom, (b) customary, wonted. It is the same word as Armenian *aurēn-k'*, MPers. *ēvēn(ag)*,<sup>1</sup> and goes back to OIr. \**abidinā*-. Cf. the following texts:—

(1) *Mir. Man.*, iii, d 65 (p. 864) *fr'maxtyyī tnb'r pāmucn* 'bdyn "he shed the wonted garment of the body (= he died)".

(2) *Ibid.*, n 6 (p. 886) *pd hnd* 'bdyn "through blind" habits".

(3) M 523a  $\square$  ['o] ['lym 'bdyn wkat 'h[tyd] "he has freed himself of this habit".

(4) M 580 R 10 *aw'gwn kyc t'wg cy ny 'mactg u ny 'bdyn* *but kw cyī*  $\square$  'b'nyh 'c kyc 'st'n'h "like a rich man who was neither used nor wont to take anything on loan from anybody".

(5) T iii D iii 270 *bad jyr 'w[ f'ra'ng] nyw 'w[ hwnr'w[nd]* 'bdyn 'w'gw[n kw ?] b'dyst'n pd  $\square$   $\square$  kyc ny x'nyd byh 'agd "he was clever and wise, brave and skilful. His custom was such that frequently he went out at nighttime, unbeknown

<sup>1</sup> *tofn* < *aīfān* < *aīfān* < *aīfān*. Another case of the Middle Persian metathesis of -fā- > -āf- (> -yā-) is provided  $\square$  the later form of the Old Persian word for "palace" whose stem is usually given as *apadānā*-. Parthian 'pdn = *apadān* proves that the OPers. word was *apadān*- (acc. *apadānam*), and this is supported by the Biblical pointing *appaden* (*apadān*-), by Syriac *apadānā*, Arab. *ḥadān*; needless to say, OPers. *apadānā* could appear in Parthian only as 'bd'n. In Middle Persian *apadān* became \**āpādan*, then \**aīfān*. Through the metathesis of -fā- \**aīfān* became \**aīfān* > *aīfān* > *aīfān*; the last form occurs in Man. MPers. (spelt "gwn, *Mir. Man.*, i). The vowels were transposed in Persian *aīfān* (if derived directly from the MPers. form as is likely). A belief that Pers. *aīfān* somehow belonged to OPers. "apadānā" was expressed by Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, 252—Parth. 'd'gwn (f) and Parth. 'bdyn (*BSOS.*, ix, 79) are uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> *hnd* = Ormuri *hōnd*, Saka *hams*, Av. *anda-*, Sogd. *and*, etc., cf. Morgenstierne, *Report . . . Afghanistan*, 33; *IIFL.*, i, 317. Parthian has many words which otherwise are met with only in Eastern Ir. dialects, cf. e.g. *hyn-g'nyg*, *pn'd'n* (Parachi *panān*), *frg'w*. See also Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1936, i, 202 sqq. Consideration of the Parthian vocabulary supports my contention that that language was indeed Parthian and not Middle-Median (cf. *Mir. Man.*, ii, 302, n. 1; *BSOS.*, x, 501 sq., 508).

to everybody" (*b'dyn'n* = Man. MPers. *b'yst'n* = Pahl. *bāstān*, cf. Av. *bāiḥitām*).

(6) M 92, 7<sup>a-b</sup> (from an *Evangelionig Bāstāh*)

*jāgyn bōd u t'ryg, mgyng 'bdyn pd ikr tcynd*  
*pd 'wryg wdyft 'hynd, = krugyft cy 'šmg'n.*

Dark they were and contentious, brutish in habits they  
 roam the world,

Deceived by lusts, and the trickery of the devils.

The word *mgyng* (*mgyng-'bdyn*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound) in the last quoted passage is perhaps too important to be passed over lightly. In view of its meaning which seems to approach that of "brutish" (or "imbecile" ? "drunken" ?), it can hardly belong to Av. *magavan*.<sup>1</sup> It has been noticed four times in Parthian and once in MPers. where a shorter form (*mgyu*) is employed:—

(1) M 82, 15<sup>a-b</sup>

*ny'ryft pdmwt 'hynd, tab'r gnd'g 'ud mgyng*  
*[p]dmwt (1) pdngyn, cy b'd b'd pdmwt 'hynd*

"Clothed in decay: the body, stinking and brutish,  
 'Tis a soiled garment that they put on again and again."

(2) T ii D 116, i, ■ ■ pd dybhr [ ] 'wryg [ ] xemr  
 'ud . . . 'stft gryn mat m' q[r]'h ke ■ ■ bō'h mgyng "Do  
 not intoxicate yourself with anger, . . . lust, . . . sleep, with  
 harsh . . . , so that you will not become brutish".

(3) M 460b, 12 ■ ■ mat 'yy 'ud mgyng pd frhy[ft] 'ud  
 sydyft, [ns]'rcyn (1) pd s'dft<sup>2</sup> ('ud 'nd'g cy ['y]m ikr "Thou  
 art drunk and brutish in love and hatred, like a corpse in the  
 joys and sorrows of this world".

(4) M 87, 14<sup>a</sup>–15<sup>a</sup> (from the *Gōwīšn-i Grōw-rōšan*).

*'m'hycwm dyym b' m' bnyd (1?)<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> However, if one accepted as true the picture painted by Nyberg of the shamanistic Zoroastrians, one could fairly well describe the *Magavan* as an imbecile and brutish drunkard. See *Religionen des Alten Iran*, 147 sqq. Cf. *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1943, 119 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> As I hope to show in an article I am preparing on "Sogdian Tales",

*tʷnɣd'n kum 'ndr 'w 'spɣnj 'dɣn'd]*

*trwm m' kumɣd 'wɔd nɣɣn m' bɣɣd*

But you should not throw dust into my eyes,

Surely you can admit me to this Inn,

Do not repel me, do not be so brutal.

Let us return to the consideration of *brahm*. In the first Manichean passage quoted above (p. 109) *brahm* was associated with *ēihrag* "appearance, form, figure, face; nature, seed".<sup>1</sup> Both words are often found in juxtaposition. Thus in a "Crucifixion Hymn", M 24 ■ 8 (= M 812 V), '[xw'ryd] hru 'mɣst'n 'w r's[tyft cy] mtyh'h u bɣɣd 'zd'g [wɔd] 'tɣn'ɣd pɔ 'spɣɣft hɣ r': e *brhm* ■ *cyhrg* 'zwt "Grasp, all believers, the Truth of Christ, learn and wholly understand His secret: He changed His form and appearance". The reference is to the assumption of human form by Christ, cf. also *Mir. Mon.*, iii, k 4 (p. 881) *āhrd'r* 'rg'w wzybyh pɔmɣn 'zwt. In a hymn addressed to the Father of Light<sup>2</sup> we read (M ■ 9, 27 sqq.): 'z'w'dɣ jɣwɣdɣ o wɣgr'dɣ 'wɔd 'nɣdɣ 'yɣ o tɣ nɣd'n gɣw u p'dɣɣrb 'm'h pɣdr qyrbkr u kur's'n hɣcyhr u *brhm* 'wɔd *cyhrg* p'dɣɣrb 'wɔd z'w'r o cy hɣ pɣdr nɣ'g hɣɣɣ o nɣɣɣɣ u wɣd'm'ɣg wɣɣ "You are praised and living, wakeful and eternal. Your sign, your Self, your aspect is our beneficent Father, the beautiful East, (who is) the form (*brahm*) and appearance,

*dēm bāman* means "to juggle, trick", M. "to bind someone's sight" so as to prevent him from seeing what is happening to him. But the reading *bɣɣd* is merely conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> The peculiar Parthian *h'mcyhrg*, *Mir. Mon.*, iii, 849, n. 3, is "homomorphic" rather than "of the same substance". It refers to those particles of the divine Light which can be collected in the "Column of Glory". This explains why its Sogdian equivalent *wkrdaggy* (*krn* = form, shape) means "Column of Glory" (*BBB.*, 67; Benveniste, *BEO.*, ix, 513 n.), and helps to understand MPers. *xwys-cyhr-gad*, *Mir. Mon.*, i, 187, n. 3 ("the increase of the moon through the Column of Glory").

<sup>2</sup> It belongs to a series of hymns in which his chief emanations (such as the Sun-god and Jesus) are lauded, cf. Waldschmidt-Lenz, *Stellang Jesu*, 70 sq., 118 sq. The stereotyped opening formula (up ■ p'dɣɣrb) refers to the Father of Light. The translation given by Lenz, *loc. cit.*, can hardly be justified.

the aspect and power of the Father, the first ancestor, the hidden and miraculous giant".<sup>1</sup>

In several passages one could translate *brahm* = "form" or "elegant form, gracefulness, charm".<sup>2</sup> The following verses are taken from the hymn-cycle *Angad-Rōdnān*, composed by Mār Ammō<sup>3</sup> in the latter half of the third century (vii, 12 and 25-6):—

'wēd wycmryd 'wēd wczoyd, cū'gion w'r syalg  
ky pē 'bd'b hūcyd, u hū brhm wcygnyd  
He withers and fades as a broken rose,  
That wilts in the sun, whose grace is destroyed.  
'wēd hmg jyackr, cy wcyg twrm u [. . .]  
'c tgnbdū wcygnyd, u y'dynd 'w 'bn's  
['wēd hm]g 'wcyg, trnyd 'd hū brhm  
{ 'dū, u 'ndyāt bcynd pē hū  
The whole of the lives of all races and . . .  
Will swiftly be wrecked and brought to perdition.  
The whole of the lusts, gilded with all their charm,  
..... fire, will be heaped on it.

Here we could also mention two compounds, (1) *brahmāwēnd* "endowed with *brahm*" in *Mahmāmag*, 314, "z'dgion brhm'wcynd grye "Noble, graceful soul", and (2) *wadbrahm* "possessing bad *brahm*", apparently = "scandalizing", in M 177 R 5 (*HR.*, ii, 88) where the evil effects of meat-eating are listed, "... fourthly that the soul is sullied, fifthly

<sup>1</sup> I fear it is almost impossible for anyone who is not fairly well versed in Manichaean ideas, to understand a passage of this kind. The Father of Light, the "first ancestor", is "hidden". He is in no way concerned with the world where his emanations operate on his behalf; they can thus be viewed as his sign or aspect in the world. The words "your Self" restrict the application of the opening formula to four divinities, viz. Mother of Life, Friend of Light, Third Messenger, and Jesus. "Beautiful East," far from being a poetical turn of phrase, is merely (in connexion with the preceding word "Self") a complicated way of naming the Third Messenger (cf. Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Man. Dogm.*, 548, cū xwēn ky'n mtyy pyyy cū yryyy).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, 82.

<sup>3</sup> See *BSOS.*, xi, 216, n. 5.

that it increases lust, sixthly that 𐭪𐭭 (= he who eats meat) becomes evil-mouthed, seventhly that 'w ses'n wdbrahm bcyd it (or : he) scandalizes many people, eighthly that the purification of the Pious Gifts is neglected, ninthly that the poor are left without alms, etc."

The last-quoted passage leads up to the moral aspect of *brahm* which sometimes can be rendered by "correct behaviour, propriety" or even "morals". We find it associated with *zrad*, here presumably = "admonition, counsel" (as, e.g., Armenian *zrat*). Thus in M 210<sup>1</sup>: ['b]rygyz zrd 'wd brhm 'y 'w ywjd'r'n<sup>1</sup> 'wd 'spwrg'r'n prmwed 'styd<sup>1</sup> o mn pdys swet 'wd qnubgyh<sup>1</sup> nyzur 'wd m'ndg hym "And also the other injunctions and morals that are prescribed to the Pure and Perfecters (i.e. the Manichaean monks)—in them I am negligent and deficient, weak and remiss". Similarly in M 174 (*Man. Dogm.*, 555) pđ hrwysp zrd 'wd brhm 'yg 'rd'yh "through all injunctions and morals of Righteousness (i.e. the Manichaean community), the five good commandments of Piety and the three noble Seals, etc."

It is well known that the Chinese *Traité Manichéen* was translated from a Parthian original of which a number of small fragments are preserved. They are invaluable for determining the meaning of difficult Parthian words, but unfortunately still unpublished. Happily *brahm* occurs in one of the fragments, M 349 V 1, š'x brhm narsg "the branch (of the third good tree) is *brahm narsg*". This corresponds to Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Man.*, 66 [562], lines 11-12, "ses branches, les règles imposantes." The Chinese term, 威儀, acc. 𐭪𐭭 Chavannes and Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, n. 2, existe dans le bouddhisme, où il désigne les rites, le karma ou karmacama. But if we take the Chinese characters separately, we would have *narsg* = 威 "majestic, overawing, imposing", and *brahm* = 儀 "righteous and proper demeanour, deportment, politeness, ceremony, usages" (Karlgren). Hence, *brahm narsg* = "impressive demeanour",

<sup>1</sup> This text was hardly written before the tenth century, cf. *BBB.*, p. III.

or "awe-inspiring ceremony". It seems that *brahm* refers to dignified behaviour (as suited to ceremonial acts) rather than to the actual rituals.

However, while in the case of *brahm* the Chinese equivalent covers the meaning of the Parthian word, the same cannot be said of *naxtag*. In choosing the Buddhist term the translator did justice to *brahm* and probably also to the meaning of the whole phrase, but was forced to neglect *naxtag*. For elsewhere *naxtag* corresponds to English "nice" (in its colloquial sense) and sometimes approaches "auspicious". Cf. *Mir. Man.*, iii, b 199 (p. 859) "... he comes to you full of love, so you too should receive him as you would your own son, and train him well (*naxtag*) in the art of writing, etc." M 177 V 4 (*HR.*, ii, 89) 'w zygbr' "wzyg w'z[ε] kw z[n'm kw] d'r'wpuhr breg wynd'd 'h'd cym nys'n nztg dyd "he said to X.A.: I know that D. has obtained redemption, for I have seen an auspicious sign". M 248 R 1 + M 520 V 4, bwy wzt nztg "delightful spices". M 98/9 ii 28a, jm'n nyo nztg "the hour is very auspicious". Curious is the chapter heading in M 267b V i 3-4, thr pd pny 'yr nztg 'tyd "the world is *naxtag* = commendably well arranged in five points", where the chapter itself begins in this way: byd w'ztg kw thr p[ε] pny 'yr pd brhm nztg 'tyd "And again he said: The world is well arranged in five points as regards behaviour (*brahm*)". Further on, pd pny 'yr dwšfryft u n's 'w thr "ynd 'ywo kw xed'y 'w[ε] s'r[d'r] bqr bynd 'w[ε] 'w d'd 'byd'd grynd "in five points unhappiness and ruin reach the world, firstly that lords and chieftains become sinners and pervert the law". In view of the evidence for *naxtag* we may conclude that the Parthian author understood *brahm naxtag* to mean "nicety of ceremony, or demeanour".

As result of this inquiry we may say that MPers., Parthian, and Pahlavi *brahm* is appearance or form or style in general, especially of persons, be it the outward appearance (whence "form, gracefulness; fashion, costume, dress") or the style of behaviour (whence "demeanour, propriety, ceremony").



It is a high-toned and slightly pompous word. The texts where it is found belong to the period from the third to the tenth century.

It will be readily seen that the meaning thus established for Middle Iranian *brahm* fits also Old Persian *brazman-* in *artānā brazmaniya* (see above, p. 108), "I worshipped Ahuramazdā behaving (or: acting) in the proper ceremonial style in accord with Rta (the eternal Law that dominates the world and all its institutions)," or simply "I worshipped Ahuramazdā in proper style".

There is no doubt that Old Iranian *brazman-* is the perfect equivalent of Indian *brāhman-* phonetically. But their meanings, too, agree closely. In India the word was narrowed to "the ceremonial behaviour and acts of priests at sacrifices", or briefly "rites"; it was further restricted to "the recitations that accompanied and formed part of ritual acts", whence "sacred texts". It will be noticed that Indianists often rendered *brāhman-* with "rites"; even Roth's "*Anulachi*", i.e. the mental attitude in which the believer approaches the divinity, is not far removed from "the correct ceremonial behaviour". If we look at the numerous Rgveda passages for which Charpentier gave "*Zauber, Zauberhandlung, Zauberritus*" (pp. 85 sqq.), we have to do to arrive at the correct meaning is to remove the superfluous word "*Zauber*", which after all merely puts a somewhat unjustified valuation on the religion of the Ancient Indians. The priest *brāhmān-* is a person who is versed in *brāhman-* = ceremonies and rites, cf. Charpentier, p. 9.

The study of the meaning of *brāhman-* has been greatly confused by dragging in Av. *barsman-* "Barsom-twigs" and the words allied to it. This entailed (1) the ill-founded assumption that *brāhman-* was evolved by metathesis from an earlier Indian *\*barhman-* (Wackernagel, i, 213; Charpentier, 60), and (2) a truly phantastic scheme of semantic development, from "bunch of grass or twigs, grass strewn to serve as seat, etc.", to the actual meaning of *brāhman-*. It is obvious

that this derivation cannot be maintained in view of the presence in Iranian, too, of a word that in meaning and form is identical with *brāhman-*, and which existed side by side with OIr. *barzman-* (Av. *barasman-*). Evidently we have before us two different stems, which are distinguished by their meaning and by the position of the guṇa-vowel<sup>1</sup> :—

(A) form, style, ceremony, rites.

Skt. *brāhman-*, weak stem *bṛhaspati-*.

OPers. *brazman-*, MPers. Pahl. Parth. *brahm*, Pahl. *brahmak*.

(B) bundle of twigs, bed of grass, pillow.

Skt. *barhiṣ-*, *upadārhaṇa*, etc.

Av. *barziṣ-*, Pers. *bālis*,<sup>2</sup> Oss. *briz*, etc.

OPers. *barzman-* (in *brzmdn* in an Aramaic inscr.), Av. *barasman-*, Pahl. *barsom*, Arm. lw. *barsmunk'*, Syr. lw. *barsmā*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

OIr. *\*barzn-* (and *\*brzanaka-*) in dialects, see Morgenstierne, *IFL*, i, 241; ii, 260. OIr. *\*barzaina-* in Pers. *bālin*.<sup>4</sup>

Armenian *brj*.

There is little hope of discovering the ultimate origin of *brāhman-/brazman-*. In view of the meaning "form, style, etc." which I have tried to establish in this article, it may be of interest to point to the combination with Latin *forma* which is due to Osthoff (*BB.*, 24, 113 sqq., especially 132 sq.; cf. Charpentier, 7 sq.). A suitable verbal root can perhaps be found in Sogdian Chr. *'mbrz br-*, *'brz br-* (*S.T.*, i, 24<sup>11</sup>, 30<sup>12</sup>, 31<sup>13</sup>) = *ἐμακέντρομαι*, Syr. *s'ar*, in Manichaean script *'nβrz βr-* (M 1207, 11 = T i a), and Buddh. *'nβ'rzkr'k*,

<sup>1</sup> Only the more important forms are given here.

<sup>2</sup> The -n of Pahl. *bālin* is due to wrong analogy and merely inverse spelling; differently Horn, *Grdr. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, 182.—Here also Bal. *barsi* acc. to Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, v, III.

<sup>3</sup> P. Thieme, *ZDMG.*, 92, 50 sqq., explains Skt. *baras* as a prakrit form of this Iranian word.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly *brzyn* in Parthian, see Sogdica, p. 43.

'nβ'rzkr'y = anβ'rzkrē (VJ., 254, 1337) which M. Benveniste translated as "introduceur au palais, maître des cérémonies".<sup>1</sup> These words reflect OIr. \*lam-brza- and \*ā-brza-. One could mention also Man. Sogdian 'β:n-,'<sup>2</sup> possibly = χειρονομία, which may continue OIr. \*brzma-.

<sup>1</sup> Gauthiot-Benveniste, *Gramm. Sogd.*, ū, 105. The spelling anβ'rz, etc., is wrong. -r- is attested in Chr. and Man., -z- and -f- are never confused in Sogdian. Therefore, anβ'rz cannot be connected with Av. *br̥zəp-* or Av. *br̥zəp-*, nor can OPers. *br̥zma-*. Herzfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 118, confuses *valar* and *prepaistak*.

<sup>2</sup> The text will be published in an article on "Sogdian Tales".



## The Manichæan Fasts

(PLATE XIV)

IN ■ excursus ■ his article on "The Early Sasanians" in *BSOAS.*, xi, 42 sqq., S. H. Taqizadeh has given a full and illuminating discussion of the Manichæan two-day fasts which preceded the feast of the *Bema*. ■ hitherto known about these fasts is contained in a passage in the *K. al-Fihrist*, ■■3, 28-334, 1, which runs as follows:—

As regards the fasting—

- (1) when the sun ■ in Sagittarius and the moon is full, they fast two days without break,
- (2) then when the New Light appears, they fast two days without break,
- (3) after this, they fast two days when the moon is full (and the sun is) in Capricornus,
- (4) then when the New Light appears and the sun is in Aquarius and eight days have passed of the (lunar) month, they fast for thirty days, but break the fast each day at nightfall.

It seems to me that this information can be supplemented and (in part) corrected with the help of Sogdian Manichæan calendar tables published here for the first time. They had been referred to before by F. W. K. Müller (in *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1907, 465) and by myself (in *Orientalia*, viii, 1939, 87-95) for the purpose of establishing the correct forms of the names of the Sogdian days and months.

The Sogdian calendar lists, after giving details for each year (eras, "basic numbers" of sun and moon, first weekdays), contain lists of the New Moons<sup>1</sup> (fixed by the Sogdian month and day, the weekday, the hour of day or night, and sometimes the *ratus*<sup>2</sup> of the hour) and, at the end, lists of five groups of two days. Although this second list is not fully preserved in any of our manuscripts, there can be little doubt that it constitutes a register of the Manichæan two-day fasts.

This is shown by the intervals between the various groups of two days. Disregarding the fifth group of two days we find that

<sup>1</sup> Thus (rather than New Light) according to S. H. Taqizadeh. The Sogdian word ("New God") could refer to either.

<sup>2</sup> *ratus* = 10 seconds.

the intervals are (a) 16, (b) 14, (c) 23 days in MS. No. 1, and (a) 16, (b) 13, (c) 24 days in MS. No. 2. They correspond precisely with the intervals between the fasts as given in the *K. al-Fihrist*, viz. (a) between full moon and new light, (b) between new light and full moon, (c) between full moon and new light plus eight days. Since the lists of the groups of two days are accompanied by lists of the new moons (or new lights) for the whole year, it is easy to see that the first two-day group coincided with a full moon, the second with a new light (or new moon), etc.

However, the calendar lists have a fifth fast which fell twenty-six days after the fourth (and last) fast of the *K. al-Fihrist*, and therefore within the Manichean fast-month. It seems to me that this interval represents the twenty-six days of Mani's suffering in prison before his death (*Homilies*, 60, 11; *Psalm-book*, 16, 25; 43, 30). The fifth fast thus commemorates Mani's death; it fell on the 27th and 28th days of the fast-month. On the third day after it (*Psalm-book*, 41, 18, cf. Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 49 sq.), hence on the 30th day of the fast-month, the feast of the *Bema* was celebrated.

It is apparent that Ibn an-Nadim has omitted to mention that within the fast-month there were two two-day fasts (respectively on the 1st and 2nd, and the 27th and 28th days of the fast-month) on which the fasting was uninterrupted. On the remaining days of the fast-month the *Auditores* had to observe the rule obligatory for the *Electi* during the whole of their lives, viz. they were allowed only one meal, at nightfall.

A further point the Sogdian calendar lists may help to settle concerns the *yiti yimki* "Seven Yimki" of the Turkish Khwaatwanift. It seems that the seven Yimki were identical with the five two-day fasts, or, at least, were distributed over the five fasts in some way we can hardly hope to determine with accuracy. In one of the unfortunately badly preserved Sogdian manuscripts, No. 2, *yymkyr seenm* occur as the name of one of the fasts (but the reading is uncertain). In another MS., No. 5, the "Mār Sisin Yimki" is referred to, and it is stated that it took place on two days and coincided with a new light. One is thus led to assume that "Mār Sisin Yimki" was the name of the second fast (the only one to coincide with a new light).

The word *yimki* may mean "prayer", especially "prayer of intercession" (see *BBB.*, p. 139b, and below, text No. 7). The fasts may have been held in commemoration of martyrs on whose

behalf prayers of intercession were delivered. The first fast was devoted to the memory of the *Primus Homo* (the greatest martyr of world history, from the Manichæan point of view), see text No. 4; the second to Mār Sisin, Mani's martyred successor; the fifth and last, representing the anniversary of Mani's death, surely to Mani. Of the remaining two fasts, the third or fourth probably commemorated the martyrdom of the three presbyters who followed Mār Sisin into death (*Homilies*, 83, 7 sq.; *ûc maxistak olurmaq*, *Thomsen-Festschrift*, 147, see *ZDMG.*, 90, 15, n. 1): this may have counted as three *yimkis* (the excess of the seven *yimkis* over the five fasts could thus be accounted for).

According to the *K. al-Fihrist* the fasts were fixed by the phases of the moon and the position of the sun in the ecliptic. However, it is far more likely that the early Manichæans determined the dates solely by reference to the Babylonian calendar. Only the Persian Manichæans, being not well acquainted with the Babylonian calendar, may have introduced Luni-solar definitions. Originally, therefore, the first day of the fourth fast, coinciding with the first day of the fast-month and commemorating Mani's imprisonment, was fixed on the 8th day of Šabāt (translated as "8th Emsbir", *Homilies*, 60, 11). The fifth fast, on the 27th and 28th of the fast-month (= Mani's death), fell always on the 4th (and 5th) of Ādār, while the feast of the Bema took place on the 7th of Ādār (the 30th day of the fast-month).

His Excellency S. H. Taqizadeh to whom I submitted this article before publication, very kindly consented to contribute a number of notes on the chronological problems to which these fragments give rise; they will be found at the end of this article.

#### No. 1

M 148. Two small pieces forming one page which is damaged at the bottom and at the outside margins. No whole lines are missing. Distribution of *recto* and *verso* is certain by the appearance of the interior margin. Above the names of the months there are numerals written with coloured ink (to indicate, according to

<sup>1</sup> Similar tables existed also in Uygur Turkish. Two fragments were published by W. R. Rachmati, *T'arixiye Turfan-Tekke*, vii, Nos. 8 and 9 (see also my notes *apud* Rachmati, p. 61). The dates are fixed by reference to the Sogdian and the Chinese calendars: this makes the tables somewhat confused. They cannot be understood without the help of the Sogdian MSS.



B. H. Taqizadeh, the first weekdays of the months): in the transliteration they are given *after* the names of the months.<sup>1</sup>

### Recto

- (1) 'wd iii pajwg oo nwgwrc iii šmbyd oo xwmn'h [
- (2) n'waršyc iii byynwy = "bwx rweyy o pncšmbyd myšy[h o
- (3) xwrync v byynwy = "bwx rweyy o šmbyd 'xšpy'h o [
- (4) nysnyc vii byynwy o "š rwc[yy o 'yw]šmbyd myšy[h [
- (5) [ps'kyc ii bly]ynwy o "š rweyy o iii]šmbyd 'x]špy'h o
- (6) (š)[n']([xnt]yc [iv] byynwy [o [ ]weyy r]weyy o i]ii [šm]byd  
ii[šy]h
- (7) yz'n'nc vi byynwy o ššcyy rwc[yy o "šy]n'h 'xšpy'[h o
- (8) byk'nc i byynwy o mrt't rweyy o šmbyd myšy[h pnc[myk  
'jmay'h o ]
- (9) "b'nc iii byynwy o mrt't rweyy o ii šmbyd 'xšpy'[h o
- (10) bwyyc v byynwy o 'rt't rweyy o iii šmbyd myšy[h o [
- (11) myšbwyyc vii byy[awyc '](rt)]'t rwc[yy o p]ncšmbyd 'xšpy'h
- (12) jymatyc ii by[ynwy o spnd'mt rweyy o "šyn'h myšy[h o
- (13) (')xšwmy(c)[iv byynwy o spnd'mt rweyy o 'ywšmbyd 'xšpy'h o

### Verso

- (14) ] rweyy o ii šmbyd myšy[h o vi-myk 'jmay'h
- (15) (col. ink) ]h aršy[h
- (16) ]xyl o frwt 'tyh wšy[n]'h rweyy o iišmbyd iišmbyd
- (17) ]h o spnd'md 'tyh 'rt']h rweyy o iii 'ty pncšmbyd
- (18) ](frwt) ('tyh w]šy)[n'h rweyy o iii 'ty pncšmbyd]
- (19) ]h o m'x 'ty]h [tyš rw]cy[o o "š]yn'h 'ty šm[by](d)
- (20) ]h o šyšcyy 'ty[h "šrw]cyy o iii šmbyd pncšmbyd
- (21) ] (blank) cccxxiii
- (22) ] 'wd viii 'y yzdyrd = cccxxx 'wd viii
- (23) ](y)d<sup>2</sup> tawg o 'wd b'n 'yg m'h xx 'wd
- (24) ](mb)yrd<sup>4</sup> oo xw[mn']([h) . . .<sup>5</sup> š(y)r(w)(o) [ ]\*
- (25) cc]xxxviii rtw
- (26) cccxxx]viii r(tw)

### Translation

- (1) and three-fifths.<sup>7</sup> Nōgrōc on Tuesday, Xumna<sup>8</sup> {

<sup>1</sup> Handwriting of the later Manichean type.—[restored], (doubtful) or (damaged) letters, see *BEOAE.*, xi, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Written in another hand. <sup>3</sup> Restore: {y + bawmgy 'yg xwzdyd?

<sup>4</sup> Restore: {x pajcy o wgyrc iii šmbyd? <sup>5</sup> Possibly (mcc).

<sup>6</sup> Read and restore: (m)š(y)r(w) [pncšmbyd]?

<sup>7</sup> End of the "bawmgy" (basic number?) of the moon.

<sup>8</sup> Name of the second day of each Sogdian month.

	The "New God" of Sogd. month	(first weekday.)	on Sogd. day	weekday.	daytime	hour
(2)	i	Tu.	10	Th.	day	
(3)	ii	Th.	10	Sat.	night	
(4)	iii	Sat.	9	Sun.	day	
(5)	iv	Mon.	9	Tu.	night	
(6)	v	Wed.	8	Wed.	day	
(7)	vi	Fr.	8	Fr.	night	
(8)	vii	Sun.	7	Sat.	day	5th
(9)	viii	Tu.	7	Mon.	night	
(10)	ix	Th.	6	Tu.	day	
(11)	x	Sat.	6	Th.	night	
(12)	xi	Mon.	5	Fr.	day	
(13)	xii	Wed.	5	Sun.	night	
(14)	[Epagomenae]	—	■	Mon.	day	6th
(15)	[The yizaki fasts are in this] year					
	No.	Sogd. month	Sogd. days	— weekdays		
(16)	[1]	[9] <sup>1</sup>	19 and 20	Mon. and Tu.		
(17)	[2]	[10]	5 and ■	Wed. and Th.		
(18)	[3]	[10]	■ and 20	[Wed. and Th.]		
(19)	[4]	[11]	■ and [13]	■ and Sat.		
(20)	[5]	[12]	8 and [9]	Wed. and Th.		
(21)			413 <sup>2</sup>			
(22)	] and nine of Yezdegerd, 388 <sup>3</sup>					
(23)	] a quarter. <sup>4</sup> And that <sup>5</sup> of the moon twenty and					
(24)	] ... <sup>4</sup> . Xumna-roč (and) Mišī-roč [are Thursdays !] <sup>7</sup>					
(25)	] [2]88 ratus <sup>8</sup>					
(26)	] [2]88 ratus					

<sup>1</sup> The months (whose names are not preserved in the MS.) are found by calculation.

<sup>2</sup> Here begins the preamble to the description of the year which followed the year dealt with in lines 1-20. The purport of the number 413 which was written by a different scribe is not clear. It may refer to an era (era of Šad-Šrmaid?).

<sup>3</sup> I thought at first that this number represented the *banmarag* of the sun, but it could hardly precede the words *banmarag* '99 *marzīd* for which space is available only at the beginning of line 23. One thus has to assume that 388 is the year of an era whose name unfortunately is lost.

<sup>4</sup> Restored: [name of an era + the basic number of the sun is].

<sup>5</sup> — *banmarag*.

<sup>6</sup> Restored: [several 6ths. *Nōgrōd* on Wednesday].

<sup>7</sup> Restoration doubtful. *Mišī-rōd* (reading very uncertain), the sixteenth day, would be the same weekday as *Xumna-rōd*. The purpose of giving the weekdays of the second and sixteenth days of the year is not clear. It should have sufficed to give the weekday of the first day (*Nōgrōd*). But those days may have been feastdays.

<sup>8</sup> Here began the list of the "New Gods" for the year described in lines 21-4. The possible numbers for *ratus* are 00, 72, 144, 216, and 288; hence 88 should be restored to 288. The whole line could be restored as follows: [n'awšyč ič bywawy o mawpand racyy o ič šmōyd 'šāpy'h o vinyt 'jmay'h o] [xaxxiš rto = [The "New God" of month *N'awšrōd*, the first day ■ which is a Wednesday, on the day of *Mawpand* = 29th day, a Wednesday, in the sixth hour of the night,] after 288 *ratus* (on the 23th, 11.48 p.m.). From this the number of *ratus* could easily be

## No. 2

T ii D ■ (a). Badly damaged book-leaf. Little can ■ read on the *recto* page. Handwriting of the later Manichean type. Distribution of *recto* and *verso* is certain by the appearance of the interior margin. No whole lines are missing.

*Recto* (Plate XIV)

- (1) ] {weak traces}  
 (2) ] jmnny['] .....  
 (3) (left blank)  
 (4) ] y oo      ooo      oo  
 (5) "lp[n](s) [m'xyy oo](z)[mw](x)[tw](y) ['tyy mn](s)[p](n)d  
       (r)[w](cyy) [oo iv](pnz)[šmb]šyy  
 (6) šwyc m'xyy [oo] ywš ['tyy] šy(š)[cy rwcyy oo "šyng 'tyy  
       šm](bš)[yy]  
 (7) ](y) oo [šwyc m'xyy oo (sm'n) 'tyy (zm)wx(tw)y rwcyy oo  
       "šyng] 'tyy (š)[mbšyy]  
 ■ [about 8 + ]yy(mk)[yy oo myš]šwyc [m'x](yy) oo (r'm) ('tyy)  
       [w't r(wc)(yy) [oo] i 'tyy ü šmb[šyy]  
 (9) [about 6 + yym](ky)y oo jymtyc m'x[yy oo] arwš 'tyy [rān  
       rwcyy oo ]'šyng 'tyy šmbšyy  
 (10-12) (left blank)

*Verso*

- (13) y'w srš . . . . [ about 15 + yz]dygy[rd  
 (14) hwnmrg 'y m'ly .{ . . . . . pn}j[w]g'n oo n[wgrwc "šyng  
 (15) n'wzšyc šynwyy oo "[š šy]šc[yy rwcyy] oo (')['šyn]g xš[p' oo  
 (16) xwrjnyc šynwyy oo (mrt't) rwcyy oo š[mbš] m[yšyy oo  
       '](š)myk [jmnay' oo  
 (17) nys[nye] (šy)[nwyy] oo (mrt)[t' rwcyy]oo ü šmbš xšp[' o]o  
       ('štm)[yk jmay' oo  
 (18) [p]š['](kye šynwyy oo 'rt)'t rwcyy oo ü š[mb]š myšyy oo  
       'št[myk jmnay' oo  
 (19) [šn'xntyc] šynwyy oo 'r(t)'t]rwcyy oo pnz šmbš xšp' oo  
       'štmyk jmnay'  
 (20) (x)[z'n]'nc šy[nwyy] oo sp[nd]'mnt rwcyy oo "š[yn]g myšyy oo  
       'š[tmay]k [j]mnay[' oo  
 (21) šyk'nc šynwyy oo [spnd'mn](t) [rw]cyy oo i šmbš xšp' oo  
       ix-myk [j]mnay'

restored in the table on the *recto* page, e.g. in line 5 it should be " fifth hour 72 *ratas* (passed)". A slight difficulty is provided by the presence of a number of *ratas* at the end of line 14. One would expect: 144 *ratas*. There are two possibilities: either the number was put at the beginning of line 15 (contrary to the scribe's normal procedure), or the year dealt with in lines ■ sqq. is not the year which followed the year described in lines 1-20.

- (22) "p'no ßynwyy oo x̄(yw)(r rw)(c)[yy] oo ü šmb[š my]šyy oo  
ix-myk jmn(y')[ oo  
(23) ßwyc ßynwyy oo x̄ywr rweyy oo iv[šmb](š) x̄p' oo ix-myk  
jmn(y') [oo] (ü)[xxxxx]xx(xx)vii[i r](tw xr)[tyh]  
(24) myšßwyc ßynwyy oo 'rt'xwšt rweyy oo pužšmbš my[šyy] oo  
ix-myk (j)[jmn'y' oo i](c)[xxxxxxxxxviii rtw xr](ty)h

## Translation

(1-2) (end of a list of the "New Gods").

(4) [The ymki fasts in this year]

	No.	Sogd. month	Sogd. days	= weekdays
■	[1]	■	28 and ■	[Wed.] and Th.
(6)	[2]	[9]	14 and 15	[Fr. and Sat.]
(7)	[3]	■	27 and 28	[Fr. and Sat.] <sup>1</sup>
(8)	4	10	21 and 22	Sun. and Mon.
(9)	■	11	17 and [18]	■ and Sat.

(10-12) (Left blank)

(13) Cow year<sup>2</sup> . . . . . of Yazdegerd . . . .

(14) The lunar number of the moon is . . . . fifth, Nōgrōš is [Friday . . .

	The "New God" of Sogd. month	on Sogd. day = wkday.	daytime	hour	ratas <sup>3</sup>
(15)	i	5 [Fr.]	night	[8th]	[72]
(16)	ii	7 Sat.	day	8th	[72]
(17)	iii	7 Mon.	night	8th	[216]
(18)	iv	6 Tu.	day	8th	[216]
(19)	[v]	6 Th.	night	[8]	[o'clock]
(20)	vi	5 Fr.	day	8	[o'clock]
(21)	vii	[5] Sun.	night	9th	[144]
(22)	viii	4 Mon.	day	9th	[144]
(23)	ix	4 Wed.	night	9th	288
(24)	x	3 Th.	day	9th	2[88]

## No. 3

M 147. Nearly completely preserved book-leaf. Handwriting of the late Manichean type. Text not written in form of a table.

<sup>1</sup> No other restoration seems to fit the existing traces. I am assuming that the author of these tables made a slight mistake in calculating. He ought to have written: "Thursday and Friday."

<sup>2</sup> Here begins the treatment of the year which followed immediately upon the year dealt with in lines 1-9. This is confirmed by the dates given for the lunar phases. For example, in the first year the New Light fell on the 14th or 15th of the 9th month (line 8), while in the second year it fell on the 4th of the ninth month (line 23). This is the correct interval for successive years.

<sup>3</sup> The number of ratas is preserved only for the 9th and 10th months, but can be found by calculation for the other months. See above, p. 150, n. 8. The lunations are 29 d. ■ h. 144 ratas (= 24 min.) and 29 d. 12 h. in strict alternation. "8th hour 288 ratas passed" means 8.48. "Wednesday night" is the night before Wednesday. Hence "Wednesday night 9th hour 288 ratas passed" means: Wednesday, 2.48 a.m. Note that "ninth hour" (without ratas) means the full hour = 9 o'clock.

*Recto* (1)  $\beta yyy$  nwyw xwt rweyyh i (2)  $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta yy$  pr my $\delta\delta$  'tyh (3) ('ftmcyk jmy' oo (4) lxxxviii rtww xrtyh (5) oo oo  $\dot{\text{a}}n'$ xnty m'x (6) nwyw xwt rweyy i  $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta yy$  (7) 'x $\dot{\text{a}}py$ '  $\delta\beta tyk$  jmy' (8) lxxii rtww xrtyh oo oo (9) x $\dot{\text{a}}n'$ nc  $\beta yyy$  nwyw "pwx (10) rweyy i  $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta yy$  pr my $\delta\delta$  (11)  $\delta\beta tyk$  jmy' lxxii (12) rtww xrtyh oo oo (13)  $\beta yk'$ no m'x nwyw "pwx (14) rweyy "dyn' x $\dot{\text{a}}py$ 'h (15) [ $\delta$ ]( $\beta$ t)[yk] (j)mny' cex[vi] (16) [rtww xrtyh]h oo oo (17) ['p'n](c) m'x nwyw "s (18) [rweyy] ( $\dot{\text{a}}$ )mb $\delta yy$  pr my $\delta\delta$  (19) ['t](y)h  $\delta\beta tyq$  jmy' (20) cexvi rtww xrtyh (21) oo  $\beta wyce$  (22) m'x nwyw "s rweyh (23) i  $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta yy$  'x $\dot{\text{a}}py$ 'h (24) 'tyh  $\delta\beta tyk$  jmy' (25) oo oo my $\delta\beta wyce$  (26) m'x nwyw "s  $\delta\dot{\text{a}}cyh$  (27) (r)weyy i  $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta y$ h (28) [p](r) my $\delta\delta$   $\delta\beta tyk$  jmy' (29) oo oo jymtyc (30)  $\beta yyy$  nwyw "s  $\delta\dot{\text{a}}cyh$  (31) rweyy pnc $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta y$ h (32) 'x $\dot{\text{a}}py$ ' o  $\dot{\text{a}}tyk$  jmy' (33) cxxxxxiii rtww xrtyh (34) oo oo x $\dot{\text{a}}w$ [myc] (35)  $\beta ygnwyw$  mrt[t rweyy] (36) "dyn' pr my $\delta\delta$  ( $\dot{\text{a}}$ )tyk (37) jmy' cxxxxii (i rtww) (38) xrtyh oo oo

## Translation

The "New God" <sup>1</sup> of	is on				value
Sogd. month	Sogd. day ~ wkday.	daytime	hour	passed	
[iv]	11 Sun.	day	1st	288	
v	11 Tu.	night	2nd	72	
vi	10 Wed.	day	2nd	72	
vii	10 Fr.	night	2nd	216	
viii	9 Sat.	day	2nd	216	
ix	9 Mon.	night	2	o'clock	
x	8 Tu.	day	2	o'clock	
xi	8 Th.	night	3rd	144	
xii	7 Fr. <sup>2</sup>	day	3rd	144	

## No. 4

M 796. Heavily damaged double book-leaf. The lower half of the leaf published here is missing. The other leaf (not given here) contains the fragment of an astronomical treatise (on lunar and solar years). Handwriting of the older Manichaean type. Text not written in form of a table.

*Recto* (1) [iii]  $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta yy$  pr m[y $\delta\delta$ ] (2) [oo] oo "p'ncm[']xyy (3) [ $\beta yyy$ ] nwyw xwmn' rwc (4) [pnc]  $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta yy$  x $\dot{\text{a}}p'$ <sup>alc</sup> (5) oo oo  $\beta wyce$  m'xy (6)  $\beta yyy$  nwyw x(wr)[m](z)[t] rwc (7) "dyng pr m[y $\delta\delta$  oo oo] [my $\delta$ ( $\beta$ )[wyc m'xyy] (six lines missing)

*Verso* (9) [ $\beta yyy$ ] nwyw maspd (r)[wc] (10) (p)[n]c  $\dot{\text{a}}mb\delta yy$  pr

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript has  $\beta yyy$  nwyw "New God" four times, and m'x nwyw "New Moon" five times.

<sup>2</sup> "dyn", "dyn'g", also spelt (historically) "dyng", is borrowed from Persian (or late Middle Persian) as are the other names of the weekdays. Cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, *Trav. Mos.*, 198 [174] sqq., *BRE.*, 85 sq. The use by Manichaeans of a form corresponding with Persian *diha* does not favour the view that *diha* was a purely Muslimic term. More likely it was pre-Muslimic.

[myδδ] (11) oo oo xyδ y'w {s}[rδyy] (12) xwrmzt' βy[yy ymkyy ?]  
 (13) βwyc m'xyy (y)[w](δ) 'ty (14) δsc[yy rw]o pne āmbδy (15) [ 'ty  
 "δyng oo oo (16) [mrysyan t ym](kyy) myā

Translation <sup>1</sup>

The "New God" 𐭮𐭩	is on		
Sogd. month	Sogd. day = weekday.		daytime
[vii]	[2]	Tu.	day
viii	2	Th.	night
ix	1	Fr.	day
x	[1]	[Sun.]	[night]
(second in x)	[30]	[Mon.]	[day]
[xi]	[30]	[Wed.]	[night]
[xii]	29	Th.	day

In this Cow year the [Yimki] of God Khurmazda is in the month of βayc on the days of yāi and δiāi (= 14. and 15.9.), respectively a Thursday and a Friday. [The Yimki of Mar Sisin is in the month of] Mū[βayc, . . .]

## No. 5

M 197. Fragment of a double-leaf. Older Manichaean handwriting. One folio (not given here) contains Middle Persian hymns of no interest. The other folio contains a liturgical text. Of the *recto* page only inconsiderable traces remain; several beginnings of Persian and Parthian hymns are cited (of the texts c and d published in *BBB.*, 45 sqq.); it is not worth while 𐭮 print them. Only the text of the *verso* page is given here.

(1) [yy pty'm(s)[t o] (2) c'(nw) βyyy nwyx δq(r)[tyy ?] (3) wβ't o  
 pr mylr m'x jm[nw] (4) mrysyan ymqyy βwt = 𐭮 'ty fr'kcynyy  
 c'nw n'f (6) ['](n)wznd o 'tmy<sup>2</sup> n'(fe)'r (7) rā<sup>2</sup>')[w](c)'ry[y  
 '](t)[y . . .]ny<sup>2</sup> 𐭮 'qt(yy) yw<sup>2</sup> o 'tym[s] δynyy (9) mzyx  
 [b]wtyst(y)[y '](t)[y]h (10) [p]h'(bwtytyy (11) p . . . (12) jrdnng

## Translation

. . . is finished. When the "New God" is accomplished (11), on Sunday and Monday, the Mār Sisin Yimki takes place. In the morning when the people assemble, it is necessary to comfort and . . . the people in the beginning. Also, the great Buddhas (= apostles) of the Church, and the "after-Buddhas" . . . the chief. . .

<sup>1</sup> With restorations (in square brackets) for the missing portion of the table.

<sup>2</sup> The text presumably continued: "on the first and second days, a Sunday and a Monday." The interval between Full Moon and New Light is seventeen days here (sixteen in Nos. 1 and 𐭮). Actually, the "New God" took place in the night following the 30th day of the 9th month.

<sup>3</sup> Restore: [nm]ny?

## No. 6

Caption in a collection of Parthian stories (M 44): j'yd'nny m'hjmmwy' prßyrc[ = "■ be told on Jaidan 'Monday'".

## No. 7

Two sentences from the Sogdian edition of the Manichean Missionary History. A = TM 389a R 23 sqq., B = TM 389c ■ sqq. Sogdian writing. (A) rtpts'r ZK kßryyß rm γγδty m(r) [''xy pr] xiv sytyh pr ymkw ZY pr "ßrywnh ['wät't] rty pnt ßy'r'k s'nkW ZY ZK 'yāw stty rtjy ZK] kßryyß pt'yey 'ykw pr "ßrywnh 'wät'[t] rtāw w'nkW pt'yākw "Thereupon, on the fourteenth,<sup>1</sup> Gabriab and his assistants stood in supplication and prayer. And near nightfall when Jesus (= moon) rose, Gabriab stood before Jesus in prayer and spoke thus to him . . .".

(B) rty ywnyß ZK mr'tt' pr ymkw ZY "ßrywnh 'wät't rty kw ßr'yāt'kw s'r pt'yākw w'nkW ZY cymyß wnyrs 'x'nt ßyr'n "And without delay Mār Adda stood in supplication and prayer, and spoke to the Apostle: how can I find the spell that will save me from this? . . .".

In both these passages *ymkw* (here translated as "supplication") is apparently the accusative of *ymkyy* (= nominative and genitive-dative). Cf. also *y<sup>2</sup>mk<sup>2</sup>* in Turkish runes (quoted BBH., p. 139), and the *gng'nyg ruc'n* "days of Yimki-prayers" in the fragment S<sup>4</sup> (cf. BSOS., viii, p. 588).

## NOTES BY ■. H. TAQIZADEH

Dr. Henning asked me to add some notes to his very interesting article about Sogdian fragments on the calendar, which, as it appears, are related to the Manichean system. I readily agreed to comply

<sup>1</sup> Presumably = Uyyur "Jaidan" in the Khwastwanist, according to a suggestion made by me in BBH., p. 9 = Bema. The Bema Monday was probably the Monday which was closest to the day of the Bema, preferably the Monday preceding Bema (Mani died on a Monday).

<sup>2</sup> Viz. of a Babylonian month, when the moon was full.

<sup>3</sup> Its table of contents may help in establishing the beneficiaries of the Yimki-prayers. After the Manichean gospels we find mentioned texts relating to (1) Ohrmizd, (2) Mār Šišin, (3) Jesus, (4) the community ■ the *Electi*. For the first two this agrees with the order of the fasts ■ established in this article. It is indeed likely that Jesus was included in the number of the great martyrs. ■ we assume that the "community ■ the *Electi*" has replaced the "Three Presbyters", we would gain the following order of the Yimki fasts: (1) *Primus Homo*, (2) Mār Šišin, (3) Jesus, (4) Three Presbyters, ■ Mani (together seven Yimkis and five fasts).



with his wishes, although my contribution could hardly go beyond conjecture, especially in relation to the possible and sometimes probable dates of the different fragments. Apart from the question of the dates there are a few further points on which also I venture to advance an opinion, that is again only a conjecture.

I propose to take the fragments in the numerical order given to them by Dr. Henning and deal with each of them accordingly.

#### *The Dates*

(1) Fragment No. 1, of which the translation is given above on p. 150, can belong either to the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 837 (206 of the era of Yazdegerd) or more probably to A.D. 984 (A.Y. 353). It would take me far afield to give here in detail the reasons for this conjecture. I can only say that the particulars given in the fragment, namely the weekday of New Year's Day, the position of the new moon in each of the Sogdian months and the position of the supposed Yimki fasts which ought to correspond to the middle (full moon) of the Babylonian month Kānūn I (or the middle of the eleventh Turco-Chinese month as we will see), the first day (New Light) of Kānūn II (or the new moon of the twelfth Chinese month), the middle (full moon) of the same Babylonian month (or the middle of the same twelfth Chinese month), the 8th day of the Babylonian Shabat (or in the intercalary years with two Adārs the 8th Adār I) and the 4th Adār (or in the intercalary years with two Adārs the 4th Adār II) = 9th or 10th of the first and the 5th or 6th of the second of the Chinese months respectively, cannot fit in any year of the first four centuries of the Yazdegerdian era except in the two above-mentioned years (984 and 837). The same reason applies with more or less certainty to the dates proposed for the other fragments here below.

(2) The passage at the end of the same paragraph discussed above (1) is difficult to explain. It can hardly relate to the following year, which must be assumed if the passage was a continuation of the foregoing table, because the following year, according to our conjecture, must have been either 207 or 354 A.Y.; but neither of them is a number ending with 9. I am also unable to suggest any explanation as to either of the two numbers (413 and 388). Dr. Henning's conjecture with regard to the first number (413)—that it may refer to the era beginning with the year in which Shād Ōrmīz, the great Manichaean leader, died—though ingenious,

does not accord easily with the data obtained from "Mahrnāmag" where the 162nd year from the death of this prominent Manichean leader is made to correspond with the 546th year of the birth of Māni. This implies that the year of Shād Ōrmīzīd's death began in A.D. 600, should Māni's birth have occurred in A.D. 216, or in 601 if the founder of the religion was born in the early part of A.D. 217. Therefore the year A.D. 985 would be the 384th or 385th of the death of Shād Ōrmīzīd. This last date is of course nearer to the second number in the fragment, i.e. 388. A mistake of three years in the calculation of the later composers of the tables for older times would not be surprising. We find similar mistakes in the Uygur Manichean Calendar fragment (Rahmatī No. 9) where the Yazdegerdi date 358 is given as a mouse year, which in fact must be 357, as the year A.Y. 358 was certainly a cow year.

(3) The first part of Fragment No. 2, if it is a list of the Manichean Yimki fasts, might fit in the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 878 provided that the second part which follows it does not necessarily relate to the year immediately succeeding it, for the year 879 does not correspond to the cow year. But if the two years were consecutive, the only other possible conjecture would be to suppose that this first part (with Yimki table) relates to the Sogdian year beginning in the year A.D. 1000 (A.Y. 369). The latter year accords in all particulars, as (a) the year fits with the mouse year, while the succeeding year was a cow year, which began on the 23rd January, 1001 (A.Y. 370); but the fasts would then curiously fall one full month behind their usual position in the Babylonian months (this point will be discussed further below); (b) the position of the new moon in the Sogdian months in the following Sogdian year which began in A.D. 1001 conforms with those given in the table that follows the Yimkis (those of the cow year); (c) the New Year's Day of this latter Sogdian year was a Friday.

(4) Fragment No. 3 relates most probably to the Sogdian year corresponding to A.D. 931-2 (A.Y. 300). The reason for this judgment is similar to that explained in No. (1), though in the present case the equation of the new moon days and the weekdays is not a sufficient reason for the date suggested being necessarily exclusive.

Fragment No. 4 relates almost certainly to the Sogdian year beginning in A.D. 929 (A.Y. 298), which also corresponded to a cow year of the duodenary animal cycle of the Chinese system, except for its last three months which fell in a tiger year. The

[*Yimki* of Ormizd] (the first fast) here corresponds nearly to the 14th of the Babylonian *Kânûn* I, or, more exactly, to the 14th day of the eleventh Chinese month.

(6) Fragment No. 5 can relate to the same year as Fragment No. 4 if the *Mâr Sîsîn Yimki* was really the second of the two-day fasts, which always corresponded to the New Light of the Babylonian *Kânûn* II or to the new moon of the twelfth Chinese month. This latter day was, in A.D. 930, a Sunday falling on the first day of the tenth Sogdian month (3rd January, A.D. 930).

If the suggested dates are correct ■ the tables in the fragments will be found to relate to a space of time equal ■ six Turkish duodenary cycles, i.e. seventy-two years (A.D. 929-1001).

#### Miscellaneous

Now here are a few supplementary notes relating to the different points involved in the question of the Manichean fasts:—

(a) The dates of the "New God", or the beginning of the lunar month in the tables of Fragments Nos. 3 and 4 (according to the numerical order of Dr. Henning's article), correspond to the new moon rather than to the New Light, that is to say they do not correspond strictly to the first day of the Babylonian months, but they correspond exactly with the first day of the Chinese and Turkish months. The same is true of the dates of the *Yimkis* in different fragments, i.e. they do not correspond with the 14th and 15th day of the Babylonian *Kânûn* I, the first day of *Kânûn* II, the 14th or 15th day of the same month, the 8th of *Shabat*, and the 4th of *Adâr*, as expected, but they are as a rule one or two days in advance (earlier), and hence they correspond exactly with the middle and the beginning, and again the middle and the 8th and the 4th day of the eleventh, twelfth, first, and second of the Chinese months respectively.

(b) The two consecutive dates suggested for the tables in Fragment No. 2 (the *Yimki* table and the new moon table) are, of ■ the years from the first down to the 310th year A.Y. (A.D. 632-1000) the only two consecutive years conforming to those conditions given in the tables, namely the places of the fasts in the year, the position of the new moon in the Sogdian months and the second year in the animal cycle (cow year).

(c) An interesting point is that the dates of the *Yimkis* (or Manichean fasts) in different *Yimki* tables are not consistent, for

while the position of *Yimkis* in Fragments Nos. 1 and 4 (assuming that the dates suggested are correct) correspond quite nearly to the Babylonian dates of the fasts (i.e. the full moon or the 14th and 15th of Kânûn I, the 1st and 2nd of Kânûn II, the middle of the same month or full moon, the 8th and 9th of Šhabat and the 3rd and 4th of Adâr; or rather more exactly to the 14th and 15th of the eleventh, to the 1st and 2nd of the twelfth, to the 14th and 15th of the same, to the 8th and 9th of the first and to the 3rd and 4th of the second Chinese months), the dates of the *Yimkis* in Fragment No. 2 differ widely from these positions and are a whole month behind. They are in the middle of the tenth, the beginning and the middle of the eleventh, the 8th day of the twelfth and the 4th day of the first Chinese month. This peculiarity cannot be explained by supposing an earlier date for the table, e.g. some year in the second part of the ninth century (perhaps somewhere around A.D. 865), because although the position of the *Yimkis* alone might fit with such a date, the other particulars of the whole of this fragment, considered together, do not fit with any year except A.D. 1000, as stated above. If the data in Dr. Henning's hand are free of any doubt, the only possible, though perhaps not easily acceptable, explanation may be found in the following theory put forward just as a possibility:—

We may assume that the Manichean community of Central Asia after some time, perhaps after the severance of their connection with Babylonia, the original centre of the religion, adopted, in the arrangement of their religious calendar, the Turco-Chinese system (the local calendar of their country) and substituted the Chinese months for the Babylonian.<sup>1</sup> The difference between the two calendars, which corresponded exactly to each other except in a very small divergence as to the beginning of the months, did not interfere much with the right time of the observance of religious duties. The divergence consisted in the Babylonian calendar having been based on the New Light for the beginning of the lunar months and the Chinese system being based on the New Moon. Therefore the difference was only one day, or sometimes two days. Otherwise, in spite of the difference in the place of the intercalary months in

<sup>1</sup> Was the difference of one day as to the beginning of fasts (*hikâg*) between two parties of Bekkhalis in the Mongol period attested by Nasir ad-dîn Tûsi (see my excursus in *BSOS.*, xi, 1, p. 48), a trace of a dispute between two Manichean parties of whom one, the conservatives, kept to the orthodox Babylonian reckoning as regards the times of the fasts and the other used the Turco-Chinese reckoning?

the two calendars the correspondence of the months and the days was always complete. Thus the Manichæans of Central Asia may have arranged the times of their fasts instead of (1) two days in the middle of the Babylonian month Kânûn I (full moon), (2) two days in the beginning of Kânûn II, (3) two days in the middle of the same month, and (4) one month beginning on the 8th of Shabat and ending on the 8th of Adâr (or in intercalary years with two Adârs beginning on the 8th of Adâr I and ending on the 8th of Adâr II), in the following order: (1) in the middle of the eleventh Chinese month, (2) in the beginning of the twelfth Chinese month, (3) in the middle of the same month, (4) 30 days (or 29) beginning on the 8th day of the first Chinese month (quarter moon). The last two fasts of two days each fell therefore in the beginning and 26th-27th of the fast month (i.e. on the 8th and the 9th of the first Chinese month and on the 4th and 5th of the second Chinese month, the Bema coming on the 8th day of the latter). As stated above, the two series of dates (Babylonian and Chinese) corresponded always with each other except in a difference of one or two days due to the difference of the times of the phases of the new moon and the New Light, the Chinese date being by so much earlier than the Babylonian. Now the implication of the above-mentioned advance of thirty days of the *Yimka* in A.D. 1000, as compared with their usual position in the year (if their position is given correctly by the author of the fragment and is not due to a mistake in working out by backward calculation), may be that towards the end of the tenth century, owing to an unknown reason, this Manichæan community put the periods of their fasts one month back, and thus arranged them in the middle of the 10th, the beginning of the 11th, the middle of the same, and the 8th of the 12th—8th of the 1st Turco-Chinese months. If this was so it would account for giving the name of *Chagshabat* to the twelfth Turkish month and would explain this difficult and puzzling denomination.<sup>1</sup> Was this shifting of the places of the fasting times in the year due to the receding of the Sogdian year and the falling of the Sogdian New Year close to (or in some years, such as A.D. 1005, exactly on) the Bema Day? If this shifting really took place then the difference in the religious calendar might have caused a greater separation of the western and eastern Manichæan communities than before, just as a difference of one month in the reckoning of the two Parsi communities in

<sup>1</sup> See remark (3) in the above-mentioned excursus (*B.S.O.S.*, xi, 45-6).

India (the Shahanshabis and the Kadimis), due to the intercalation of one month carried out most probably about A.D. 1130, was the reason for the schism among the Indian Zoroastrians.

(d) In the excursus to the article on Sasanian Chronology (*BSOS.*, xi, part 1, pp. 42-51), having supposed that the beginning of the Manichean fast of one month (the fourth fast of *al-Fihrist*) was always on the 8th Shabat, I maintained that the passage in *al-Fihrist* relating to the time of this fast must be interpreted as meaning that the eighth day of the lunar month on which the fasting began was in the astronomical month of Aquarius (the time of the sun's being in this Zodiacal sign), but not the first of that month, as otherwise the end of the fast month (which was the Bema Day) could not always fall in March as St. Augustine expressly states. But I realized later that the fast began on the 8th Shabat only in the common years, but that in the Babylonian intercalary years with two Adārs it was the 8th of Adār I on which the fast month began, and in that case it ended on the 8th (or 7th) of Adār II. Thus the beginning of the lunar month, on the 8th of which the fast began, fell always, almost without exception, after the sun's entry in Aquarius, and the end of the fast was on the 8th Adār in common years and the 8th of Adār II in intercalary years. That is to say that the Bema Day fell almost invariably in March (though it might fall very rarely on the last day or the day before the last of February). This rule was certainly true for several centuries after Mānī, until the position of the Julian month March advanced in the tropical year, and the vernal equinox, which was about the 21st of that month in the time of Mānī, receded gradually, until, for instance, it fell in the middle of the month in the tenth century. Part 2 of the above-mentioned excursus must therefore be revised in the light of this, and the supposed difficulty of the beginning of the Babylonian month (on the 8th day of which fasting began) being in Aquarius, will be thus removed. The second of the three "remarks" (Part 2) would therefore fall to the ground. Moreover, the astronomical explanation of the times of the different fasts in *al-Fihrist* conforms exactly with the arrangement of the Babylonian calendar, and if that calendar was not originally based on this combination of the lunar and solar months, it certainly corresponded with the order described by the author of *al-Fihrist*; since, for instance, the full moon of the Babylonian lunar month Kānūn II, which was the

time of the first fast, has always been (in the time of Mānī and many centuries after him) in the astronomical month of Sagittarius, and the beginning of Shabat in common years (and the beginning of Adār I in intercalary years) in Aquarius, as already stated. Thus the luni-solar definition of the position of the fasts given by an-Nadīm is in fact a good description of the Babylonian months (as Dr. Henning rightly remarks). In the Babylonian intercalary years the whole time-table of the fasts was certainly one full (Babylonian) month advanced.

(e) The number of the Manichean fasts given in *al-Fihrist* (four), and that implied by the tables of *Yimkī* in the above Sogdian fragments (five), are not to my mind irreconcilable or conflicting with each other. The version of *al-Fihrist* relates only to the four different times of the year in which the times of the fasting, as separated from each other, fell [i.e. in common years the middle of Kānūn I, the beginning of Kānūn II, the middle of the same month (in each of which a double-day fasting took place), and the 8th Shabat-8th Adār, or one month's fasting, during which the Manichean auditors used to fast only from sunrise to sunset (with the exception of some days therein when again double-day fasting was observed)], rather than in the order of the five double-day fasts (forty-eight hours) of which the two last were included in that last fast of one month. On the other hand the Manichean community (perhaps of later times) attached more particular importance to these two double-day fastings than to the rest of their fast months, and thus recorded on their tables five bigger fasts or *Yimkī*, which in Arabic can be called *Ṣawm al-icpāl*, and gave a table of five sets of them without mentioning the ordinary one-day fasts,<sup>1</sup> i.e. the remaining twenty-six days out of thirty days of the fast month, this certainly had nothing to do with the number of the disconnected periods in the year in which the fasting (of no matter what kind) took place. This must rather have meant that some of the days of the fast month were regarded by them as holier than the rest, and perhaps they spent the nights of these days in vigil (Arab. *ihyā'*), similar to the usage of the Muslims who attach more sanctity to one of the days of Ramadān and pass the night preceding it in vigil. It may be interesting to mention

<sup>1</sup> [This difficulty can perhaps be resolved by assuming that the Sogdian calendars were for the use of monks for whom the rules of the *Ḍaxlāpāt* month brought no change.—W. B. H.]



that with the majority of Muslims (the Sunnis) this particularly sacred day is the 27th of Ramadān and the holy night preceding it is *laylat al-qadr*, the night in which the Koran was revealed to the Prophet and which is spent in vigil and prayer. The Muslims believe that prayers on that night will always be answered. The apparent similarity in the number (27th) ■ the last Manichean *Yimki* ■ curious, though perhaps accidental. ■ was on the 27th day of the Manichean fast month in A.D. 277 that Mānī died. This fast month began in that year on Wednesday, 31st January (8th Shabat), and Mānī died on Monday, 26<sup>th</sup> February or 27th of the fast month (4th Adār). Another curious similarity is ■ be found between the last Manichean *Yimki* and the *laylat al-Qadr* of the Shī'a Muslims, who believe that the place of the holy night in the fast month is unknown; but according to their tradition it must most probably be one of the nights preceding the 19th, 21st, and 23rd of Ramadān, ■. (according to the Shī'a) the day on which 'Alī, their first Imām, was fatally wounded by his assassin, the day on which he consequently died, and the third day of the death when, according to the Oriental custom, the mourning is concluded. They observe vigil and prayer on all these three nights to ■ sure of not missing the holy night and the right and special hour in it. The similarity is more striking as the last *Yimki* corresponds with the day of Mānī's death and the Rema with the third day of the death, i.e. the second day after it.

(f) The denomination of some of the *Yimkis* (double-day fasts) of the Manicheans after the Manichean saints, such as Mār Sīn and perhaps Mānī himself, explained by Dr. Henning (as a matter of fact the *Yimkis* of Ormizd and Mār Sīn are mentioned in the fragments), raises a difficult question. For if this denomination was due to the fact that these *Yimki* days corresponded with the martyrdom of some of these saints, this would make the institution of these fasts by Mānī very doubtful, and would suggest their institution after ■e death of Mānī. But this late institution ■ not very likely, and the assumption of these fasts being established by the founder of the religion seems to ■ more reasonable. Would it not ■ permissible to suppose that only the last two *Yimkis*, which are not mentioned in *al-Fihrist*, were instituted by the faithful and the leaders of the religion after the death of Mānī, in commemoration of the beginning and the end of his suffering, i.e. his imprisonment and his martyrdom, and that the source of the version

of *al-Fihrist* (which omits to mention these two double-day fasts) was the original book of Māni himself? The same can be inferred also from Dr. Henning's ingenious suggestion to the effect that the interval between the fourth and fifth *Yimkis* (or the fourth and fifth double-day fasts), namely twenty-six days, "represents the twenty-six days of Māni's suffering," as this supposition would again make it probable that the two double-day fasts included in the fast month and omitted by *al-Fihrist* really were of later foundation, instituted, as stated above, in commemoration of the first and last days of Māni's suffering in prison.

(g) The length of the lunar year of the Manichæans of Central Asia was (according to what is inferred from the above tables) 354 days 2 hours and 24 minutes. The basis of this year is unknown to me. It is not based on the Chinese calculation, as the Chinese lunar year is believed to be 354 d. 8 h. 48 m. 36 s. It is perhaps interesting to note that ten Sogdian years are exactly equal to ten Manichæan lunar years + 109 days, and hence every 3,650 lunar years = 3,541 Sogdian years strictly.

In working out the above chronological points I used for my calculations: *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, by M. Schram, and *Hilfstafern zur Technischen Chronologie*, by P. V. Neugebauer.



# Waruċan-Šāh

The Manichaeans in Iran possessed a *Missionary History* of which we have fragments in three languages, in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian. A page of the Middle Persian version was published in 1933<sup>1</sup>; it deals with the missions in the West (under Paterios and Addai) and in Khorasan, under Mār Ammō. More extensive is the Sogdian version, but nothing has been published so far; it is concerned mainly with the various missions to western countries (Paterios, Addai, Gabriel), but contains also the beginning of the Mission of Mār Ammō. Of the Parthian version only a few scraps have survived: two were made available by F. W. K. Mueller.<sup>2</sup> M 48 (dealing with the Tōrān-Šāh<sup>3</sup>) and M 566. Three further pieces which belonged to the same manuscript as M 48 and M 566, make up the fragment M 216; two of its pieces which contained a text parallel to the Middle Persian version, were published together with it<sup>4</sup>; the third which although terribly mutilated is perhaps the most interesting, is given here for the first time:

## M 216 b'

Caption R [cy frytgrwān ... of the Apostle of Light  
V frytgrwān [ ... the Apostle of Light

### Recto

1	fry]stg p'dgyrb	[he saw] the figure of the Apostle
2	] 'wēd prw'n qft	and fell on his face and became
3	['wēd 'by']wēd hēd u mēdichm'n	unconscious. The people
4	] n hēd 'hynd oo 'dy'n	were [amazed]. Thereupon
5	pdx]h'd kiem'n	[they] prayed: us .....
6	] 'h oo oo	...
7	y]yhw'	Jesus ...
8	] 'm oo	we shall

1 *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* (abbrev. *Mir. Man.*), ii, 301-308.

2 *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 86-88.

3 See ZDMG., 90, 7.

4 *Mir. Man.*, ii, 301-304.

6 [square brackets] indicate letters and words missing in the manuscript (restored by the editor).

Verso

9 dyn'n 'mieg pd wryb[sh]	...he overcame the teachings of the
10 bag 'ndryg[']d[oo oo]	(other) religions by their own evil.
11 hbs' wryw'n k'h w'st]	HBZA, the Waruñ-Sāh said:
12 kw 'ym kd'm w[']'w 'r 'st]	what is all this talk about?
13 o 'wd w'stynd k[w	They said: it is ...
14 'st byc[	but ...
15 hbs' p[	HBZA ...
16 'i]	...
17 h[	...

Since this scrap was found in close proximity to the other two pieces registered as M 216, there can be no doubt that its contents refer either to the mission under Addai and Palerius, or the mission under Mār Ammō. The latter is more likely by far, in view of the absence of any mention of a Waruñ-Sāh in any of the three descriptions of the western mission which are available. This opinion seems to be supported by a further fragment of the Parthian manuscript to which M 48, M 216, and M 564 belonged\*. This is a double folio registered as T i a (=M 1306 in my numbering); one of its folios deals with the Turān-Sāh, the other is given here:

Recto

1 [ . . ]a hr[	...
2 gryd oo 'w[	makes. To ...
3 'st' w'd '[	praised ...
4 'wd 'm bg'rd[	And Bag-Ard ...
5 pwr's'd hym [	I asked ...
6 jgryft cy bg[	the wisdom of Bag[-Ard P']
7 dān pdgryft '[	I took her right hand
8 'wd 'c prw'[n	and [left] her presence.
9 [p]i wcd 'hym [	Thereafter I went to
10 [i]hry[']t'n	the city of ...*

6 With the help of the originals it may be possible to produce complete pages of these and a few other fragments.

7 Or "the wisdom of the gods"?

8 A tantalizing lacuna!

## Verso

11	lp .l	.....
12	r)ngs	shortly.....
13	j'ied 'z 'w	And I [went] to.....
14	h)gm * br'dr'n	The brethren.....
15	.eg* cr'gwn dyd	when I saw.....
16	ly z'wr ichyion 'w	the improvement <sup>10</sup> of strength
17	[shr cy w]rroc šied hym	I went to [the country of Waruč
18	wy]šann'il oo 'b'w	...was glad. Thereupon...
19	l'wyt'd hym *	I stood...
20	l'a b]	.....

It seems necessary to have the name of a country or a town in line 17, and so it is natural to restore *rroc* (in itself a common Parthian word, = "day") to [w]rroc = Waruč. We have now to consider the question: where lay the country Waruč whose king was called Waručān-Šāh?

Mār Ammō's mission was directed principally to Abartahr, i.e. Nisapur<sup>11</sup>, from where he proceeded to Marv<sup>12</sup>. The Sogdian version of the Missionary History describes his success in the following terms: "And.....Abartahr and Marv ('šrī'r Z)' w' [y] ).....he did manifold...for the profit of the religion. He ordained numerous kings and rulers, grandees and noblemen, queens and ladies, princes and princesses. He fully exposed the Boddhaship of the Prophet of Light (i.e. Mani). He completed and fulfilled [ ] orders and injunctions that [ had been given ] him by [ Mani ]". These sentences which are omitted in the Middle Persian version, conclude the surviving portion of the Sogdian story, except for an anticipatory caption over the last page: *mr'mw c'nhw kci'my pyr* [= "How Mār Ammō [came to] the frontier post of Kushan". (On the other hand, Mār Ammō's adventures at the "frontier post of Kushan", where he met a somewhat unsympathetic spirit<sup>13</sup> whose name was Bag-Ard<sup>14</sup>,

10 Possibly *pāyeg*.

11 Abstract noun (ending -wn as in Sogdian) from *why* "better."

12 *Mir.Man.*, II, 303; *ZDMG.*, 60, 8.

13 His journey to Zamb on the Oxus (*Mir.Man.*, III, 535; *ZDMG.*, 90, 11) took place much later, after Mani's death. It has no immediate connection with the events described in the Missionary History.

14 The common MPers. word for "spirit, ghost" (*wšrē*) has been confused with the name of the Oxus (*wšrē*) by Schaefer. *Iranica*, 70.

15 On this name see now H.W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth century books*, 67 sqq. It could also be read as *Begārd*. It is not impossible

are detailed in the Middle Persian version which in its turn breaks ■ in the middle of the story.

The two Parthian fragments published here continue the story. M 1306 comes first: Mār Ammō succeeds in reconciling the spirit Bag-Ard who at first was refusing him admittance into the countries whose frontier she guarded, i.e. the Kushan country, the western part of which was ■ that time (about 265-270 A.D.) a dependency of the Sassanian state. Or more prosaically expressed: Mār Ammō, after some difficulties, succeeded in entering the Kushan country. After passing the frontier, he went to the city of X. (name lost in the manuscript) where he organised a Manichaean community. When it was well established (lines 14-16), he proceeded to the country of Waruδ. The story is taken up by ■ 216 b now: with the help of miracles etc. Mār Ammō becomes the talk of the country, and in the end the attention ■ HBZ' (Harazdāp?), the Waruδān-Sāh, is drawn to his activities.

Unfortunately we do not know for certain where the "frontier post of Kushan" (i.e. the frontier between Khorasan and the then Persian dependency ■ Kushan) was situated in the third century<sup>15</sup>. But we may conjecture that it lay in the same district where in the succeeding centuries the frontier between the Sassanian state and the Kushan/Hephthalite country was established, namely (according to Marquart) at Tālaqān, halfway between Marv-i-Rōd and Pāryāb (Daulet-ābād). It would thus appear probable that the country of Waruδ lay in or close to Gōzganān and Gharčistān, or at any rate ■ the south-west of Bulkh. It is interesting to notice that a town of that region, Žimat, is mentioned in a Manichaean Sogdian text, in connexion with the Kushano-Sogdian goddess Nana<sup>16</sup>; that the name of the town βᶻᶻᶢᶠᶢᶠ (Ptolomy, 6.8.16) is connected; Darmstadter compared it with Avestan *Vaṣkarata*.

15 Cf. Schaeder, *Iranica*, 75.

■ See my article in the forthcoming number of the *JRAS.*, 1944, part B. It is, however, doubtful that the name in the tax-list Ibn Khurdadbih, 37.9, represents Žimat as claimed by Marquart, *Erdenšahr* 227. As it occurs after Wālgird Marquart was forced to the assumption that the original order of the list had been disturbed; this can no longer be maintained if Minorsky is right in placing 'Andamīn (?)' in the Lesser Panāh (*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 333 sq.). But possibly the name of Žimat can be recognized in the mysterious 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *wa'dark*, Ibn Khurdadbih 36.17, of which the second part undoubtedly represents 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *izh* = *Jazza*, *Gaza*, *Gāak* (not noticed by Marquart, 218, but cf. p. 86), while the former could be restored as 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *cynd* = *Zimad*.



this town lay, according to Hsüan-ts'ang, "south-west from Balkh in a corner of the Snowy Mountains." We may also recognize the title of Warucān-Šāh in the *Br'n-š'h* (*Barucān-Šāh*) who in the list of "the kings whom Ardashir called šāh" (Ibn Khurdadbih, 17, 7) is named after the *Kādīs-Šāh*, the ruler of Herat (or districts near Herat)<sup>17</sup>. He must evidently be distinguished from the *whw'n MLK* in the Great Inscription of Shapur I (end of line 29), who was ruler of Iberia.

According to the strict rules of the Armenian language, *Warucān* would appear as *Varēan* in Armenian. Such a name does indeed occur in the *Armenian Geography*, in the list of the provinces of the East<sup>18</sup>. There we find the following enumeration: *Perōz-naxēir*, *Dzin-Avazak* (var. *dzinuazak*, *dzinazak*), *Varēan* (var. *Varjan*), *Mamīan*, *Gēak*, *Asan*, *Bahli-hanik*. The name of *Perōz-naxēir* survives in present-day *Pir-Naxēir* (24 kilometres south of Taškurgan, 12 km. west of Hazret-Sultan<sup>19</sup>). *Mamīan* (*Mānīšān*) represents the Māk valley according to Professor Minorsky<sup>20</sup>, *Gēak* lay due south of Balkh, *Asan* in the south-eastern corner of Gözgānān, while *Dzin-Avazak* or *Dzi-Navazak* is said to be a name imported from mythology<sup>21</sup>). The sequence of names proves, I think, that *Varēan*, too, should be looked for to the south or south-west of Balkh<sup>22</sup>), precisely in that region over part of which the Warucān-Šāh held sway.

To sum up: in the third century there was a country called Waruc or Warucān which lay in the Kushan country just beyond the traditional border of Persia, but had been incorporated in the Sassanian state under Ardashir or (more likely) Shapur I. It adjoined the country of the Kadishaeans and the valleys formed by the affluents of the Upper Murghāb. But in later times its name seems to have disappeared from history. There can be little doubt that the country of Waruc is the same as that known in later centuries as Gharch or Gharchistān,

17. Differently Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 31.

18. Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 9.

19. Cf. also Marquart, *loc. cit.*, 81 sq.

20. *Hudūd ul-'Alam*, 334.

21. Thus Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 82 sq.; Wehrst., 143 sqq.; *Catalogue*, 34 sqq. But cf. Minorsky, *loc. cit.*, 185 sq. Possibly originally *Dz-i (H) azazā* "the castle of HBZ," corrupted under the influence of *Dz-i Ārāze*?

22. Marquart thought of Warwālīz (Quanduz).

while the possibility that *yard* is merely a later form<sup>23</sup> of the word *waru* cannot be ruled out.

23. In disyllables with two brief vowels and not more than three consonants the second vowel is liable to elision in several Iranian languages, especially if the middle consonant is a continuant, cf. e.g. Persian *lang* 'lame' from *lamak*, *pahn* from *paftan*; Middle Persian *bān* 'temple' from *baḏan*, Parthian *hain* 'part, limb' from *hajan*; Parachi *pa* 'before' from *patel*. Thus *wand*, provided the *-u-* was brief, could become *sur*. Initial *w-* becomes *γ-* (*gh-*) regularly in Parachi, a dialect to which the old language of Gharchistan was presumably closely related. This change occurs sporadically also in other dialects, see Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, I, 9.

## The Sogdian Texts of Paris

IT would be a happier occasion to be able to announce the completion of the publication of all the Sogdian manuscripts that Sir Aurel Stein and M. Paul Pelliot secured from the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" — Tun-huang, were not this consummation overshadowed by the death of P. Pelliot, who has now followed Sir Aurel Stein after so brief an interval. The Sogdian MSS., which he entrusted to the care of the Bibliothèque Nationale, were believed lost for a number of years, but rediscovered by M. Filliozat in 1936. We cannot but admire the speed with which M. Benveniste has made them available to the public. As early as the spring of 1940 photographic reproductions of superb quality were published by Ejnar Munksgaard in Copenhagen<sup>1</sup>; a few copies of this facsimile edition reached this country before communications were interrupted. A few weeks later M. Benveniste's monumental edition,<sup>2</sup> comprising the transliteration, an excellent translation, a commentary of greatest learning which abounds in veritable pearls of linguistic notes,<sup>3</sup> and a very full glossary which will make the publication of a Sogdian dictionary nearly superfluous, appeared in Paris, too late, however, for us to obtain the book; we had to curb our impatience until at long last, in September, 1945, we received this immensely valuable volume, through the kindness of the author and the good offices of the British Council.

The majority of these Sogdian manuscripts contain Buddhist texts, mostly translated from Chinese originals. For their identification we are indebted to M. Demiéville, whose collaboration has greatly benefited the edition. Of the non-Buddhist texts special mention is due to the fragment of the *Tale of Rustam* (P 13), which immediately precedes the fragment in the Stein collection<sup>4</sup>; the small medical fragment (P 19) which contains three prescriptions, one each for an emetic (*nyzynykh*), a purgative (*mozynykh*),<sup>5</sup> and an aphrodisiac (*ann pœr'z'k pšš'zn*); and the twice-repeated short Manichaean<sup>6</sup> invocation,

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Linguarum Arianarum*, ed. E. Gernet, Vol. III, *Textes Sogdiens*, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Mss. de Pelliot), reproduits en fac-similé, avec une introduction par E. Benveniste*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, des manuscrits, vol. III, Textes Sogdiens, édités, traduits et commentés par E. Benveniste*. P. Geuthner, 1940.

<sup>3</sup> A worthy specimen of their quality is the explanation of *šwšwšk* (p. 202).

<sup>4</sup> See *BSOAS*, XI, 463, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In translation: "Take three drams of camellia (*šwš'k*), three of *Epomea turpetium*, and three times as much sugar as (both) these drugs together. Pound it finely, mix it with hydromel, give it to drink. It purges all impurities, is useful in all illnesses. Should it purge too much, drink pt'pč, it will cease." *šwš'k* = *desmodium rotundifolium* (to Persian *diramzang*, *šwš'k* in line 10 "spoonful" (= Pers. *lofš*); *šwš'k* (in) = Skt. *catuśkalā*; *šwš'k* (20) = station (Pers. *gūš*); *ny'z'z* (10) read *ny'z'z*.

<sup>6</sup> Not recognized as such by the editor. It belongs to the *Wazirpa Africana* of Waldschmidt-Lants, *Stellung Jesu*, p. 71.



1. *uys'* probably 3rd Sing. Impf. of *uys-* "to ■ released, emitted", inchoative of *u'e-*, *uyt-*.

3. *pa's'yδ-* "to settle down, lodge" ("and piety does not settle on him"), cf. *Tales* 475, line 12. Chr. *pāyē'r-* S.T., i, 52, ■. *pa(r)hīδ-* from *pari.hīḍa-*.

4. *uβ'nt uβ'nt* "successionment". So also 168, 1206, *Ikuta* 132, cf. *uβ'nt pyδ uβ'nt* "in succession" *Dhyāna* 383. I now prefer reading *uβ'nt*, and take it to be the same word as the postposition *uβ'nt*: "attached, near, close, companion," Man. *zβnd* seems to mean "quarrel", cf. *Tales* 470.

4. ZY here merely stresses the preceding word, hence *uoiy* = perpetually (M.B. "crime"). For such use of ZY ('I. PZY') see lines 54, 112, 132, 143, 165, 208, 218, 240, 309, 359, 408, 433, 606, 855, 898, 964, 966, 1068; cf. also *BBB*, 121<sup>a</sup>.

13. ■. Benveniste wants to connect the conjunction *mut*, apparently "while", with the negative prefix *mut-* (see his comments on P 9, 96). This seems doubtful. I should like to mention here that Professor F. W. Thomas suggested to me that the Sogdian prefix (pronounced *mand*) could be combined with Skt. *mandā*, as in *mandatambhī*, *mandantati*, *mandabhūgya*, etc.

35. *hū'k* "wind"? Cf. S.C.E. 153, *hū'kh* "xy" P 3, 12, recalls Uyyur *hū ig gūpū* . . . (T.T., vii, 72, line 9).

36. *apymuch* may be a mistake for *apymch* - *apymh* P 7, 61, "tumor", from *apāy* = Skt. *āyapāti*.

37. *'ay*, also P 3, 12, but spelt *'e'ay* P 3, 10, 11, is *arā(w)χ* from OIr. *\*arakh* = Skt. *arāsa-* "piles".

38. *kr'y* I took for Skt. *grāha*, but *kr'y* P 22, ■, is difficult: one can hardly think of Pers. *karay* "manableness". *yurt-uty* is "vomiting", cf. P 8, 126, and *'aygz-* P 19, 5.

45. *rtβ'r my'pūdy*, also 386. M. Benveniste gives "les 4 mahābodhis", but does not explain this unusual term. It seems that the elements are meant, which number either four or five, viz. earth, water, fire, air, and sometimes ether. Hence = *cātvar mahābodhis* as in *Mahācūṣṭapatti* 101, 1 (but *pāpca m.*, e.g. *Dharmasūtraparā* 39).

53. *zβ'grkh* and the related forms discussed in comm. on P 13, 8, should be read *uβ'gr-* as unpublished Man. texts spell *uβ'gr-*. The meaning seems to be "counsel". In P 12, 64, 67, *uβ'gr* is imperative, "take counsel with your friends, etc.", *pre uβ'gr* "in order to consult, deliberate".

57. *'pr* is perhaps to be read *'kr* = in what way (lit. "where"). Cf. 104, 621, and the comm. p. 170.

59. *'y'm* should be read *'ug'm*, and similarly *'y'mt-*, *'y'ma-* "to be finished", as these words are spelt with *u* in unpublished Man. texts. They should be confused with neither *zy'm* "to spend", *zy'ma-* "to be spent, wasted", nor *ny'ma-* "to be caught" [*pr*] P 2, 858, "to be eclipsed" P 6, 147 (here edition *zy'ma*) which has *ny'mt-* as past tense.

+ *Tales* = BSOAS., XI, 465-467. *Notes* = BSOAS., III, 52-74. *Geraherück* with paragraph = I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian* (to be published soon).

75. 'ywd'ntk is hardly the same as Man. 'zwdndy (on which see now *Tales*, 470, n. 4). "If he keeps the spirit of friendship . . . growing" ? Cf. z'wrykyn š'rt line 88.

80. wr'z. Is it not clear from the context that the word *Arbeit* in BBB., 67, means "travail (salarie) pour quelqu'un" ? See also *Tales*, 468, nn. 6, 9.

91. 'kiošpm probably = as long as, however long (instead of "wherever"). Cf. also *Tales*, 476, line 4.

95. šwt instead of šw't is the translator's mistake. "In waylessness they walk the path of the Nirvāna straightly" = "although the way is invisible, they find the true path unerringly".

109. ptk'w 𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, lit. "wrong, perverted desires". The original meaning of ptk'w, which has nothing to do with Av. *kar-* (as claimed by H. H. Schaefer and M. Benveniste, cf. *JRAS.*, 1933, 55), is "upside-down", cf. Pers. *siqān*, etc. An interesting example of the word is contributed by Ibn Khurdādhbih 28<sup>3</sup> and Qudāmāh 205<sup>1</sup>, who tell us that there was a *فلسفة مقلوبة* *felsefe mīqrobbā* between *Isfāhān* and *Tarāz* whose local name was *ريکوناب*, read *ريکوناب* = *paikūn-āb* = ptk'w-*ph*. It was formed by "the thousand springs" (cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, 24, 263), *ريکوناب* or *ريکوناب*, evidently to be read *ريکوناب* = *zār-xūx* (z's z's).

139. *rie-* "to flow" is an enlargement of (*h*)*rae* = Skt. *pravati*. But *pr'wāt* P 7, 139, appears to belong to *pr'wyz-* P 13, 48, both from *frā* + *wz-* (or *parā* + *wz-*).

141/2. *nyš'gch-pis'ym* compound adjective, "good-for-nothing, *serot-rien*" ?

144. *pr'nūt*, also 213, is 3rd Sing. (*znk'r* is subject). Almost certainly to be read *pr'n'z*, cf. *n'z-* below 292.

151. *yctm* "parent". The derivation from OIt. *tauxma(n)* (not, of course, from Sogdian *sym*) is supported by the meanings of Av. *harmān-* 2, MPers. *taxm* (Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, 127), Parth. *taxm* (*Man. Stud.*, iii), etc. There are three distinct words in Parthian: *taxm* "descendants, family, etc.", *taxm* "seed (for sowing)", *taxm* "relative". On the etymology of *yctyyat'h* see *JRAS.*, 1943, 139, n. 1.

162. *zygh-yo'ry* I took to be a compound word = "truce-breaker", comparing Pers. *zinhār-x'ār* "truce-breaker"; for Pers. *zinhār*, earlier *zinhār* (in verse always —, hence not *zinhār*), is connected with Sogd. *zygh*, cf. Hurro, *The Language of the Khartaghi Documents*, 93. The original meaning of the Sogdian thus could be "he that eats what is entrusted to him", cf. *ptq'n-zic'r* "heir", lit. "he that eats his heritage". Bailey, *Zor. Prold.*, 73, n. 3, attributes this *-zic'r* to a root *hraz-* "to receive", but cf. Arabic *akala 'l-mirāth* "to inherit, lit. to eat the heritage" (see Dozy, i, 31). However, we have to take into account the obviously identical Parthian term *zyn'yy zic'rg*, which occurs once in an unpublished Manichaean hymn, M 284, 156: *bsi hym pt pdyg zyn'd'n, zyn'yy zic'rg 'by'w's u zurnym* "I am fettered in a prison of flesh, *zyn'yy zic'rg*, unconscious, and asleep" (cf., e.g., NGGW., 1932,

219 sqq.; *Mir.Man.* iii, 872, 874-5). This *rw'rg* may belong to Pers. *x'dr* "abject, contemptible"; hence *-rw'ry* may be the same as Sogd. *ryy'r* (see below on 554) ?

165. *8'n'yck wyyh* = roots of corn. In 1020 *8'n'yck* is not followed by *wyyh*. Hence, *8'anic* = the plant that bears *8'an*- (grain).

180. *ryWR*, read *ry-wr*. The ideogram 'R = Arsac. Inscr. 'L = Pahl. 'L ("WL") occurs only in the addresses of the "Ancient Letters"; its Iranian equivalent is 't (see the Mugh letters). I do not know why 'R is always being confused with *wr*. In Anc. Lett., ii, both words occur, 'R in line 1, *wr* in lines 36, 37. A glance at Reichelt's facsimile will show how little they resemble one another. In his *Glossaire M. Benveniste* gives "WR sur, d (passim)". In fact, *wr* is not a preposition; nor is it met with continually; nor is there a reason why it should be regarded as ideogram. It occurs only at the beginning of a clause and is generally preceded by *ry* or a word to which *ZY* is attached (as *ZKZY*, 'HRZY'); it means "there, therein, thereby". (Cf. *VJ.*, 194, 19<sup>b</sup>; *Vim.* 139; P 2, 270, 322; also in Man. (Sogd. script) *ry 'kwa'ym'gty kyZY wr sku'nt* "and the inhabitants who live there" (T in K 178). Thus *wr* = *war* from *Old Awar* should be added to the words which H. S. Nyberg discussed in his interesting article "Un pseudo-verbe iranien et son équivalent grec" (*Symbolae Philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae*, 1932, 237-261). Cf. also Parthian *'wr*, *Mir.Man.* iii (on Pers., i, 5, cf. Nyberg, p. 244; see also *BSOS.*, IX, 815).

184. *wyyh* "famine" is surely the Avestan *raiyā-* (both are fem.), which Geldner thought meant "inundation"; but "famine" seems to be the Avestan text just as well. Such shortening of a diphthong seems to occur only after *w*, cf. *uān'r* from *\*uānt* from *uānti*, *wp'n'ck* against MPers. *panjak-i wēh* (*Orientalia*, viii, 90, n. 2); *Pahto wala* from *uānti*, *χwala* from *χwānta* (cf. *Morgenstierne*, *EVP.*, 86, 98). As a matter of curiosity we may mention that Stig Wikander, to whom we owe already the discovery of the "arischen Männerbünde", has now satisfied himself that *raiyā-* is a *Bezeichnung für das Kollektiv von Anhängern Ačima-artiger Kulte* (*Vayu*, i, Uppsala, 1911, 140-151, esp. p. 150).

187. (*z*)*šay-* or (*z*)*šay-* is the intransitive of *šāw-*, hence from *\*ah.šaya-*. Cf. MPers. *'baw-*; *'ba'y*. Pers. *afzāyān* intrans. (*Mathnawī*, i, 3873 comm., cf. *Farhang-i Rafīdī*, ii, 104) beside *afzāy-* trans.

193. *p'r'yk* "other" cannot be derived from *p'r'yc*. It is directly = MPers. *'bryg*, Pahl. *'p'ryk* (Av., Skt. *apara-*), and distinct from *p'r'yk* "remainder".

193. *pr'wpy* should be *le ministre-maitre de ce roi, le brahmane nommé Mavetiae Langue* (comm., p. 171). Hence, corruption of Skt. *purohita*. Cf. Saka *pūhī* Bailey, *BSOS.*, VIII, 134, probably also *pūhya* in the colophon of the *Jātakastava* (cf. Bailey, *Jour. Greater India Soc.*, vi, 10).

200. *'sp'dyh* is not clear. The spelling of *β'ysty* is curious (cf. Gershevitch, § 263). The construction of *β'yaθ* is different in all other passages. Read <pr> *'spyh* ?



203/6. "The Buddha was still living at that time, but this (fact) did not help those people not to become subjected to that action," i.e. the effect of the evil deed was stronger even than the power of the Buddha.

224. *wyš* "herb, grass" (here inadvertently *scuille*, but see *Glossaire*) from *wāstrya-*, cf. Yaghobi *wēk*, Pushto *wāp*, Wakhi *wēk*, Parth. *wēk*, etc. To compare Sogdian *wēk* with Middle Persian *bēk* "aronite", as is done by P. J. de Menasce, *Škand-Gumānik-Vištāp*, p. 236 (on *wē*, 84), shows lack of acquaintance with the basic phonological structure of either language.

237. *pšydyt* is correct, but the MS. has *ptyšdyt*. *PrZY* = "but rather" after a negation. "He does not regard it as a damaging action, but rather takes it for a satisfying one."

241. *mr'atly*, cf. Man. *mr'rt*, *BBR.*, p. 82. "Everyone . . . and should not hire (anyone) for evil deeds so that, out of poverty, they (= the employees) will kill. Since he gains profit thereby (*wō'y*), he cannot be dissociated, etc."

272/41. *wrn'wgh* = surf (Av. *varuna-*) / *wš'nk* = snare = Parth. *wšndg*, *Tales*, 471, n. 4 (see also below on P 5, 24). *r'š* = Bame = Turki *alar* (Pers. *ālār*) ?

280. *šryh* locative of *šr-* "vine, glu" Parthian *dr*, Wakhi *šōr*, etc. ?

292. *z'nt* read *z'nt*, "his eyes . . . roll." See *BBR.*, p. 94 (on b 60; add *Dhyāna* 101), and cf. *pr'nz* above 144.

285. *yryst* not "he trembles", but "he sweats", from *yrya-* = Av. *z'raus-*.

296. *yry'nk*. M. Benveniste rightly translates *poil* and refers to Av. *gausa-*. Lenz (apud Lindber. *Textibus*, 9, n. 3) wanted to read *yrz'y* in *SCB.*, 302, instead of *yry'nk*. That he erred is made evident by Man. *yry'yy* (sic, cf. the ending in the *SCB.*), M 141 V 13 (Man. script). There the word stands in one of those "series" of which Lenz made a special study and corresponds to MPers. *may* "hair".

MS.	MS.	MS.	MS.	MS.	MS.	MS.	MS.
M 141, 193, T 141 n 120	T 141, 193, T 141 n 120	T 141, 193, T 141 n 120	T 141, 193, T 141 n 120	T 141, 193, T 141 n 120	T 141, 193, T 141 n 120	T 141, 193, T 141 n 120	T 141, 193, T 141 n 120
'dyg 1	'dyg 1	—	h'm-h'm 1(2)	'dygy 1	ayngak 1	ou 1	amag 4
pyy 2	py 3	py 5	šahar 2(3)	yābo 2	ayngit 2	arfa 2	pai 3
pyl 3	[pyl]	pyl 2	Flavus 4(1)	y'ly 4	ad 4	chue 4	goll 1
ry 4	ry 4	ry 3	ader 3(5)	rk 3	lamar 3	arica 3	ing 2
erm 5	erm 5	erm 1	Haut 5(7)	erm 5	lari 5	prau 5	—
—	erm 5	erm 4	llut 8	eremyy 6	—	—	zān 6
—	may 2	—	Mark 11	mycy 7	—	—	mazy 6
—	may 7	—	—	yry'yy 8	—	—	māy 7

299. *pš'gykh myn'y w'kt*, possibly "he lets water". Hence, *w'kt* from *w'r-* and *myn'y* = *myz'y* (Av. *maž-*, Pers. *māz*, etc.), while the first word is not clear (from *phyc-* 1 or cf. Pers. *pāyār* ? or if co-ordinated with *myz'y*, cf. *pōy* P 7, 166, for the meaning, and *pōcyk*, Dhuta 281, for the form).

300. *gyunky*. Man. *gyrnyg* (*Sogdica* 31<sup>2</sup>, 35<sup>4-6</sup>) = "the act of separating" does not seem to share the meaning of *yrz'g* = "the product of separating". Hence, "by the various acts of dissecting" ? It is, however, possible that *gyunky gyunky* is a copyist's mistake for *gy'nyk(y)* *gy'nky* "articulation"

(SCE., 384, see Gershevitch, § 220), perhaps produced by *gyw'y'm* in the next line.

313. Read *pywātub'rm* in the place of *pywātub'rm*. *δβῆ* here = suspicion. Translating it as "doubt" produces a version that reverses the meaning of the text. "I have not seen that it was killed, I have not heard it, I do not suspect that it was killed (viz. for me)." See Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i, 55.

326. *ruβ* "to attack" compares with Parth. *rf*- and Saka *raph*-. But *rup*-, FJ., 1694 = "to abuse, curse".

331/2. *pywātub'rm* *ZKZY* *cw'lk* *ZK* *wryy* *znty* (thus to be read instead of *yt*) = "that which the chicken-bird brings forth", viz. the object called *wryy-z'lk* elsewhere, which is *né & poule* but not *né de l'œuf* as M. Benveniste has it (p. 173; Pers. *wryy* is of doubtful authority, but *wryāne* occurs). *zn*- seems to be *enfant* only, hardly also *maître* as M. B. assumes for 334.

338. "in the Sūtras expounded to the Yakṣas in the ocean"? We note in passing that *y'ys* in the fragment published by M. Benveniste in *HSUS*, IX, 501, is merely part of a Yakṣa's name, but not the word *yakṣa* itself, which follows *n'm* in line 1, *yk[ay]*.

344. *ruḡa* "greed", cf. *Sogdica*, 47; Gershevitch, § 379. For the treatment of *-d* in Sogdian, *yatq* "silver" is of interest. I wrongly rejected this spelling in *S.T.*, ii, 601. It is, however, becoming clear now that original *-d* (between vowels) may become *-d*, later *-y*, in Persian. Sogd. *yatūk* is related to Pers. *yaṭu* (*yaṭu*) precisely as Av. *paṭu-* is to Pers. *payā(k)* "Filaria Medinensis" (against *paṭūk* in Pahlavi).

350. *wry'wntk y'tk*. Compare the similar accounts in *Grhd.*, 16, 106 sqq., where the equivalent stage is described as *dātak* (?) which I ventured to explain as "a little plain" (*Sogdica* 49). See also *DkM.*, 748, where the same word occurs in line 11, *kay dānistan-i abar dātak* "when (does) the formation (of the limbs) on the dātak take place". Mr. R. C. Zaehner, some years ago, drew my attention to Burzōi's discourse on procreation, in the preface to *Kallā wa Dīmna*. There we have *ar-rā'ib aṭh-thahm al-ghalīq*, p. 72, ed. de Sacy = thick coagulated milk (Nasrullāh simply *māst*). With this compare *Grhd.*, 110<sup>11</sup> (*tux-i narin ud xū-i māyagūn*) *īr* (*īr*) *pluk* *homānag* "like milk and *frusag*" (resulting in coagulated milk). This *frusag*, a curdling substance, recurs in *Puhl. Texts*, 113<sup>5</sup> *īr ud panir* . . . (*pluk* =) *afrusag ud māst*, and in *Kamēr*, a 179, "threw (put) *frusag* into milk," where, as well as in *HSUS*, IX, 86, I unfortunately thought of Pers. *farīk*, Arm. *hrutak*, etc., a kind of sweetmeats. However, *frusag* (*afrusag*) is evidently the same as Pers. *fursc*, Pushto *furš* "beestings". An interesting dialect-form has been preserved by Ibn Muḥannā, who has *فُرْس*, read *فُرْس* *furš*, with *fr*- from *fr*- (p. 51).

388. M. Benveniste justly points out that *wrk* is not "wine" but *boisson alcoolique* (his other translation, *alcool*, is better avoided). It corresponds to Skt. *madya*, e.g. in line 684 *wrk ZY y'tk* = *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 258<sup>11</sup> *māṃsamadyādi*. Its Chinese equivalent in SCE. means "spirit, wine, liquor".

On the other hand it is not a general term for "intoxicating drink", as that meaning is always expressed in Sogdian by *mtk'r'k čš'nt*; a phrase like *mōw* 'PZY *zick* in the line under review strongly suggests that *zick* is a term for a special kind of drink, presumably the Sogdian variety of "beer". May not Sogdian *zick* be the same word as Greek ζῆρος (*zēros*), ζῆθος (*Lat. zythum*, Syriac *zētn, zētns*)? The Greek word, first employed by Theophrastus, is common in papyri from the third century B.C. onwards, but its origin, reputedly Egyptian, is I believe not settled. It is not likely that the Sogdian was borrowed from the Greek or vice versa, but both words may have a common origin, possibly in some Scythian language. See the case of *čwrdēn*: *kyn'k*.

407. "and obtains an opportunity against him (the prie) quicker." The construction is the same as in *Vim.*, 149, where 'ygy is a misspelling of 'ty (= 'kwZY), cf. 'ty 'ty P 2, 1005, etc.

411. "and much later still he is afraid and trembles." *šyr* is necessarily adverb (*šyr yyr*, with *pyštrc*, in 146), and *pcwgyr* does not need an object.

416. "and to him it (= his food) becomes quickly indigestible." *y'm* = undigested, indigestible, as Skt. *ama*, *āma*, *crudus*, etc.

469. *ty*, if from \**taka*, perhaps = river = Pashto *tōc*. Cf. Pashto *sōc* from *akha*.

501. *šyš'n'k prš'yt* (comm., p. 176), cf. Uyur (*yayšlly*) (*angirlyg it.*, T.T., iv, 436, line 46; *yayš* corresponds to Sogd. *šyš'nyk* 'š'ar (540), cf. now Chr. *šyš* (Giwargis). The incomplete word *šyššyš'nyk*, *Sogdica*, 56, line 1 (cf. *Errata*) may contain *šyš'n'k*. The village (if it ever existed) which gave its name to Baghidid may have been called *Baydān* originally (cf. *بیدان*, *میدان*, etc.); which would agree well with Arin. *Baguran*.

527. *š't* was already known from *šyš'na*, 325 (544). It was borrowed by Persian as *šād* (Asadi, etc.), and should be added to the words collected in *BOS.*, X, 93 sqq. Instead of *š'y* it seems we should read *ššy*, which, if correct, could be \**šf* from Av. *fš(his)*.

544. "the town is broken and \*conquered" ( *šyč'yt* here passive, as e.g. *VJ.*, 6<sup>b</sup>. Also *ten'yt šr* (548) may mean "to lead away as conquered". Presumably from term. "to gain a victory".

554. *yay'r*, Chr. *xyr'r* (B 49, 13, and Giwargis A 30). A comparison of all passages shows that it means "easily". M. Benveniste, too, sometimes gives *facilement* in his translation, but otherwise *exactement*, *en détail*. Cf. also *Tales* I 2. Confirmation is desirable for the expression *xyr'ry' xatyaq* "verachtet", quoted by Lentz *apud* *BBB.*, 81. Probably = "he takes lightly". This makes one think of Pers. *x'ār*, in spite of the obvious phonetical difficulties. Cf. also *yw'ry* above, on line 162.

597. *pc'wyp* "to exchange", instead of \**pcwyp*! Cf. *pcwysa* "to be changed, transformed", *S.T.*, i, 16<sup>b</sup>; B 49, 8; see also *BBB.*, p. 11 on 521.

640. *kšrōh* = looks, acc. to the Chinese (p. 189, n. 4). M. Benveniste adduces Pers. *kōbar*, *kāwar* "capers", but botanists, one fears, will frown

upon such a comparison. We should compare Pers. *kaṭr* "leek", from \**kabardā-* (but with *-r* instead of 𐭠, and further Turkish (from Iranian ?) کوردا (= *kōcerde* ?) = *karrāll*, Ibn Muḥannā, p. 182. The word strangely, although perhaps accidentally, resembles κεφαλωτός, *Allium porrum* (also κεφαλών), which is said to be merely the neuter of κεφαλωτός "headed".

600. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 "garlic", see now *Tales*, 470, n. 2, where OIr. *lucru-* was proposed. This may have existed also in Western Iranian, although with slightly divergent meaning. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *Muwallaḡ* 41", a kind of bitter onion, probably = *βαλβός*, should almost certainly be read 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *lūne* (from \**burzak* ?). Syriac *burzu* (also misspelt *burz*, *bur*, the last = *βαλβός*), which puzzled Löw, *Aram. P.*, 74 sq., is apparently the same word.

601. *prw't*, it is true, is "chapter". But nevertheless its proper meaning is "roll, scroll". It belongs to *prw't* "to turn", precisely as Uyghur *tağzin* is formed from *tağzin* "to turn". Both *prw't* and *tağzin* answer to Chin. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *chūan* "roll, scroll, chapter". Thus *prw't* is different from MPers. (etc.) *frāwārdag*, which, however, can also be explained as "roll, folded document" > "letter".

635/6. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ZY* *kyrkū* *kyrkū* *but* Skt. 257<sup>15</sup> (*anyanyabhakṣaṇāḥ aṭṭeṣḥ*) *kracyādakidamabhavāḥ* (*daṣṇandhi-kutsanāyana ammatṭasāpi jāyate*) — Guuabhuḍa acc. to 𐭠. Damiéville "tombent dans l'espoir des tigres et des lions". The parallel versions led me to assume (*Tales*, 470, n. 1) that the meaning 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 here was different from that of *kyōrp*, but possibly M. Benveniste is right in translating *kyrkū*, too, as *forme*. However that be, we are in agreement in believing that both forms are identical etymologically, although we disagree on the question which of them should be regarded as the original spelling. M. Benveniste has made his etymology of *kyōrp* (Av. *kārp-*) the basis of a far-reaching phonetical law, involving the transition of OIr. *-hr-* to *-hr-* (to *-h-*) in Sogdian. In addition to the reasons advanced before against this theory (in the annotation quoted above), I should like to point out that the Sogdian language lacked the *-h-* sound, and that if only for this reason *-hr-* was unlikely to be the result of *-hr-*. The fact that in a single (and somewhat doubtful) instance a foreign *-hr-* was changed to *-h-* by the Sogdians merely demonstrates the absence of such a group of sounds from their language. My etymology of *kyōrp*/*kyrkū* (OIr. *khr-*) is supported by *kyrkū* P 3, 209, "the world" = Av. *hapta karāyā*, Pers. *haft kiwar*. M. Benveniste has misinterpreted this word.

659. *pcymδ* is awkward, as no such verb is known otherwise (only the noun Mun. *pcum*, etc.). It corresponds to Skt. *vicarjayed* 258<sup>16</sup>. In line 649 the same Skt. verb (*vicarjitaḥ* 258<sup>15</sup>) corresponds to *pcyw'y-*, which also stands against *antarāyātaro bhavet* in 258<sup>17</sup>, ? (*pcyw'yt*). Thus *pcymδ* may be a scribal error for \**pcyw'yδ*, the intransitive form of *pcyw'y-*. This could apply also to *pcywδ* in line 658. "Concerning what I taught before: that you should see, hear, suspect, and (in that case only) avoid, now 𐭠 declare): seen or unseen, every kind you shall avoid."

663. *gm'n* is "defect, fault", e.g. = Skt. *avadya* in line 670, hence hardly comparable with Pers. *gusān* "opinion, fancy, suspicion, doubt".

671. *'wpy'krt-*, see also *Sogdica* 18 (and *Errata*). MPers. *wpy* is apparently a different word. Here = *buddhānuvornānam* 258<sup>1</sup> (= 258).

676. *β'wcy γrōδ'*, I used to read *γrōδy* instead, taking it for Skt. *hrdaya*, in view of 𐬔𐬀 𐬔𐬀 (heart [mind] + capacity), which is both Gunabhadra's and Śikṣānanda's translation of *mātrayā* (259) acc. to Suzuki; M. Demiéville has a different reading (p. 191, n. 9). M. Benveniste translates as if the text had *γrōδ'*.

677/8. = Skt. *gogī pīṇḍaṇi samācāret*. Cf. also *'wcyw' kyr'k m'n 'skr'n'u* 629 = *pygi*.

693. *pōḥh*, also 714, possibly to be read *pōkh*. It is not a satisfactory *-k-*, but it is not a good *-β-* or *-y-* either. The letter *-k-* has been maltreated by the scribe throughout the manuscript; it can be mistaken sometimes for *-r-*, sometimes for *-p-*, etc. The meaning of *pōkh* could be "habit" or "category" here. 𐬔𐬀. The weak *pōkh* in P 12, 52, *pr sm pōkh* "like an enemy" (here M. B. omends, I think, unnecessarily), *pr β'y'u'yk pōkh* 77, 873, *'sty w'γwn'k pōkh* 'PZY' "it happens that" 𐬔𐬀 6, 108 (edition *'stye*, but the apparent *-w-* merely serves to fill the line; = *'sty*), and P 6, 61, *comh*.

732 *prywn*. I took for the present stem of *prywt-* (868), *pry'wt-* (1036, 1039), and compared the noun *prywn* (see *BBB.*, 76). "So that they will reject (condemn) meat and [not] desire its various kinds." However, this does not agree well with the Chinese.<sup>1</sup>

756. *nyz'nt* "virtuous, honest" acc. to M. Benveniste. In 794 *nyz'ntyh* = Skt. *kṛti*, in 1181 *trn nyz'nt* evidently = Chr. *trn nyz'nt* = Syr. *tammimā* "perfectus, sincerus, simplex" = ἀκρίτως. Chr. *nyz'nt*, S.T., II, certainly the same as *nyz'ntyh*, corresponds together with "obedience" to Hebr. *'ony* 𐬔𐬀 Sam., 16<sup>12</sup> (as A. Rucker has seen), which has been interpreted in different ways (mostly taken for *'ony*). Here "humility, subjection" would suit, and similarly *nznt* in the hendiadys *trn nyz'nt* could be "meek". Cf. also M 765<sup>18</sup> *c'nc nzyd'y'h* *'šyy* *nmryh w'x'šy* "as humbleness and soft (polite) words". I compared Pers. *nizand* (na-) "cast down" (S.T., II, 604) and later Arm. *hazand* 𐬔𐬀 *hazand* (see Gershevitch, §§ 27, 397).

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not always realized with sufficient clarity that the Sogdian translators (I) may have had before them Chinese manuscripts whose text differed considerably from that printed in the Taishō Tripiṭaka, (2) may have thoroughly misunderstood the Chinese. An instructive example is 𐬔𐬀 70, 40, *ywcy ZKZY gm'n and w' 'w' c'ny' yst*. Anyone acquainted with Sogdian will understand "that one to whom faults appear in the eye perpetually", i.e. a habitual fault-finder. I venture to think that a true-born Sogdian would have understood the same thing. But alas! the Chinese text used by M. Pelliot bears no resemblance to it. 𐬔𐬀 says *mo' d' mo' "saw-falcon-eye-joint"* = "the (that) saw(s) together a) falcon's eye-bd(a)". One wonders if it is wise for us to resign our knowledge of Sogdian and try to bring the Sogdian text into line with the Chinese. For this short sentence we have to impute to the Sogdian language not less than three otherwise unknown words, all of them homonyms of well-known words, namely (1) *gm'n* a new pronominal form (as if we had not enough of such already), otherwise = fault, defect; (2) *mo' d' mo'* a falcon (which in fact is *mo' d' mo'*), otherwise = always; (3) *yst* he saws, otherwise = 𐬔𐬀 appears.

771. *ytr'k* "mule" from *ḫaratara-*, cf. also Saka *khadara*, Bailey, *BSOS.*, X, 590 (24). The Sogdian word was borrowed by the Turks: *ḫatar* > *ḫātar* > *qatir*, and further in Mongol and in several Turkish dialects (cf. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1943, 43) *qatir* > *qatir*. As Turkish loan-word it reappeared in Iranian (Pers. *qātir*, Pashto *qāčara*, Bal. *zāčar*, etc.), and entered also Indian languages (Hindi, Nepali *khaconr*, Sindhi *zadar*\*, etc.).

811. *kyan'k* = jungle, forest, cf. *Sogdica*, 29 n. Dhata, 257, probably "the plant does not grow and disappears in the deep jungle"; *syneβ-* = Parth. *syryfs-* "to disappear" < "to be taken out (of its normal place)". But Parthian *syryb* (the text was given in *BSOS.*, IX, 90) may be < *\*syryb* = "gold-worker", with *\*zueyb* "artist" from Av. *hoapah-* = Skt. *svāpas-*.

847. *pa-* "monnaie" is loan-word from Skt. *paṇa* (cf., e.g., Bagchi, *Deuz Lexiques*, i, 282, No. 561), rather than from Chin. *ḫp fm* < *pjw* "candareen" (now "cent"), which appears in Eastern Turkish as *puñ* (Menges, *SbPAW.*, 1933, 1285).

855. *L' yyy'nt L' k'mynt* = *ni donné d'instructions, ni sollicité*. *yy-* (not *yyy-*) thus renders a Chin. character with the meaning of "to instruct", which the Sogdian translator (who understood the hero apparently very difficult Chin. text differently) took for "to be instructed, to learn". Hence, *yy-* defective spelling of *yuya-/yyu-*. "Even if they neither learn, nor desire, nor consider for what reasons the fish is caught. . ."

911. *βy'n ywn'y* = *Raurwa* (Skt. and Chin.) explains the puzzling reference to *rourwa* in *BSOS.*, IX (1939), 511 sq. Similarly, the reading and interpretation of *uzyr* (ibid., p. 499) can be understood only with the help of the Paris texts. One wondered why M. Benveniste wanted to compare (ibid., 502) Sogdian *uzyr* (Chr. *uḫ-*) with MPers. *uzyr* (*uizāb-*); we find now that the word is spelt *uzyr* in P 6, 103. All the same, as the Sogdian has *-b-* with no vowel intervening, but the MPers. *-ā-*, the words cannot be connected. As M. Benveniste complains that the passage where *uzyr* occurs is not generally accessible, I give here the text (of the whole column, M 26 a R), *'ud 'at'yān 'yy (. . .) xuyt pydr yzd r'dygr o kw 'wn c'un xzd pd r'myān 'ud 'dyg pd b'ryt phryznd a 'w'n ks wzy'bg'r ny 'st o 'wn c' xuyt r'myān u drwd wzyd'zw 'ud 'wra'hmygḫ wzyr'nd 'br hm'g dym ygy[dhr]*.

951. *mk'* "ink" = Uyyur *mekk*, from Chin. *■ mo* < *mak*, see Müller, *Uyurica*, iii, 92.\*

\* M. Benveniste (in the Glossary) connects *pa-y* with *pay* in the medical fragment P 10, & III would, however, mean that *pa-y* in that text is a simple word. In unpublished medical fragments it occurs (throughout out of context) as *payy*. There is little doubt that this is the name of a medicinal measure or weight, presumably a fraction of the *šy'r* (P 10, 6) . . . ounce. In Uyur Turkish the tenth part of a *ritir* = *teel* . . . ounce is called "beḡir" = marc, see F. W. K. Müller, *Uyurische Glossen, Ostas. Ztschr.*, viii, p. 229. This "beḡir" (*p'yrr*) or *payir*, which should not be confused with Turk. *beḡir* "copper", is evidently the same word as the Sogdian *payy* (nir.) = *\*payyari*. One frequently finds *-ay-* instead of *-ay-* in Sogdian words.

\* In view of M. Benveniste's remark, p. 181 n., it should be noted that *BSOS.* was published on 13th April, 1937. I received *Notes* iii, through the kindness of the author, on 4th May, 1937.



980. 'nirnykh (ZY ptnr'kh), read 'nirnykh = *śāndranīla* (and *padmavāga*), see *Sogdica*, 24 (c 11/12), and *Krrala*. On *mirβnt* see also *Tales*, 468, n. 4.

1016. -tūβt, if 𐰽 from *θr*, possibly = Pers. *sift* "tight, thick, etc."

1017. ryz'kh. M. Benveniste translated "rice" at first (this was also my first translation), but abandoned it later. In view of Saka *rīys* and the other forms quoted by Morgenstierne, *SLP*, 91, it deserves consideration. In *Padm.*, 28, ryz'kh seems to have no equivalent in the Chinese (*Tai-shō*, No. 1082, vol. xx, p. 199c); why not "rice"?<sup>1</sup> The word corresponding to "mustard" (白芥) 𐰽 is certainly *śyāśpōn*, which should be compared with Saka *śāśpōn* "mustard" (quoted 𐰽 Bailey, *BSOS*, VIII, 135). *Sogd. ckh* = 𐰽 "drink made of fermented mare's milk, etc."

1019. *yvrat'ny* is presumably "millet", *yvrat* exactly = Pahlav. *yāst*; cf. further Pers. *gūcars*, Saka *qunsad*, etc., see Morgenstierne, *IFL*, ii, 214.

1019. *kyp'*, M. Benveniste tentatively "hemp". We should primarily compare Saka *kuphā* "flax", quoted by Bailey, *BSOS*, VIII, 128. On confusion of hemp and flax see Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 288 sqq. \**kombā* is certainly loan-word in Iranian and belongs to Akk. *qunnapu*, Syr. *qap'*, *rdwafis*, etc. Hence, "as thickly as (the plants in) a field of flax, millet, or corn."

1020. *cyβnt* "honour" or "greeting" = possibly connected with Saka *toamdana* (Tuyre *toamdan*, see Konow, *NTS*, xii, 1942, 207-8), although the initials are not easily explained.<sup>2</sup>

1045. *po'w* = agitate, stir up, excite, see now *Tales*, 472 (D 28).

1065. *zyncyry'kh* "chains", cf. *JRAS.*, 1942, 240, n. 1 (strike out *toamgulai*, see Bailey, *BSOS*, XI, 5). *kuδ'ynly*: M. Benveniste justly refers to Skt. *kudāya*, which Bagehi, *Deus Lericques*, ii, 311, 379, wrongly restored 𐰽 *kuδāda*. He should have written *kudāda* as in *Mahāvīratpatti*, 223, 276. This is pseudo-Sanskrit. Sogdian *kuδ'ynly*, which in my view is in the singular, should be pronounced *kudēnde* and connected not with Pers. *kudine*, etc., "millet", as M. Benveniste proposes, but with Eccl. *kunde* "stocks for offenders", shortened from \**kudandak*. The word is still used in Eastern Turkestan, as *gundu*, cf. Menges, *Sh.PAW.*, 1933, 1277.

1114. *pry'yc*, beside *ty* "thief", probably "to rob, plunder, strip", cf. *pry'kh*, *SCB.*, 78, *pry'lyc*, *Anc. Lett.*, v, 12. M. Benveniste refers to Chr. *pryzt*, *S.T.*, ii, but gives "lifter". In view of Av. *tūyāt* . . . *hazandā* perhaps from \**parahazyā*? For Chr. -y- instead of older -x- see Gershevitch, §§ 55, 57. Man. *pryz*, *BBB.*, Kowān, 68, n. 2 (where *pryzt* should be cancelled) must be a different word.

1121. (cnn) *βr* "βr w'yš" "(from) carrying words and fro" = "tale-bearing". A good example of the ablative of the infinitive (cf. Gershevitch, §§ 913, 919).

1152. *p'z'rmy m'r*. The line is a little blurred, but the first word, to judge

<sup>1</sup> *cyek* *Anc. Lett.* hardly so.

<sup>2</sup> *cyβnt* occurs also as transposition of *Setacana* P 4, 30, "to the form of *Setacana Fūhira* (and in the form) of *Neuwillera*" (sic).



by the facsimile, almost certainly ends in *-rny*. Thus *p'n'rny/p'z'rny* or perhaps *p'y'rny*? I venture to propose *ply'rny*. "I have borne many evil things . . . but never have I done them, even to the inimical Māra"! However, *m'r*, too, is very doubtful; it may be *maw*? = hater, enemy, as in Dhuta 87.

1155. 'nz'ptaym read 'zn'ptaym, and so read also in P 12, 70, in the place of 'zn'p'ym. Man. *jn'*-ptaym, BBB., p. 88. See now *Tales*, 481, n. 6.

1203, 1222. *nyš* "here, now" (see *Comm.* and *Additions*). The correct translation was already implied by Weller, who (on *Dhyāna* 272) stated that *nyš* probably = 此. Unfortunately for us non-Sinologists he considered it superfluous to reveal the meaning of the Chinese character, which is "in this place, here, now".

1205. 'pšty-, different from 'pšty- "to abandon", *VJ.*, 301, probably "to order, command, recommend", to judge by Man. 'pš'w'nh "order, recommendation" (see Gutschewitch, § 1044), to which it bears the same relation as *nyšty-* (*ibid.*, § 561) does to *OPers.* *\*ništāwan-*. Man. 'pš'w'nh (in Sogd. script), 'pš'w'n (in Man. script), = *apāstāwan*, is used only of Mani; 'pšty- is used of the Buddha. These Sogdian words make it possible to propose a new explanation for the name of the "Avesta": *Apastāk/Abastōg* = The Injunction (of Zoroaster).

1233. *np'yšty*. Some scholars still cherish the idea that the ancient Iranians, instead of writing and sealing their letters, preferred to fix and confirm them, although it seems to have been abandoned now as far as the Sogdians are concerned. The basis of this strange opinion was the misreading (*hambditan*) and consequent wrong etymology of the Middle Persian equivalent of the ideogram *HTYMWN*. Although he did not fail to recognize the Semitic word for sealing, Bartholomae insisted that the MPers. equivalent should be translated as *festmachen*. The verb is written ideographically nearly always, but occurs in its Iranian garb in the *Epistles of Manuščikr*, p. 24<sup>1</sup>, *uštān nīštāt ul 'wšt*, read *'wšt*. Important is the Pahlavi form *hauast* in *ŠGV.*, xi, 39, which sufficiently indicates *'wšt* (instead of *hšt*) as the proper reading. It has been misunderstood by P. de Menasce in his recent reprint of the Pahlavi text (Fribourg, 1945). Why does the Quran say, exclaims the author of the *ŠGV.*, *kum dil, gōš, ḥalīm-i mardumā bē hauast* = that "I sealed the heart(s) and the ear(s) and the eye(s) of men"! Even a slight acquaintance with Quranic terminology teaches that *hauast* here renders Ar. *ḥalama*. P. de Menasce has not recognized that the passage quoted is *Sūrah* 2, 6, *ḥalama 'lāhu 'ald qulūbihim wa'alā sam'ihi wa'alā absārihi (ghīḥawāt?)*, a text familiar to most first-year students of Arabic. The final proof for reading *'wšt* (with

<sup>1</sup> Not connected with *Mān.* *nyš*, *Mān. Mān.*, i, which was assumed to be the offspring of Ar. *mašni* (*Šat. msn*). *Ibid.*, p. 85 = *merm* (cf. *Kephalaia*, 177, 29): *da'h* = tooth-ache (dass- from *daw* + *Pers.* *šā*): *uwyš* = *'uwl. uwyš* = *uwl. uwyš*, *uwyš*'s read *uwyš*'n "to fill up (to well)"; *pšty* read *pšty*. In *Mān. Mān.*, ii, *pšty* may be "altar" → Akkadian *paštu*, *Syt. pštu*, *Mand. pšty* (*Nöklehr, Mand. Gramm.*, 14). But in Pahlavi *pšty* is apparently "steps, staircase", hence = *Pers. pšty*.

-wb = -β-) is provided by Man. MPers. 'wyš in an unpublished fragment (M 785, 28) *mrwgy 'yγ 'wyš 'w prys'd 'w dō'zdā p'ygus'*(n).

1233/4. The name of *Khundān* occurs first in the Ancient Letters ('*zwm't'n*'), see my note *apud* M. Black, *Transactions of the Glasgow Oriental Society*, viii, 1938, p. 25. The phrase '*yγ yct'w βryβ'r*' is incomprehensible. A reference in such terms to the ruler of Ch'ang-an, viz. the Chinese emperor, is out of the question. Also, '*yγ*' should precede a locative. Cannot *βryβ'r* be a mistake for *βry'r*? Hence, "in the *yct'w* monastery", *yct'w* being either a Sogdian ("lord, king") or its Chinese (\**An-lao*) name.—Read 19 in the place of 28.

## P 3

3. *š'w-β'm'k* = black, or blackish. -*βām* in Sogdian is always "colour", as is -*fām* in Persian (cf. BSOS., X, 100 sq.).

■. '*nkyr*' here, in view of '*rs'ny*' (on which see above on P 2, 37), may be = *angr* = Pers. *anšr*(s) = *foramen an*.

34. *š'yn'gach* probably "ague", lit. shaking, from *kan-* (cf. Pers. *larz*).

65. *pych* "blaze" should in my view be read *prch* "back". "If with this stone he knocks, ever so softly, his opponent on the back without his noticing it, etc."

66. *wš* perhaps "piece", cf. Sogdian, 25. "Emitting pieces" = "splintering"?

74. '*sp'rōt*' may be a verbal form, "his eyes \*burst (and) come out". Cf. Pashto *spar*, Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 68? In meaning the Sogdian word agrees well with Skt. *spṛaṣṣ*/*spṛuṣṣ*.

100. *cat'n-β'm'k* can hardly mean "sandal-coloured" as M. Benveniste proposes. Such a term would lack clarity, as sandalwood can be white, red, or yellow. Moreover, Skt. *candana* is regularly spell *cna* in Sogdian. *š'w-β'm'k*, '*sp'yt-β'm'k*', etc., in the parallel clauses make one think that *cat'n* (or *cat'n*) by itself is the name of a colour (brown?).

106. '*m'rδ*': apparently "companion, colleague, competitor" from *hām-ardā*, cf. Pers. *hamāl*. See now also Chr. '*mrl*' "colleague", Givargis 78.

124. *γry'γh*, as was suggested in *Tales*, 465, n. 2: tent = Pers. *xargāh*. Independently, the same explanation was proposed by H. H. Schöder to M. Benveniste (see his note), who objects to it on the ground that we should not have Persian loan-words in a Sogdian text. It was not my meaning that *γry'γh* should be so regarded. One would rather consider *xargāh* a loan-word (slightly changed by popular etymology) in Persian.

126. '*tych*'. The imperfect *m'šync* occurs in an unpublished glossary fragment, but the MPers. column is missing (■ 356). The corresponding MPers. word is "in water (the garden, the streets, etc.)", cf. *Kaṣṣān* α 110. Neither MPers. '*šync*' (*Mir.Man.*, i; *ZII.*, ix, 198) nor Parthian ('')'*šy'd*' (see *BBB.* s.v.; apparently a preterite) are clear. "Poured down water" = "a waterfall"?

132. *yn'kw* conceivably *yc'kw* = \*space, cf. Man. 'yz-, Chr. 'yz- (BBB., 122) ?

134. *cyr'u'k* ? Better read *cyr'u'k* = Pers. *čayz-lāve* (*čayz-vāre*) = (frog-spawn), the scum on stagnant water, etc. Hence, "Paint the big spaces full of water, and on the back, down to the duck-weed, paint various kinds of *nāgas*."--The somewhat similar word *cyngr'y* in *Sogdian*, p. 36 [30], can now be explained more fully. The interpretation of MPers. *cmb* as the name of a musical instrument (as in *g* 28, cf. also Sogd. *cmb-l'x*, *ibid.*, *a* 1), and the comparison with Pers. *čangale* "a musical instrument similar to a harp" (BQ.) can be confirmed. For Sogdian *cyngr'y* was borrowed by Turkish: it appears as *çing(e)rā*, equivalent of *sanj* "harp", in Ibn Moḥannā's Arabic-Turkish dictionary, p. 146, [Stambul, 1338/1340.] Aptullah Battal, *Ibnü Mühennad Lüḡati*, Stambul, 1934, p. 25<sup>a</sup>, should not have emended it ("çeng"). It is likely that these words are diminutives of *čang* (*čing* ?) "harp".

147 sqq. "the houses of the twelve constellations are to be painted over Mount Numeru, and also the twenty-eight lunar mansions and the twelve (MS. eleven) great and terrible Hours and all other zodiacal stars are to be painted." The MS. has clearly "eleven hours", but M. Benveniste prints "ten" (cf. above P 2, 1234, where the edition has "28", but the MS. "19"). "Eleven" is a scribal error. The "twelve Hours" are the twelve sections of the ecliptic, each of which needs an hour (= double-hour) to pass through the meridian (= 30°). Astronomers still nowadays calculate right ascension in "hours" (of 15°) instead of degrees. Thus our shamanist had to paint, beside representations of the twelve constellations (as little circles for the stars, connected by lines), also the "circle of twelve animal figures typifying the double hours of the Chaldean *voxθῆμαρον*": so Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v. *δωδεκάωρον*. Cf. also Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, plate 7. *pr'ykt* copyist's mistake for *pr'ykt*. *'nyr-uz'u* is adjective, "lying in, or belonging to, the zodiacal circle."

148. *nyzæ*, if = Pers. *nyz* (as M. Benveniste suggests), = smooth, since this is the proper meaning of the Persian word (see e.g. *Čahār Maqāle* 7<sup>a</sup>, opp. *darukt*).

172. *uzprah* beside camphor, sandalwood, costus, etc., perhaps "safflower" = Ar. *'uḡfur* ? The second half of the Sogdian word looks suspiciously like Ar. *za'farān*, believed to be of Persian origin by some authorities. But "saffron" cannot be meant here, as the proper Sogd. word for it (*čerknph*) occurs in the next line. It is true that *'uḡfur* may be good Arabic, and is apparently not connected with *za'farān*. On the other hand, both may be arabicized forms of two different, but related, foreign words.

174. *yysh alošs*. It is difficult to believe that for this Indian incense the Sogdian language had a word so dissimilar to the Indian terms (*aguru*, *aguru*). The identification rests on P 7, 108, where the Chinese has *du parfum*

<sup>1</sup> *çp* = *harab* ? p. 161 (cf. Battal, p. 26, *çibir*) is not clear.

*cardana ou de l'aloès et du musc*, acc. to M. Damiéville's translation, while the Sogdian is *ZKie catu 'PZY' yrysh ZY' ZKie k'p'wē* = sandalwood and camphor. Obviously, as the Persian lexicographers say, *ḡig-i ta'ammul-asī*; for camphor is not musk. Until we are better informed by Sinologists, we may provisionally assume that *yrysh* is *musk*.<sup>1</sup> If so, one could understand "32 *yrysh*" in *Enc. Letter*, ii, 58, as "32 (vesicles of) musk" (a quantity of considerable value, as can be seen from Marvazi, tr. Minorsky, p. 20).—This is a good opportunity to call attention to the Pahlavi word for "hgn-aloes", which is found in *GrBd.*, 118\* (but omitted in the Indian *Bundahishn*): *'ahēg* = *awahīg* from *\*ayalāk* (with -ic- from -y- as often), a form that is very close to *dydlokov*. It corroborates the Syriac spelling *'ahug* (also *'luh*), on which see Lagarde, *Gen. Adh.*, 11. As to the *soi-disant* Persian *النجوع* (BQ.), النجوع (Löw, *Ar. Pfl.*, 295), this absurdity may owe its origin to misreading a corrupt Pahlavi form, e.g. *\*'ahēguy* misread as *ahangūy*.

175. *šm-nyw'y*. M. Benveniste (see his note on P 2, 298) translates *tracher* and rejects Reichelt's *auspressen*. In my view the correct meaning is "to pound (drugs in a mortar)". Wherever drugs are mentioned in Sogdian texts, they are unfailingly subjected to the action expressed by *nyw'y*, which thus corresponds to Pers. *vidan*. Together with *šm* "fine" it is the equivalent of Uygur *gumday saq-* (cf. Rachmati, *Heilk. Vig.*, 469 on 138). As to *šm*, one does not see how it can be the Chinese *■* *hsien* < *šjan* (Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1936, i, 231). Neither the initials nor the vowels agree. Middle Chin. *š-* was invariably reproduced by *s(y)-* in Central Asian languages. Cf., e.g., *š* *šien* = Sogd. *šin* (*SBPAW.*, 1907, 462), *š* *šāu* = Uygur *šo*, *šau* (ibid., 1938, 374, and often), *š* *šim* = *šim*, *š* *šien* = *šim* in Brühn (F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG.*, 91, 43), etc. An Iranian etymology was proposed apud Gershevitch, § 285.

179. *catu'yn'k k'p* possibly "a block of sandal-wood", cf. Pali *cardana-guṇṭhi* (PTS. Dict.)? *k'p* from *kšt* "to split"?

181/2. *š'ry'n't p'lyt* = wooden cups, or small tablets? The mysterious word *p'lyt* is perhaps merely a dissimilated form of *tātū*. Cf. *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1912, 50, n. 2.

199. *wyškyrδ* perhaps "to pierce"; compare, beside *wšk'rō* "needle", also Saka *pākal*, etc., see Kunow, *NTS.*, ix, 64. The Sogdian word for "embers", *yryc* = *zaryc*, is no doubt (with metathesis of -w-) related to the Pahlavi for "embers", *hurg* = *zurg* (from *zuryak*), which is familiar also from Pahlavi *zurg* (= *ahōraka*, *SGV.*, xiv, 25), Jewish Persian *zurg* = *zurg* (Is. 44<sup>19</sup>, 47<sup>14</sup>; Ez. 11<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>), and vulgar Persian *zulū*, *zurg* (instead of *z'arg*). Wollaston s.v. *embers*.<sup>2</sup> The Sogdian phrase *yryc wyškyrδ*

<sup>1</sup> If this can be established, it may even become worthwhile to consider whether the Sogdian is related in any way to the Chinese term for "musk" (see Karlgren, *Analyt. Dict.*, No. 865).

<sup>2</sup> Not recognized by indigenous dictionaries. P. de Menasce (on *SGV.*) quotes a solitary Pers. "zarak-D", but does not explain the *D*. This "zarak" which I find in Johnson's Dictionary is, of course, a mispointed *zurg/zurg*.

reminds one of Pahlavi *zwarg ākstan* "to break up live coals", *DkM.*, 794 apu.<sup>1</sup>

204. *šny w't* is probably "south-wind". MPers. *dān* is "right (side, hand)" only. In the place of *w'n'tk* one could read *w'ntk* "blowing". The passage in its whole recalls *Hadokht Nask*, ii, 7-8.

205. "swift as thought", literally "swift thought-equally ('yemtyš)". On Pahl. *vāt-i artū* see also *Sogdian*, 37, n. 1.

219. "And now, a great oath has been taken by the Nāgas . . . (to the effect) that whenever all such preparations, as described, have been made in full, they will feel obliged to come there, together with the wind, in order to make . . ."

225/7. *w'e* "we begin to blow", see *Tales*, 482, note f. Both M. Benveniste and myself have been deceived by *šle* "frogs" *ywkt*. "Sulphur and realgar," see *BSOS.*, X, 398, and *Tales*, 485, n. 1.

242. *nm'y* is perhaps the same particle as the Talmudic *nm* (Levy, iii, 399), whose Persian origin Nöldeke suspected (*Mand. Gramm.*, 485). Syriac *lam* is generally derived from *nm*.

277. *'psfr'ya* ('*šky*) is almost certainly a "sheep's shoulderblade", an object indispensable to a Central Asian magician. One could refer to Quatremère, *Histoire Mong. en Pers.*, 267 sqq. (note 89), and to the recent discussion by Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxvii, 1944, 92-3, 101. As *'ps* = sheep, *-fr'ya* = *frēt* must be "shoulder" or "shoulderblade". This should be compared with MPers. *prygy*, Pahl. *plyk* "shoulder", see *OLZ.*, 1934, 752 (where *Pahl. Dm.*, 37, 38, p. 102, ed. Anghrenia, could be added). Both the Sogdian and Middle Persian words represent Old Iranian *\*frayikā*, which cannot be separated from *\*fayakā*, see Morgenstierne, *IFL.*, ii, 208 (Dr. Gershevitch reminds me also of *Byk'*, *VJ.*, 56\*).

285. *kn'tst mastic* = Pers. *kundū mastic*. This explanation, which Reichelt, ii, p. vii, approved, is not possible. There is no such Persian word. It is true one finds it in Johnson's dictionary (and its descendants), but one looks for it in vain in reliable books. The correct Persian word that can be identified with Sogd. *kn'tst* is *kundū* = Ar. *kundū* = Syr. *qundū* and means "a kind of *Saponaria*" or according to some authorities (for example, Schlumberger, p. 559) "white hellebore", see Löw, *Journ. Pfl.*, 305 sq.; Achundow, transl. of *Misc.*, 261 sq. [of the reprint]. It is in this case still possible to trace the mistake as to "mastic". In the *Kāfi* *Uluḡāt* (sixteenth century) Arabic—but not Persian!—*kundū* is thus defined:—"the name of an animal; also, it is said, the name of a drug, which they call *magtāḡ* = mastic in India; thus in *ayṣurāḡ*." Obviously, the author of the *Kāfi* declines responsibility for the second meaning. Looking up his source, the *Ṣurāḡ* (thirteenth century),

<sup>1</sup> This passage, along with many others, was discussed by Dr. Mirza in his able commentary on *Pahl. Ric.*, ch. 35, where he proposed "light (emanating from fire, etc.)". However, the word was sometimes confused with *stark* (as Mirza pointed out) and thus may appear as *GDB* in Pahlavi texts. Thus, e.g., in *GrBd.*, 124<sup>18</sup>, "three fire like three embers in a fire-place" (differently Bailey, *Exc. Problems*, 45).

we find s.v. *kdš*:—"Arabic *kundū* = Persian 'akke *na-kundur*" = magpie and incense (mastic). Since the *Surāh* is merely an abridgment of the *Ṣiḥāh*, we have to turn to the latter work, where, as in any other Arabic dictionary of repute, *kundū* has only the meanings of (1) magpie, (2) a certain sternutative drug (= *kundur*; putists disapproved of the spelling with *-ū*, see, e.g., *Tāj al-'Arūs*, vol. iv, p. 346. Thus *kundur* in the *Surāh* is necessarily a mistake. No spelling *کندوش* occurs in either Arabic or Persian; the vowels of "*kandōš*" are pure invention.

286. *z'r* is almost certainly "poison" here = everywhere else. Hence, *māz'kk z'r* = the poison, Skt. *māṣaka*, *Salvinia cucullata* Roxb., cf. also Skt. *māṣakamāri* "rat-killer" for the same plant. ■. Benveniste's translation *mauve musquée* can hardly be justified. Further, *ir'yak z'r* is surely the well-known poison, Skt. *īrugi*, which in Arabic and Persian books partly appears as *ثربت* (thus Bērūnī) or *اسريق* (from *اسريق*?), partly is translated as *al-qurūn* "the horns" or *qurūn az-zunbūl* "the horns of the corn-cob", or also *القرن*. To judge by the statements of Muslim pharmacologists, *īrugi* was *Scilla cornutum*; it figured in the lists of so-called "aconites". See Muwaffaq 59<sup>a</sup>; Achundow's translation, 276 sqq.; Ghāfiqī, No. 181 and note; K. al-Makḥrūḥ, 298, ed. Sobhy. The text of the relevant passage in Bērūnī's *k. as-Saidanah* is available in part apud ■. Validi Togan, *Biruni's Picture of the World*, p. 113 (where *ثربت* = *ثربك*), more fully but less correctly apud Ghāfiqī, loc. cit.

## P 5

1-89 recitation of the Dīrghanakṣasūtra. 90-125 is not well described as *le début d'une longue invocation bouddhique*. It is a confession-prayer for Buddhist monks. One regrets that there is so little of it. The Uyyur *Siludantekenutnise* published by Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 76 sqq., and Bang-Gabain, *T.T.*, iv, were intended for the laity.

28 n. It is perhaps more correct to say that *yaue* "colour" translates *ṣa* "colour", which in its turn represents Skt. *rūpa*, irrespective of the meaning of the Skt. word in various contexts.

41. *īyr'w'y* (M. B.'s correction) is properly "goodness". It may not be superfluous to mention that the ordinary meaning of *īf*, which here is rendered by *īyr'w'y*, is "good, well, happy, etc." The Sogdian translator was hardly aware of the special value of the Chinese character.

14. Read [ . ] *īy* *ṣumh* ? Before *ṣumh* there is space for not more than four or five letters. *īyṣṣ'g* [ . ] *īy ṣumh* should be = Sukhāvatī. One could restore [ *īyṣṣ* ], "the very (happy) land of the West." Cf. P 8, 72, "to with-great-joy = blissful Sukhāvatī" (M. Benveniste's translation differs).

■. *pr'pt* (or is it *pr'pty* ?) occupies the third place in a list of Bodhisattvas.

\* Often misunderstood as "the horns of a spikenard".



Hence, abbreviation of (*Mahāsthāma*)*prāpta*, see, e.g., *Larger Sūkhāvatīyūha*, § 34.

106. *wa* 107 *juṣṭy pyā'r* cannot 卐 seen on the photograph. 'pāh is a little doubtful, but cf. *c'wa 'pw 'y' mts'r* P 9, 120 (which could conveniently be restored here).

108. *yrβ'wā* 109 *wā'y* is, to judge by the facsimile, a rather dubious reading. After *lobha* and *dveṣa* one expects *moha* (usually *mntyrβ'kyā*). Perhaps *yrβ'k-wā'y* ? "Desire, hate, stupidity, and suffering are endless, that torment. . ."

114/5. Nearly completely blotted out in the facsimile. *ḍ'r'ny* read *ḍ'ryay* ! One wonders if \**pyāw* can 卐 read in the place of *pyāw*.

120. Cf. T.T., iv, p. 436, 28 sq., *burāṅg quāwāyī iki gārtim qūhīmiz āsār*. Hence, read 'kriw ?

110-125. M. Benveniste has not translated these last fragmentary lines. They mean roughly this: "If I should have destroyed (*[n]stuv*) a *śūpa* . . ., burnt or destroyed a sacred book, stolen and kept the possessions of the Three Jewels . . ., slandered (and said) 'it was not taught by the Buddha'. If I should have . . . and kept and hidden it . . . without the commandments and keeping the commandments . . . if I should have slandered and detracted . . ., hurt a life . . ., kept servants . . ., split the united community into two parties. If I should have given rise to the very heretical opinion that . . . action has no retribution. Furthermore, if by day or night, habitually (*r'w[āt]*) I should have committed sins of the body, [sins of the mind], sins of the mouth, . . ."

# I' 6

Fragment of the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhātābhāṣasūtra*. To our misfortune, 卐 Benveniste has not printed the apparently very close translation of the Chinese original which 卐. Demiéville had prepared for him. W. Liebenthal's translation, given in an appendix, is not as literal as one could wish. One misses explanations of the passages where the Sogdian apparently deviates from the Chinese, judging by Liebenthal's version.

7. *kyn'k* means "sword" according to the Chinese version. M. Benveniste justly compares *āwākyā*. There is, however, no need to bring in *kynβ'r Padm.*, 25, which, as Weller has shown (on *Vim.*, 136), is "enemy". Cf. Pers. *kīnāwar*, from *kīn* "hatred, revenge, enmity, fight, battle".

7/8. *cān 'ak' āk'βy* has no equivalent in Liebenthal's translation. Professor Haloun kindly informs me that Hsüan-tsang's text, in agreement with most other versions, has "precipice", 卐. Pers. *āikāf* "crevice, cleft in a mountain".

13. *syn'yac s'n* (Demiéville *zanema étranger*). One does not quite see how one can arrive at this reading. The MS. has *syn'yac* (or *syn'yac*, etc.).

卐. 'βt, read 'st. Added by the scribe above the line, but apparently superfluous.

25. *yw't*. 卐 Benveniste (see 卐 long note) has not seen that this *yw't* is merely an orthographic variant of *y'w't(y)*, *yw'w't(y)* in the Dhuta text which



were discussed in *BBB.*, p. 58 (on 503). This *yw't* (from *yw'et*) means "he breaks (the law, etc.)", and has no obvious connection with the adjective *yw't*, Man. and Chr. *xw't*, which in all passages means nothing but "weak", certainly nowhere *endommagé*. The comparative is naturally *main de force*, weaker. That this adjective was formed from a root *xw't* was explained in *BBB.*, pp. 82 sq. (on 688). It is entirely a different matter to ascribe a present stem *xw't* to Sogdian. Such a present stem does not exist. I have no apologies to make for the statement to that effect in *BBB.*, pp. 82 sq. (on 688). There are no present stems ending in *-ā* in Sogdian. As proof for his point of view M. Benveniste quotes *yw't*, *yw'et*, *SC.E.*, 185, 212. In my view these forms belong to *yw-* "to fail, commettre une faute", see *BBB.*, p. 68 (on 552).

82. *š'ākā* "upper arm and shoulder" corresponds to Pahlavi *bāzā*, spelt *b'z'y*, as *nasā*, *anā* are spelt *n's'y*, *'n'y*. We have countless examples of this orthographic peculiarity in Pahlavi inscriptions now, see e.g. *BSOS.*, IX, 829 sqq. The Pahlavi words have frequently been misread as *artāk*, *nasāk*, etc. Salemann, *Gr. Ir. Phil.*, i, a, 270, beside *b'z'y* and *n's'y*, quotes the much-discussed *nkyr'y* ("nkyr'h"), transliterated in Pazend as *nigardē*. According to H. H. Schaller, *Eng. Jb.*, xv, 571, n. 2, this word should prove the existence in Middle Persian of a participle adjective in *-āy* (which I had denied, *NOTW.*, 1932, 259, n. 7). I submit that the spelling on the contrary shows that the word ended in *-ā*. It would, moreover, seem that *nkyr'y* is a loan-word from Aramaic, a form from *nkr* "to repudiate", although the true original, \**nakkirā* "denying, repudiating" (as *nakkikā* "humble", etc.), does not apparently occur in Aramaic.

98. *pš'yš'tygh* shows that Chr. *pšyš'dey'*, *S.T.*, ii, is wrong reading of *pšyš'tey'*. The *-d-* was marked as uncertain in the edition; the difference is merely a matter of a dot. Misled by the Christian form, I restored *pšyš'dey'* in *BBB.*, p. 396 (line 613), but indicated that this was doubtful. Read *pšyš'tygh* ["re](y)h).

111. *'yō kpyy* 50 litt. *comparative minus an*. *Il en résulte que kpyy (ici "à défaut") est confondu dans la fonction de substantif et dans le sens de "manque, défaut" pour Notre ie* (*BSOS.*, IX, p. 515). To my mind this use of the word (cf. also *JRAS.*, 1932, 243) shows again clearly that *kpyy* means *minus* and is not a substantive, but the comparative of *kšay* "little". As pointed out in *BBB.*, p. 68 (on 546), *kpyy* Man. *kmbyy* is *κμάρω*. Hence, *kpyy* from *kambiyah*, but *kšā-* from \**kabna* — \**kndm*.<sup>1</sup> The word corresponding to *kpyy* in Persian, *kam*, is similarly used, cf. Pers. *ad yak kam* = 99; cf. also Bang *apud* Marquart, *Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, p. vi, n. 3, where *bir ken otuz* = 29.

113. 'W copyist's mistake for 't? The entry in the *Glossaire*:—"W, ou (passim), is hardly justified. This word occurs neither in these, nor in other Sogdian texts. "Or" is 'WZ'; similarly, "and" is 'PZY, but never \*'P.

<sup>1</sup> One wonders how often more "MPT, *in mihā*" will be quoted. No such word is attested. Cf. *OLE.*, 1924, 751.

119. *ny'wδ*. The reading is confirmed by Man. *nywδ yrβyy* (?), M 502<sup>4</sup>R 1 (out of context) — as far as one knows (?).

145. *sy'ri* may be *ny'ri*. Dhyāna 231 has been overlooked, "neither old age nor death befall him", cf. *BBR.*, 53, where Chr. *nzδ-* was quoted.

151. *ynšy'kh*, the object of *w'c-*, should name the punishment which the king had imposed upon his prisoners and from which he should release (*w'c-*) them now. In view of *ynš'kh* "toil" (*SCB.*, 44) one could think of compulsory labour. Similarly *ynān ynān* P 2, 1043/4 = various efforts, or renewed efforts, while *ynš'y 'ttn*, *YJ.*, 769, may be "he carried (the body of the cart on his neck)",<sup>1</sup> of the employment of *nasidan* in similar contexts in Persian (*bār k-*). Or else, *ynšjāk* may mean "captivity", shortened from *ynān-*, cf. *yr'nā*, *BBB.*, p. 63. One could thus account also for Sogdian *ynō* (*Sogdica*, p. 39, A 37), whose Middle Persian equivalent *bē* may reflect OIr. *bastra-* (cf. *Morgenstierne*, *EVP.*, 87); this is true also of Persian *baš*, which was differently explained in *Sogdica*, p. 42. Not necessarily connected with either group is *ynšy'kh*, P 13, 3. This is perhaps a measure of length? "He (Rustam) came close (from *β'w-* "to approach") to the town by one thousand feet, or paces"?

163. *krtn* here corresponds to "beauty" in Liebenthal's translation. This further confirms the opinion put forward in *BBB.*, p. 93 (cf. also *Sogdica*, p. 37).

165. *y'twnh* corresponds to "wives of the princes" in Liebenthal's translation, but *■*. *Demiéville* gives *■ seconde femme (de l'empereur)*. One would have valued an explanation of this divergence.

167. *β'nykr'nt* *conseillers, ministres qui secondent* is a puzzling word. Would it be permissible to regard it as a case of semi-translation of the equally mysterious Persian title *kanārang*, *Καναράγγης*, which may have been analysed as *kanār + rang*? For Sogdian *β'm* = Persian *rang*, and Sogd. *kyr'n* = Pers. *kanār*.

167. *ynō'yth* *les dames* may belong to Wakhi *indigun*, Yidgha *idiko*, etc., "slave-girl."

185. *rynček* litt. "enfantin", d'où "léger". Not a happy etymology. In *■* 12, 35, it is opposed to *yr'm* "heavy". Hence = "light". See also *Tales*, 482, n. 5.

193. *kyo* conceivably = Persian *gū* (modern *gi*) "giddy, stupefied, perplexed".

197. *kwnk* is an ingenious, but apparently rather uncertain, reading, to judge by the facsimile.

<sup>1</sup> *βetywpy'y 'ettn*, *ibid.*, 771, must mean "she pushed the wheel". This reveals a root of five consonants, (*frs +*) *styp*, or at least four, *\*stym*, *■ -st-* = *-mā-* developed from an original *-m-*. Hence compare Pahl. *stahm*, *stahm(b)ak*, and *Fāstāh*.



*mr(ek)*. 1098 'yh read 'znh "knowledge". 1110 z'ygyz'k, cf. Pers. *zaidan* "creep". 1154 *srw* "head" ? 1161 "pich is emendation"; MS. 'apich. 1163 pδ'rβ-, cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 190, n. 4. 1163 'βs'yp-, possible connections, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 3. 1176 'rt'wpyh. 1181 nyz'nt. 1180 're. 1207 yrδ'k poss. = γδ'kh, P 7, 64 = Man. γδy (?) *BRB.*, 105. 1223 prβ'yw is subj., not impf. (which = pr'yβ'yw). 1230 *srw*.

P 3.-4 ZK. 11 ZY read 'ny "other". 15 "it quickly heals and gets better". 24 Enter L' at end of line. 41 'as'yich. 48/9 "unlimited", *Sogdico*, 27 sq. 50/1 "early in the morning, before eating (Gershevitch, § 63) or talking". 57 "his words are going = fluent & successful ?". 82 p'tz'r'k. 97 "cannot easily be set forth". 108 *frwδrδ*, cf. *Tales*, 484 sq. 110 'ze'nā not quite certain; poss. "w'nh ("w'zh). "Eile est belle" has no equivalent in the Sogdian text. 112 rδy. 123 prδyic is correct, but MS. prδyc. 129 pr'yuk "dammak", see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 154 sq. 142 nyz'yr. 158 MS. prδ'nkh, corrected *prima manu* to prδ'yuch. 171 wysp'e. 179 pr read [Z]Kw. 206 βwδn(-β'e'n). 209 "the living beings of the whole world", cf. above on P 2, 636, 251, 282 "cheap". 261 "to hide", cf. *Sogdico*, 33. 284 restore Reichelt's translation, "after boiling it", cf. Gershevitch, § 932.

P 5.-8 nβy, and first 'PZY read ZKZY (with Gauthiot). 21 "z'wng (with Gauthiot). 24 rather [uβ'n]tk (cf. *Tales*, 471, n. 4) as Chin. has 罽 "net, web, trap". 28 *prwyt* (in gloss. *prw'yt*) read *prwyt*/'t. Two words (with Gauthiot). 47 "z'wng (with G.). 65 pwyβ' (with G.). 79 "Brye'k (with G.). 90 'w'wyl'. 94 "myt". 95 ktyk'p = *Kaitipartha*. 96 yw'w. 98 'us'wyt. 105 wye'w'k, "come to witness the confession of my sins." 106 [yw] δ[ry]kky t'm'n "I, thin (Bhikṣu of such and such name)". 'wye'wyt read 'w'wyt ? 113 prw'yt (from prw'e-) 116 cf. Man. *pyy*, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 3 (see also above on P 2, 1168).

P 6.-9 stp'δ'k. 12 ZKw. 13 "y'v'. 29 'δy is not translated. 33 'z'wng. 35 'PZYy. 44 β in 'βe'npōyk with a hook below. 47 'YKZYn. 48, 49 p'yr. 61 muck'. 64 'wyl. 62 w'e'muk. 66 pōβr- "stage" (thus here, too, acc. to Liebertthal's transl.). 78 'zy'm's'y. 2nd letter press, damaged, meant to be "y" as in 80 ? 81 'wyl. 83 Enter rty before 'wδnt. 89 ZK. 91 yaty'astk. 94 z't. 98 'myh. 115 ZY; wryty. 127 ZKw. 136 pō'lt (also comm. and gloss.). 139 mk'e'n. 146 'sp'ya'w'y. 150 m'yt is *metri.* not *metra*. 151 p'k'yit'yt, corrected *pr.m.* from p'k'k-. 168 r'βyl. 179 'PZYn. 184 c'yw'k'w. 191 ZKw.

#### P 8 Colophon

100. *xyδy 'ny βyp'rt sty 'ko δw'w'kūdyh*. As these first words of the colophon are followed by a date of the common Central Asian kind which tells us precisely nothing (156 of the Tiger year), they are unlikely to contain a date too. M. Benveniste's translation, "l'année du prince . . . à Tuen-Huang" cannot be correct, if only because Sogdian grammar requires that the word for prince precede that for year (cf. e.g. Reichelt, ii, 70, 34). Thus

*srđy* may be different from *srđ-* "year"; or else the scribe intended to put in a sensible date, leaving a line blank for the purpose, but forgot to do so. Neither explanation can be viewed with favour. It is something of an understatement to render *šyp'wr* as "prince"; the *šaypūr/Fayfūr* (on the origin of the term see *BSOS.*, X, 94, n. 2)<sup>1</sup> was the Emperor of China. And *šyp'wr stny* "the land of the *Fayfūr*" is necessarily "China". M. Benveniste has not always recognized the value of the suffix *-stn-*, which corresponds to Persian *-stān* (see Gershevitch, § 122, 1116); thus *'yntakstny* " (in) India ", P 21c, 17, is read *'st'y* in the edition and assumed to mean " *période (ou cis) antérieure* ". It is interesting to note that those Sogdians that lived in China abandoned the older name of that country, *čynstn*, which they had used in the "Ancient Letters"<sup>2</sup>—*'my* is the locative of the 1st pronoun,<sup>3</sup> see Benveniste, *Gramm. Sogd.*, ii, 126, cf. also *Man. my, Taka*, 476 (G 20). Hence, "... in China in the town of Throana."

167/8. 4 *kwt'y*, read *y'n kwt'y*; *mp't'yr* read *n'pt'yr* (also in 173). Thus the name of the gentleman who ordered the copy (not the scribe, as M. Benveniste assumes) was "Čurak, the son of Nāfūr, of the family of Han" (as stated already, *JRAS.*, 1944, § 9, n. 3). At the time when this colophon was written (eighth century) the Sogdians in China appear to have adopted Chinese family names; there is no trace of such designations in the *Ancient Letters*. Cf. Reichelt, ii, 70, "the lay-man Čatfūrātšarān, of the family of An" (dated in A.D. 728). *BRY* "son", cf. also *Sogdian*, 59.

169. *p'my* = Saka *pajmān*! A loan-word from Khotanese! Sogdian *-č-* may represent *-dz-* (and *-z-*), cf. Gershevitch, §§ 71-2.

171. Here begins the long list of persons whom Han Čurak wants to share in the *puṇya* accruing to him in reward for the modest sum he spent on his copy of the *Acakakicavarānāmāṣṭakakavāsa*. He expects much for very little. He wishes he could do more: "... that I shall not be reborn<sup>4</sup> as a stingy man, who does not give, but that I shall be rich enough to build, at my expense, a big monastery ..." (194 sqq.), but the execution of his wishes has to be postponed to his next rebirth. In addition to the parallel passages quoted by M. Benveniste in his commentary (p. 217), one could refer to the colophon following the confession-prayer of the *apārikā Uṣṭūt*, *Uigurica*, ii, 80 sq., where *bu buyan adqū qilindīy ašrur-mn* corresponds to *yam'k p'my'nyh t'yr'kryh p'wyš'm*. The names of the beneficiaries are given in the dative case in Uygur, but are followed by *šat'* in Sogdian. M. Benveniste translates *šat'* as "hand" and explains that *sa main symbolise l'appui spirituel qu'il* [= each beneficiary] *prête au copiste*. Could one not rather assume that the word for "hand(s)" was devalued in Sogdian in the same way as it was in Persian (and many other languages, e.g. Hebrew)! ... *šat'*, or *cna* ... *šat'* may mean

<sup>1</sup> *Sogd. šrpt.* "pregnant" (mentioned there) has been left untranslated in P 22, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *špāt'n* in the Sian-fu inscription is the Persian term.

<sup>3</sup> Care should be taken not to confuse it with *'my*, the suffixed pronoun of the first person, as in VJ. 14. 462, 524, 670; even *'myā* VJ. 649; ordinarily *-my*.

<sup>4</sup> *'cy'n*, 1st pers. subj. of *'zy-*. M. Benveniste has a different explanation.

merely "for, to the benefit of...". Cf. MPers. *pā dat 'y* = "for", *Mahrnāmag*, 200, Pashto *lānta* "direction, towards", etc.

172. 'By' should be 'BY'; *mynē* presumably the name of Han Čurak's grandfather, *'retprnδ'yā* and *'retprn-ē* (175) may contain Av. *aurant-* (here short for *aurant.aspa* ?); on *Haurrūt-* in Sogdian see Sogdica, 19.

174. *mrkth* = "Emerald", see Sogdica, p. 26; 175 'PZY r. 'PZY.

177. *pt'yā'makwn*, surely a copyist's mistake for *ptw'yā'makwn* ?

178/9. *βytwδ* "Gift (lit. emission) of Fortune" ? *yct'ywōh* read *yctzywōh*, with *-zyw-* "necklace, ornament".

181/2. *znyprn* read *ny-prn* "having good fortune from Nanai", cf. Sogdica, p. 7. *stūry* "having a hundred courses" ? Possibly *my'mnyh* (which then could be misspelling of *my'm'yh*) ?

183/4. *tytē*, rather *t'tē* (also considered in the edition). *yut'yt* read *yut't*; *anpāks* read *anpāz* (-z distinguished), or *anpāz*; both names were useful for foundlings, "Self-born" and "Shore-miracle", the last would have fitted Moses admirably.

185/6. *k'k'*, cf. *q'f'ne Mahrnāmag*, 146, see BSOS, IX, 567. *yut'*, perhaps rather *yut'* "divine" ? *my'd'yā* read (*wdyā*) *m'y'd'yā*, the late wife of Han Čurak (cf. Sogdica, p. 7). *r'w'yā* = *\*rēwāyā* ? Cf. *rywzāy'n Mahrnāmag*, 100, where *rywzāy'n* is a mistake.

186. *ict'er* can perhaps be elucidated with the help of a so far unpublished Man. fragment, T ii D ii 169, i R 8 (Sogd. script), "By *ict'y' nyst wryky m'y'w* a *trwy prya wctory' nyst ywδ* [?] *tw' yypō m'y'wcy 'w*. This is rather cryptic. "With a cow the wolf has no great bother, but with a lion he has no concern. Your position is wholly like that." Here *ictw-y'* is opposed to *ict'y'* "trouble, difficulty" (see Gershevitch, § 1070), hence "examine". Or should it be "association" ?

188. Enter can before *L' p't'n*. Here is an instructive example of the divergence which may arise when the meaning of a word has been guessed from the context. For *pryt* Benveniste suggests "*les défunts*".<sup>2</sup> In *JRAS.*, 1944, 139, n. 3, "concubine, slave-girl" was proposed. I owe thanks to Professor Tritton for supporting my guess with a striking etymology: Hebrew *piḥgūt* "concubine", generally compared with *παλλακίς* (slav.) "peller". The word, whose ultimate origin has not been settled yet, may have been borrowed by Sogdian in ancient times from Old Persian, where foreign *-t-* was regularly replaced by *-r-* (cf. the case of *harā* < *\*harūka* < Aram. *halāk*, *Orientalia*, iv, 291-3). The second *-r-* of *pryt* is due to inverse spelling; *pryt* in the Manichaean fragment is the better form.

190. *'skm* read *'sk'tm*.

<sup>1</sup> *β'p'lyyl*, *ibid.*, can be explained now. *tyy* appears to be synonymous with *šm* "fine". E.g. M 368, 12 *tyr tyy ptyδ* (Man. script) "min very finely".

<sup>2</sup> Thus, *šan pryt* 'PZY has "*š'wnt*" are *les défunts* (?) *et* are *les vivants*" (181/2), but "*š'wnt*" is "children". The proper meaning of "*š'wnt*" is "that which has been born (or re-born)", whence "child" and "anything born" = "a (living) being". It is never found in opposition to "deceased". The dead also were born.



195. 'δβ'az may be 'δβ'z and therefore represent OIran. \*δyā/a-, cf. the words treated in *BSOS.*, X, 105; *Sogdica*, 32. In this case, as in many others, -' and -a- are not easily distinguished, although they are formed in different ways. As regards Av. (da)baz-, it has been claimed for Sogdian δβ'az "broad, thick" by M. Duchesne-Guillemin, *BSOS.*, III, 864, who ascribed this etymology ■ *BBB.*, p. 124. It is pertinent to state that in that book Sogd. δβ'az was compared only with the noun Av. bāzah- (which should reflect older \*dabzāh-) and attention was drawn to the Pahlavi translation of the verb GAv. dabaz-, without the expression of an opinion on the presence or absence of a relation between those Avestan words. See also *Tafel*, 172, n. a. The verb Av. (da)baz- was quoted for Parthian 𐭥𐭫𐭮𐭫, *Mit. Iran.*, III, 897.

198/9. Preferably "by blankets (and) rugs (and) couch . . . with nursing and service"; *zty my tead zty miz*; *kyr'k ztyh* (with a strange explanation, also in P 12, 18) read *kyr'krtyh*.

## INDEX

(\* = uncertain † = strong)

Sogdian		
*'k'ym 734	'k' 732	'm 729
*'p'rb- 726	'p'p'y 722	'n 730
*'p' 718	'p'wnt n 726	't'umā 737
*'h'ch 729	'y'p'p'h 733	'k'1A 735
*'w'ah 735	*'y'wnt'p'p'y 730	'w' 738
'z'w'n 737 n. 2	*'y'wnt'p'h 729	'k'1 735
'z'y'n 736 n. 4	'h' 717	*'y'h'w' 728
*'h'ly'p' 714, 721, 735	's'm' 726	'y'y'y'h 720
'h' 714 n. 1, 737	's'm'y'w'nt 723	'y'h'y'1h 733
'h'y' 717	's'1A 732	'y'h'1 723
'h'm' 721	'h'y'p'p'p'h 736	'y'm'w' 729
'h'p'z' 730	'h'y'p'p' 720	'y'h'p' 719
†'y'h 725	'h'y'p' 737	'y'h' 731
'y'w't'at 714	'h'1'p'h 731 n. 542	'y'm' 714
'k'w'p'm 716	*'h'y'p' 729	'y'm'w' 719
'k'y'p' 721	'h'y'p'h 730 n. 1	'y'm'w' 724
*'w'p'h- 734	'h'z 734	'y'm'w'w' 724
*'y'w't'at 727	'h'y'w't 731, 735 n. 116	'y'm'w'w' 715
'h'y'p'p' 729	'h'y'w't'p' 733 n.	'y'm'w' 729
*'y'y'w'm'w' 715, 715	'h'w' 729	'y'm'w' 714
'h'y'p' 729	'h' 714	'y'm'w' 727
'h'y'p'p' 729	'h'y'p'p' 727	'y'm'w'm'w' 737
'h'y'p'p' 729	'h'y'p'p' 724	'y'm'w' 717, 729
†'y'p'nt 734	'h'y'p'p' 724	'y'm'w' 714
'h'y'p' 715	'h'y'p'p' 717	*'y'm'w'w'w' 731
'h'y'p' 737	'h'y'p'p'p' 737 n. 1	'y'm'w' 719
*'p'rb- 729	'h'y'p'p'p' 728	'h'y'p' 728
*'p'y'm' 715	'h'y'p'p' 729	'h'y'p' 737
*'h'y'p' 735 n. 251	'h'y'p'p' 734	'h'y'p' 732
*'h'y'p' 734	'h'y'p'p' 738	'h'y'p'p'p' 734
†'h'y'p' 729	'h'y'p'p' 719	'h'y'p'p'p' 729
'h' 717	'h'y'p'p' 715	'h'y'p'p' 715 n. 5
	'h'y'p'p' 714	'h'y'p'p' 715
	'h'y'p'p' 715 n. 5	'h'y'p'p' 733
	'h'y'p'p' 715	'h'y'p'p'p' 735
	'h'y'p'p' 715	'h'y'p'p'p' 724
	'h'y'p'p' 715	*'h'y'p'p' 733
	'h'y'p'p' 715	'h'y'p'p'p' 734







## TWO CENTRAL ASIAN WORDS

THE study of "cultural loan-words" is perhaps the most fascinating of philological pursuits. Such words, passed on from nation to nation, often undergo considerable phonetical changes; but they possess very precise and limited significations. So the more latitude we may claim in regard to form, the less we should arrogate to ourselves in the matter of meaning.

### A. DAMASK

In the Kharoṣṭhi documents found at Niya there occurs twice a word *prigha* (Nos. 316, 318) which Lüders, *Textilien im alten Turkistan* (Abh. P. A. W., 1936), p. 30, combined with Skt. *prigā* in the *Mahāvyaṭpatti*, 232, 36, there explained as 𑖧𑖦𑖅 "thin flowered silk", Tib. *dar ri-mo-can* "silk marked with figures". In Doc. No. 318 (line 6) Lüders corrected the text given by Boyer, Rapson, and Senart, and proposed *speta-prigha* "white damask", an admirable suggestion which we shall be able to confirm with fresh material. Lüders' conclusion (based on his own emendation) that *prigha* meant "unicoloured figured silk (= damask)" can be fully substantiated now. His emendation has been approved by F. Burrow, *Transl. of the Kharoṣṭhi Doc.*, 1940, p. 59, who examined the original.

In the *Mahāvyaṭpatti* *prigha* is spelt *priga*, with variants *prīgu* and *prīgā*. The best Sanskrit form would presumably be *prīṅga*. Thus spelt the word is found in yet another dictionary of Buddhist Sanskrit, the *Fan-yu-ts'ien-tzu-ven*, fol. 38\*2<sup>a</sup>, cf. Bugchi, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, i (1929), p. 280, No. 541.<sup>1</sup> It is there explained by 𑖧𑖦𑖅 *ling* "fine and thin silk material, damask".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We note in passing that *thacsa* ibid., No. 637, *tsac*, *tiac*, is *tharapa* (cf. Lüders 21 sqq.); and that *stacikarmma* = *sicikarmma* is translation of Iranian *mj'isakirta* (cf. Lüders 31).

<sup>2</sup> "Properly thin silken satin fabric, also thin linen, figured taffeta" (Palladius).

\**pring* occurs only in Central Asian Sanskrit; 𑖦 is unknown to Sanskrit proper, or indeed to any Indian dialect. However, 𑖦 is found also in several Iranian languages, notably in those spoken in Chinese Turkestan; it also appeared in Western Iranian, in Pahlavi and Persian, whence 𑖦 migrated to Aramaic and Arabic. We shall deal with Sogdian and Manichaean Middle Persian first.

Among the Sogdian manuscripts discovered by M. Pelliot at Tun-huang and published by M. Benveniste in 1940 (*Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, série in-quarto*, vol. iii, *Textes Sogdiens*, Paris, Geuthner) there is a shamanistic text (P 3) which describes the various types of "ruin-stones" (*jade*) and their application. The poor "rain-maker" (*jade-kare*) needed an enormous number of utensils for his performance, enough to discourage anyone from taking up his profession. Amongst other duties he had to paint several pictures, one of them on a *kp'etk pr'gnk* = *kapōte pring* "a dark-blue piece of damask" (P 3, 128), another on an *'sm'h'ien kp'etk pr'gnk* "a light-blue piece of damask" (P 3, 146). M. Benveniste, who tentatively suggested "*rideau*", did not recognize our word.

We know next to nothing of Sogdian poetry. But among the unpublished Manichaean Sogdian fragments there are 𑖦 least two which seem to contain poems written 𑖦 that language; both are unfortunately difficult to read and understand. The contents of M 137<sup>u</sup> are described 𑖦 its caption as a *zulp'zyk* = song-hymn; its last lines are:—

<i>spytty pryg nywōn'</i>	Garment of white damask,
<i>šygy nptyk 't šaty'</i>	God's book in the hands,
<i>'šryy z'r wštyy kwerδ'k</i>	Three thousand woven jackets,
<i>pnct'r zwynk'h oo</i>	Five thousand <i>zwinkas</i> ,
<i>zyrnyc šwy 't šaty'</i>	Golden pen in the hands.
<i>n'ktyc</i> [end of fragment]	Silver . . . .

The translation admittedly does not make much sense. But the passage is valuable for at least two of its words. Firstly, *zwynk'h*, evidently a kind of garment or fabric. This is surely the same as the ثوب زونكى "suit of \**zwink'i*",

an item among the presents<sup>1</sup> sent to Maḥmūd of Ghazna by the ruler of Khitay (in about A.D. 1024), according to Šaraf az-zamān Tāhīr Marwazī, ed. V. Minorsky (text 8<sup>15</sup>, transl. 20, comm. 79); Professor Minorsky suspects that the curious word is Chinese by origin. Secondly, *spytyy pring* "white damask", so exactly the *speta-priglo* of the Niya documents. In all Sogdian passages *pring* is qualified by an adjective denoting a colour, a fact which corroborates Lüders' definition of its meaning as monochrome damask.

In Manichaean Middle Persian *pring* has been noticed only once, in M727\*V, a hymn fragment which is given here in full:—

- 1 *ryrn'n qyyā'n u hmx'g'n o myl'(d)*
- 2 *pymyy pring u pring'n o n'tyān 'yq zayn u*
- 3 *srud 'y ā'dyā o shyngy 'y xwd b'w*
- 4 *'ud byyst'n o 'ud p'rg d'ān 'ud*
- 5 *pdyst'wg'n ny pry'dynd pd h'n ruc 'y*
- 6 *wdng oo phygyrb 'y pydr qnygru[ān]*
- 7 *k'n 'y xwd pry'dyd pd h'n ruc ['y]*

- 1 . . . the accursed dogmas and teachers; mantle<sup>2</sup> and
- 2 suit, monochrome and polychrome damask; pleasures of women
- 3 and songs of joy; the wonderful sights of vineyard<sup>3</sup>
- 4 and garden; bribes, presents and
- 5 promises<sup>4</sup>:—they do not help on that Day of

<sup>1</sup> The 𐭪𐭥𐭥 (ibid.) is perhaps Sogdian \**ālurkī(k)*, from *ālurō(w)l'rō* "needle". Hence, Sogd. \**ālurkī(k)* = Pers. *ālurkī* = Niya *aj'ānkīra* (see above, p. 146, n. 1), or more exactly = Pers. *ālurkī* which occurs, e.g., in the *Divān-i Alīšir* by Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd-i Qānī Yazdī, p. 201 (ed. Istanbul, A.H. 1303). [Professor Bailey kindly reminds me of Turkish *ālürü*, *ilürü* and *zengim*, *zengim*, both for kinds of "brocade", see *Türkische Turfantexte*, vi, p. 170.]

<sup>2</sup> *myl'(d)*? Reading uncertain. Provisionally I translate as if this were one of the words which from time to time have been connected with *mylōwā*, viz. Mand. *myl'*, Syr. *myl'*, *myl'*. Arab. *myl* on the one hand, and Syr. *myl'hā*, Aram. *myl'* on the other.

<sup>3</sup> Or "garden", etc.; *bāw* from *bāy*.

<sup>4</sup> BSOZ, ix, 96. Restores *pyāw*[w] also in *Mir.Mas.*, iii, p. 351 (a 54).

6 Distress. The Image of the Father, the Maiden of Light,<sup>1</sup>

7 she who alone helps on that Day [of Distress . . . ]  
Here we find *pring* joined by *prug'n* = *parnagān* which provides the genuine Middle Persian form of Persian *parnigān* "multi-coloured damask". Horn<sup>2</sup> derived the Persian from a pretended Middle Pers. *\*parnikān*; he allowed himself to be deceived by the Pahlavi spelling which he analysed as *PLYK'N* while in truth it is meant to be read as *PLNYD'N*, inverse spelling of *parniyān*.<sup>3</sup> The Pahlavi word is thus not different from the Persian. Horn, of course, could not refer to the Man. MPers. word; but he might have known the Arabic loan-word بركان *barnakān* (Jawāliqī, *Mu'arrab*, 24, 29, ed. Sachau), or the Jewish פֶּרְנִיקָן *parnagān* in the Esther Targum (5<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>10</sup>), see Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter in klassischen Arabisch*, p. 74. Fleischer apud J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wb.*, vol. iv, p. 220, proposed reading פֶּרְנִיקָן instead, and referred to Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. Talm. et Rabb.* (Basel, 1639), col. 1820, where this spelling was given. But Buxtorf himself gave פֶּרְנִיקָן (thus very correctly pointed) in col. 2383, and this is undoubtedly the proper reading. The Targum text is דִּיא יִרְמִיָּהּ פֶּרְנִיקָן טַבָּח, Buxtorf *est sericum Parnaginum optimum*, "it is best (multi-coloured) damask silk."<sup>4</sup>

In Persian *pring* has suffered three changes. Firstly, a brief vowel, either *i* or *a*, was inserted between *g* and *r*. Secondly, the final *-ng* was replaced by *-nd*. Thirdly, the main vowel was changed to *-a-*. The standard Persian form, *parand*, occurs already in Pahlavi where we have *parand ud parniyān*

<sup>1</sup> "Maiden of Light" here = *Lichtgestalt*, cf. Polotsky, *Le Mardian*, xlv, 270 sq. C. R. C. Allberry, *Mesopotamian*, 86<sup>2</sup>-4, 81<sup>1</sup>-2, 84<sup>1</sup>-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Grundriss Iran. Phil.*, i, 3, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *OrBd.*, 118<sup>1</sup>, *d'ispiclayd'a* = *dār-i parniyān* = Pers. *dār-i parniyān* "braided wood" (for *-pich*, cf. Jewish Pers. *dār-i paray'a*, Bacher, *Hebr.-Pers. Wb.*, p. 22 of Hebrew text, No. 237).

<sup>4</sup> Chinese patterned silk has been found in Palmyra in tombs as early as the second or third century A.D., see O. Maeneken-Helfen, *The Art Bulletin*, December, 1943, vol. xxv, 355 sqq. (with full references).

combined in *Šnā.*, iv, 4, p. 86, in Tavadia's edition<sup>1</sup>; in the MS. K 20 the last letter of *parand* is here marked as -d (fol. 63<sup>v</sup>14). It also is found even in the Talmud where, as already Buxtorf saw (*loc. cit.*), *קָרָא קָרָא* *kērā parandā* "damask silk" replaces the Targumic *kērā parnagūn*; but the words *parandā* and *parnagūn* are naturally not identical.

The change of final -*ug* to -*nd* is common enough in Persian, although it is not mentioned in any historical grammar of that language. The following examples may suffice:—

1. Pers. *aurand* "throne, glory, etc." from Pers. *aurang*.<sup>2</sup>
2. Pers. *kuland* "pickaxe" from Pers. *kulang*.
3. Pers. *dīrand* "world, time" in a verse by Rūdākī, *čun to bas dīd u būnad īn dīrand* "this world has seen many like you and will see still more" (Asadi, ed. Horn, p. 30; S. Nafisi, *Aḥwāl va Af'ār-i . . . Rūdākī*, vol. iii, Tehran, 1319, p. 1035).<sup>3</sup> From Pahl. *dērang* "(the) long (period of the present world)", in *Zarwān-i dērang-zwādāi*. Even in Pahlavi MSS. the word is often pointed *dērand*. In the new edition

<sup>1</sup> B. M. Dhabher, *The Persian Riyāz*, Bombay, 1932, p. 30, erroneously translates as "a girdle of silk". I take this opportunity to correct the reading of *Šnā.*, iv, 6, where Tavadia, p. 87, gives *garmanak-i* 2-104, against the MSS. both of which have *garmand*. Read *garmandak* = Syr. *garmanq*, *garmandak* "costly duplicate" P. Smith 692, Brockelmann, *Lez. Syr.* 134, Nöldeke, *Hand. Gramm.*, 49, n.3. Arab. *garmandaqah* "a sleeveless woollen vest" (*Mu'arrab*, 76, and Sachau's notes, p. 38) is possibly the same word (differently Eronkel, *Arab. Proverbia*, 269). *garmandak* = *garbandak* < *garbandak*? Cf. Arm. *garbandak*, etc., Pers. *garbān* (Kohut, *Kritische Beleuchtung der Persischen Peridisch-Übersetzung*, 56 sq.), the etymon of Skt. *garbāṇa* which P. Thieme, *ZDMG*, 91, 81 sqq., discussed.


<sup>2</sup> Parthian *bra(ny)* has been compared, but it means neither "splendour" (Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1936, I, 104 sq.), nor "chastity" as I had translated, misled by the apparent Syriac equivalent *akpēt* = *akāpāthā* (l'ignom, *Comptes de Khonabir*, 129<sup>10</sup> = 130<sup>21</sup>; Dumont, *Recherches*, I, 35). This is almost certainly a copyist's mistake for *lygnat* = *akāpāthā* "arduous"; it corresponds to Sogd. *lynye*, Uyyar *lyrunmaq*, and the Chinese words *apud* Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Daym.*, 490 sq. (II 165<sup>1</sup>, 170<sup>2</sup>, 174<sup>2</sup>). Hence, Parthian *abrupp* = eagerness, avidity.

<sup>3</sup> *dīrand-dād*, in another verse, is certainly a wrong reading, in the place of *faryand-dād* (see Nafisi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1030, 1153 sq.), or rather *faryand-dāt*. The error may be due to the proximity of the articles *dīrand* and *faryand* (= *falyand*) in Asadi's dictionary, at any rate in the MS. published by Horn.



of Asadi's dictionary by A. Iqbal (Tehran, 1319) there is even a verse by Rūdakī for *dirand* = *dirāz* "long" (p. 101).

4. Pers. *āvand* "a line on which grapes are hung to dry" from Pers. *āvang* (both forms are well attested) from \**āving*, from the root of *āvistan* "to hang", cf. *āvingān* "hanging", etc.

The last-quoted example shares with *parand* the change of -ing > -and. The derivation of *parand* from *paring* is put beyond doubt by the fact that the latter form still occurs occasionally in Persian.  is registered by the author of the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* who gives *pirang* as pronunciation<sup>1</sup> and "a damascened sword" (see below) as meaning; but he quotes no passage. However, I find that the rare form was used by Jamāl al-Quraṣī = *as-Surāḥ minā 's-Sihāḥ*, his abridged Persian translation of al-Jauharī's Arabic dictionary, for example s.v. *firind*. The author who lived in Kāshghar in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably used a local form. As regards the main vowel of the word, Firdausi still pronounced it as *p(a)rind* (*parind*); he rhymed it with *hind*, e.g. *Šāhnāme* 7, 759; 15, 4079 (= ed. Vullers, i, 171, 759; iii, 1729, 4087). But his contemporary 'Unṣurī said *parand* (e.g. Asadi, ed. Horn, p. 31), and so did Nāṣir-i Khoarau (*Dīwān*, 143, 14). The Arabs who borrowed the word preserved the older pronunciation; they have it as *birind* (*Mu'arrab* 28) or, more commonly, *firind* (*ibid.*, 60, 111), cf. Siddiqi, *loc. cit.*, 23, 71.

The meaning of the Persian word is sometimes wrongly given as "plain silk". This misunderstanding arose from the frequent juxtaposition of *parand* and *parniyān*; as the latter was known to mean "figured silk", the inference was drawn that the former should be "non-figured = plain silk". In truth both words mean "figured silk" in Persian (as in the other languages), the difference lying merely in the

<sup>1</sup> Better *paring* or *piring*. Not to be confused with the word for "brass".

colours of the fabrics they describe. Cf., e.g., this famous verse by Farrukh:—

*čun parand-i bīdgūn<sup>1</sup> bar rūi pūšad maryzār  
parniyān-i haft-rang andar sar ārad kūhān<sup>2</sup>*

which E. G. Browne translated<sup>3</sup>:—

Since the meadow hides its face in satin shot with greens and blues

And the mountains wrap their brows in silken veils of seven hues.

The fine tracing of fresh meadow-grass is compared with the light lines woven into damask, which is here said to have the "colour of (the young leaves of the) willow" (if *bīdgūn* in the proper reading); *parand* is monochrome, *parniyān* polychrome, here as always.

Further proof is provided by the development of the meaning of the word in Persian and Arabic which can be understood only if it meant "damask". For *parand*/*firind* is commonly used also of the "damask" of a sword, see, e.g., the elaborate description given by al-Berūnī in the *Kutāb al-jamāhīr fī (ma'rifa) al-jawāhīr*, cf. Zeki Validi, *ZDMG.*, 90, 26 ff. (the text is now available apud Zeki Validi Togan, *Birūnī's Picture of the World* [Mem. Arch. Survey of India, vol. 53], p. 102; *firind* and also *ifrind*). Finally, the word is misapplied as "a blade of damasked steel": with poets it often means little more than "a good sword".

One hesitates to propose an etymology for a word of this type as its home language is not easily established. Possibly *pring* belonged originally to the language of the Sogdians who played such a prominent part in the overland trade between China and the West, with their settlements all along the road which not unsuitably has been named the "silk-route". One could imagine an Old Iranian \**upa-riṅga-*

<sup>1</sup> *Vulga nilgūn*; the rarer word apud Asadi, ed. Horn, 31 and 97, ed. Iqbāl, 92 and 370.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīrān*, ed. 'Alī-'Abdū'r Raṣṣī, Tehran, 1311, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Čahār maṣṣileh*, transl., p. 42.

(with the word *ringa* occurring in Av. *Haptō.iringa-*), which would mean "marked, lined, figured" or the like, and which certainly would become *pring* in Sogdian.

### III. Tomb

*q̄h̄q̄h̄ dāh̄ gerezman* "grave, tomb" is a frequent word in Armenian. It occurs in the earliest (fifth century A.D.) documents of that language—e.g. the "(whited) sepulchres" of *Matthew 23*<sup>2</sup> are *gerezman* in the Armenian version—and is still used nowadays, cf. Artashes Abeghian, *Neuarmenische Grammatik*, 1936, p. 232:—*gerezman* = *Grab*, *gerezmanatun* = *Friedhof*, *Kirchhof*. It has often been suspected of Iranian origin, but the only Iranian etymology ever proposed, a derivation from Parthian Persian *garzmān* "heaven", has been rejected by Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, i, 127, for the very best of reasons. For that Iranian word (Av. *garō damāna*, *garō amāna*, Pāzand *garōdmān*, Sogdian *yardman*, Parthian *gardmān*, Manich. Middle Persian *garādmān*, etc.) which in any case has interior -s-, not -z- (Parthian Persian *garzmān* being a late and corrupt spelling), means nothing but "the highest heaven, the Throne of God", or loosely "heaven, paradise". While a word for "tomb" may come to mean "the underworld", "the Beyond", conceivably even "paradise" (although one hesitates to admit this), the reverse development, paradise → tomb, is well-nigh unthinkable.<sup>4</sup>

Far from Armenia, on the eastern fringe of the area penetrated by Iranian culture, there is another interesting word for "tomb" in Mongolian, *ᠮᠣᠩᠭᠣᠯ ᠲᠤᠮᠤ* *solburyan* = "sepulchre, tomb pyramid for the relics of deified persons";

<sup>4</sup> Marr, *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Akad. Obsh.*, 1890, vol. v, 319, n. 3, ably but unconvincingly defended the derivation from *garōdamāna*. He quoted Hebrew *tsōd*; but whatever may have been the original meaning of the Hebrew, it certainly was not "paradise". He suggested an intentional depreciation of the word by Christians; but there is no other trace of such a process (which would be parallel to the way in which the *Deus Exterminatus* became demons) in Armenian. In any event, the interior -z- is the stumbling-block.

as Buddhist term, *suburyan* is the equivalent of Skt. *stūpa*, i.e. a mound or tower or pyramid or dome in which relics of the Buddha are preserved. It is found already in Uyghur Turkish where in the handiads with either *sin* "tomb, grave" (see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, i, 58; ii, 53; Bang-Gabain-Rachmati, *Türkische Turfanlexie*, vi, p. 128, line 290 var.), or *sitavan* = Skt. *śīṭavana*, *ṣi-* (*Uigurica*, iii, 19<sup>o</sup>, 21<sup>o</sup>) ■ is "burial-place" in general. By itself it is met with in a Manichaean story (LeCoq, *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 6<sup>2</sup>, spelt *supury'n* in Man. script, = either *supuryan* or *suburyan*) which tells of a prince who being intoxicated spent a night in a tomb: he mistook it for his own house. It is clear from the story that a *suburyan* was a sepulchral monument raised above the ground, not, e.g., a subterranean vault. The word was still current among the Turks of Transoxania in the eleventh century; Maḥmūd al-Kāsyarī registered it in his *Divān luyāt it-Turk*, i, 425 (where سبرغان is misprinted as سبرغان) and explained it as *an-nā'ūs wa-maqābir ul-kafarah* "a non-Muslim sepulchre," the burial-places of the heathen". See also Brockelmann, *Mittelürk. Wortschatz*, p. 184.

MM. Chavannes and Pelliot, at the end of their careful discussion of the Turco-Mongol word (*Traité Manichéen*, 131-2 [107-8]), suggested that it might be a loan-word from Iranian, and M. Gauthiot supported them with an etymology, \**spur-xān* "demeure de perfection". This explanation, although ingenious, is not perfect; for *suburyan* has -y-, but *xān(ak)* "house"<sup>2</sup> has -x-; further, \**spur*, properly *uspurr* (in Sogdian *spurn* → *apun*), means "perfect" but not "perfection" so that we should have to assume a type of compound that is rather rare in Middle Iranian. But the main objection

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Alt's Qipša's Jānuf*, p. 52; Aptullah Battal, *İbn-i Mükennad Lüğati*, Istanbul, 1934, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Arb. *nā'ūs* (nā'ūs) has often this meaning, see Dozy s.v., cf. also Syr. *nawā* = cemetery, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* 421. One is tempted to render it with "*stūpa*" here.

<sup>3</sup> In passing we note that Sogd. *k'ā'ik* "hut" should be read *k'ā'ik* = Persian *kā'ik*.

is against the proposed semantic development: *demeure de perfection*, or rather "perfect-house", does not seem to me to be a satisfactory term for a "tomb".

Thus we have two words, Arm. *gerezman* and Turk.-Mong. *subryan*, both = "tomb", both suspected of Iranian origin but never compared with each other. So far no corresponding form has been found in any Iranian language. However, a suitable word is at hand in Persian where we have *mary(a)zan* and *marz(a)yan* "sepulchre, cemetery". The second spelling is established by a pun upon (-bar) *zayan* "vulture" (or "kite")<sup>1</sup> in a verse ascribed to 'Unṣurī, the poet-laureate of Maḥmūd of Ghazna<sup>2</sup>:—

*har-ke-rā rūhbar zayan bāšad*  
*manzil-i ū be-marzayan bāšad*

i.e. "whoever takes a vulture as his guide, his lodging will be in the cemetery" (Asadi, p. 105, 𐬑𐬀. Horn, p. 362, 𐬑𐬀. Iqbal). The other form, *mary(a)zan*, invariably evokes a play on *maryzār*. Imāmī-i Haravī, a poet of the thirteenth century, said:—

*ān jihāndār-i ke gošt andar nūbard*  
*maryzār az zaḡm-i tiyās mary(a)zan*

i.e. "that great king through whose sword-blows, in the course of the battle, the plain has turned into a graveyard" (*Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*). Šams-i Fakhri (fourteenth century) produced this not very original verse:—

*kūhi ke bar muxālif-i dargāh-i xākūn*  
*az kīne maryzār kunad hamku mary(a)zan*

i.e. "the king who in his wrath against the antagonists of his court turns the plain into a cemetery" (p. 108, ed. Salemann). *Mary(a)zan* (*Farhang-i Rušīdī*) is better than *marz(a)yan* (*F.-i Jahāngīrī*) in a verse by Sanā'ī (first half of twelfth

<sup>1</sup> From *zyan*, from *zyak*, see *BSOS.*, x, 97, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> S. Nafisi, *loc. cit.*, p. 1104, No. 801, attributes it to Rūdaki, apparently on the authority of Surūri. One would rather trust Asadi whose work preceded that of Surūri by several centuries and was one of the most important sources of Surūri's dictionary.

century) who may have been the first to play on *maryzār*:—

*hič nandāš ke āxir<sup>1</sup> čun burād anšām-i kār*

*maryzār āyad fazā-yi fi'l-i* ۞ ۞ *mary(a)zan*

۞. "are you not worried at ۞ by the thought how<sup>2</sup> your *finis* will be? Whether the retribution of your deeds will be the Meadow (of Paradise) or the Tomb (of Hell)?" It was from this verse, I presume, that some clever lexicographer inferred that *mary(a)zan* should have had the meaning of *āšt* "fire"; by that word ۞ evidently meant "the infernal fire". His successors interpreted his *āšt* and boldly asserted that *mary(a)zan* meant (1) Hell, (2) a brazier, (3) cemetery. This set of meanings is as baseless as the wrong spelling *marzayān* which is paraded in the dictionaries. The older lexicographers know only of *marz(a)yān*, *mary(a)zān* = *gūristān* "cemetery".

A variant of *mary(a)zan* is the form used in Parsee Persian, *maryīzan*, from \**maryāzan* < \**maryozan*. It is employed for the famous mausoleum of Khosrau Anosherwan, see B. N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats*, 586 (with references). J. Darmesteter, *Études Iraniques*, ii, 132 sq., proposed an etymology (from \**mary* "death" + Pahl. 't'n<sup>3</sup> "darma-" = Old Pers. "apadāna"<sup>4</sup>) which, although brilliant at the time, cannot seriously be entertained now. An etymology should be based on the correct Persian form, not on a corrupt spelling.

A major obstacle to the intended comparison of *geretman*, *marzyan*, and *suburyan* appears to be the initial group of sounds of the Turco-Mongol word, but there is no real difficulty. The first vowel of *suburyan* is obviously intrusive (this was assumed also by M. Gauthiot); the vowels of all three words seem to be altogether of no account, excepting the stable -i- of the final syllable. Initial *s-* in a foreign word in Turkish can

<sup>1</sup> Var. *ke āš xrad*.

<sup>2</sup> Or. whether in the end, when the final accounting will be, the retribution, etc.

<sup>3</sup> On this word see now *BSOAS.*, xi, 479.

<sup>4</sup> See these *Transactions*, 1944, 110, n. 1.

represent original *z-* or *z-*. As Turkish did not possess initial *z-*, that sound was regularly replaced by *s-*. This is so well established that there is no need to quote examples; but we may take this opportunity of mentioning a hitherto unrecognized Sogdian loan-word in Turkish, viz. Turk. *سندواچ* *sanduca* "nightingale" (see Kāšyān, i, 435; iii, 134 = *'andaṭib*; Ibn Muḥannā, 176 = *ḥazār*) from Sogdian *zntw'ch* ('*mry*') = *zandw'ch* "singing (bird)", but also "nightingale" as similar Sogdian loan-words in Persian (*zand-wāf*, etc., see BSOS., x, 104 sq.) prove. Thus *suburyan* may represent an earlier *\*zburyan*. Its initial *zb-* can perhaps be explained as the outcome of an original *zm-*. Such groups of consonants are often subject to changes, especially when a word is adapted to an alien tongue. A good parallel for this particular change in a loan-word is provided by the Arabic for "emerald", *zabarjad* from *zmargad*. The whole structure of *zmargad* closely resembles that of \*Sogdian *\*zmuryan* or *\*zmaryan* which, I think, we are entitled to claim was the original word that the Turkish tongue transformed into *suburyan*.<sup>1</sup>

Thus there was an Iranian word for "tomb" or "sepulchre" which consisted of a final syllable *-an* preceded by the four consonants *r*, *m*, *z*, and *γ* (Arm. *g* = Iran. *g* and *γ*) which were interspersed with some odd vowels and occurred in variable sequence; the liberal metatheses were due no doubt to the character of the consonants as continuants. Neglecting the vowels we have:—

- \*Median *γrzm-an* → Armenian *gerezman*
- \*Sogdian *zmry-an* → Turkish *suburyan*
- Persian *mryz-an* → *marzayan*
- Persian *mryz-an* → *mary(a)zan*, *maryūzan*.

This is as far as matters can be carried with safety. As we have no means of deciding which order of the consonants

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Kāšgharī's *šarmaz/šarmuz* "sorte de coupe" (recently discussed by Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxvii, 1944, 101) from *šarduz*. Professor Bailey reminds me of Hinovsky's derivation of Turk. *ismar-la* from *špār*, JRAS., 1942, 184. Note the presence of *-r-* and a sibilant in these words.



was the original one, there is not much point in inventing etymologies. E.g., one could think of Av. \**zamaršana-* "dug in the ground", on the model of Av. *zamargūz-* "hiding underground" on the one hand, and of Av. *avakana-* "hollow, cave" or *hankana*<sup>1</sup> on the other; but unfortunately the word for "tomb" seems to have had an interior OIr. -g-. The only known Old Iranian word which apparently has all required sounds is OPers. *m(a)rgazana*, the name of a month; but this is merely restored from the Elamite transliteration *markazanaš*, and hence somewhat uncertain; "sepulchral" is in any case not convincing as name of a month.

One would like to know what kind of tomb it was that was designated by our word. The fact that it was borrowed by other nations suggests that the tomb in question was of a type current in Iran, but certainly not an ordinary "grave". The nearly total oblivion into which the term fell in its home country and in particular the silence on it of the Avesta (which surely contains more than enough references to funeral rites) point to a mode of burial of which the Magian priests disapproved and which they suppressed together with the word for it. In view of the passages discussed in this article and considering the archaeological evidence as presented by E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, 31 sqq., one is inclined to think that the word was originally employed for the type of grave-chamber raised above the ground whose most magnificent example is the famous tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae.

<sup>1</sup> But this is possibly not an Iranian word at all. Av. *hankana* would become *hangana* in MPers., and this occurs in Man. MPers., T 16 = M 1005, 21 (no context), *hang 'ud hyy*, evidently = "basin and pail". This *hangana* cannot easily be separated from Hebrew *qayda*, Syr. *qaydā*, Ar. *infānā*, *ifānā*, etc., from Akk. *qanānu*, cf. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* 2a (where references, also to Artn. *qanān*). The SS. passage, in the Ardvi Sur Yasht (from about 400 a.c.), *hankānē gūti qigān zomā* "in a *hankana* of this earth" reminds one of Talmudic *qaynā d'arā* "hankanas of the earth" (so to say), cf. Huxtorf 23 "formae propriae rotundae quae sunt quasi *qaynān* ceterae rotundi, scribit R. David", see further J. Levy, *Neuhab. Chald. Wb.*, I, 21 sq. Thus *hankana* may be the Akkadian/Aramaic word, slightly transformed by popular etymology.



## Two Manichean Magical Texts with an Excursus on The Parthian ending *-ēndēh*.

(PLATES I AND II)

IT is surprising that the Manichean religion did not become altogether submerged in the slime of witchcraft and sorcery. There were countless demons to be warded off and nearly as many divine and semi-divine beings that could be invoked. Mani, it is true, had regarded the "gods" as hardly more than exponents of particular functions of the Godhead, and had been conscious of the inadequacy of the anthropomorphic terms he had ill-advisedly employed: *the resplendent hosts, he said in his Treasure of Life, will be called young women and virgins, fathers and mothers, sons, brothers and sisters, because such is the custom in the books of the prophets. In the country of joy there is neither male nor female . . . they do not differ from each other in weakness and force, in length and shortness, in figure and looks; they are like similar lamps which are lighted by the same lamp and nourished by the same material* (Beruni, *India*, transl., i, 39). But in the minds of his adherents, who were not theologians, the shadowy "emanations" were bound to take on the character of gods that could scarcely be distinguished from the gods of polytheists. The Manichean custom of "translating" even the names of gods, no doubt meant to ease the work of missionaries by giving a misleading tinge of familiarity to the strange new religion, made matters worse. The introduction of divinities whose names the translators light-heartedly used, had in its train the import of beliefs with which they were associated in the local cults. They tended to bring their friends and attendants with them. Such an additament to an already overgrown pantheon was, for example, the Iranian First Physician *Frōdōn*, the *Grātsān* of the Avesta, whose name is as common in Manichean prayers and incantations as in Zoroastrian amulets (see e.g. J. J. Modi, *Charms or Amulets for some diseases of the eye*, Bombay, 1894).

The influence of local religions upon the later Manichæism is hardly noticeable in theological works, except in a few rare instances. To trace it we have to turn to more popular productions, such as prayers that are on the verge of being incantations, or magical texts in the proper sense. Of the latter there are quite a few among the Iranian material, but none have been published so far. The two specimens given below exhibit some curious points; they would have shocked the founder of the Manichean Church.

### I. Middle Persian Spells (Plate I)

M 781. Fairly well preserved two-leaved folio, first lines missing. Largish, clear handwriting. The fragment contains two texts, which are not connected with each other. The first (i) is a spell against fever, remarkable chiefly for

the appearance of the griffin *Paškuē*. The second (ii) is to give protection against the evil spirits of a house; the description of the protecting genius is not unlike that of the "spirit of fever" in (8).

(i R) (1) mhr'spnd[ 'n ] (2) rwān'n j'yd'n x[rw'd oo] (*Three lines left blank*)  
 (3) 'pswn 'y th 'wd w[ ] 'y (4) [ . . . ] 'wd xwnyhyd 'ydr' 'wā (5) [s]h phygyrb  
 'at 'wā (6) (p)r c'wn pōqwe 'wd 'ndr (7) [ . . . ] (d)g mēdyol 'wd 'ndr mēgurg  
 (8) [ 'y m]rdwām'n 'wd xwnyhyd th (9) [ . . . ] z]yhyd pō 'b (10) [ . . . ] 'wd  
 'dwrystē (11) [ . . . ] 'yd'wn

(i V) (12) [ . . . ] ny āwyd 'wn (13) [ . . . . . ] 'y 'w'hm'n 'y (14) [ 'w'hm ] ('n  
 pwa 'wxyh'd 'wd (15) [wny] hw'd pō n'm 'y xwd'wvn (16) [y]šw' 'ry'n'n pō  
 n'm 'yā (17) [p]ydr bwrzyō pō n'm 'y w'xā (18) ywjdhr pō n'm 'y hody[šyān]  
 (19) nxwšyyn pō n'm 'y 'yl (20) ywjdhr pō n'm 'y bwbw. (21) pō n'm 'y mwašyyn  
 'y 'yryc[ 'n f] (22) mryx'yl 'wā ref'yl [wd] (23) gbr'yl pō n'm [ . . . ] (24) 'wd  
 wayxwr p[ . . . ] (25) cšw[ 'wd ]

(ii R) (26) h[ 'm]g [ . . . ] (27) prydān nyr'm'd [ . . . ] (28) 'wā sh phyq[yrh] (29) 'wd  
 prwdg 'y 'dwryn [ndr] (30) 'yā'd hynō [wd th(r) [ 'y ] (31) [y] 'wd wāwh'g  
 pō dā(t) (32) d'rym 'wā sf'yr 'wd (33) [oyl]n 'y hawd 'y 'mā' (34) [ 'y p'k  
 pyr'mwā 'wh'yyl (35) 'wā 'spāwn 'yg gwy'n u (36) 'wāyā 'y prydān [ . . . ]  
 (37) 'b'g 'at 'wd hft'yl'n (38) 'stf pō' (wd) 'yn pō dā (39) [uryk[ō] [ . . . ] pō  
 wārg (40) [ . . . ] 'stf' 'n

(ii V) (41) [wysp' 'n] (42) j'yg qdg 'wd (43) [wysp' 'n r'z'n 'y qdg 'wd (44) [wys]p'n  
 w'd'n bzg'n 'y (45) [q]dg wyap'n xymyn 'pr'n [m] 'y qdg zū'n 'wā'n nyspōrd  
 (47) 'yrp'y'n bag'n 'wā kw zyyu (48) ny 'st'n'nō 'wd pōlyrg nō'n ny[ (49)  
 'yāt'dā 'wā'n rwān [pr'n] (50) 'wd 'br xwys 'apyzys (51) 'bz'y'n 'wā'zwr  
 'pr'n (52) 'wd 'br xwys zwr 'bz'y'n (53) 'wd 'wys'n p'n'g mrg 'y (54) w'ny  
 (55) oy qdg

#### Translation

(i R) . . . the elements . . . the light ones. May he live for ever. [*End of a text.*]  
 Spell against Fever and the Spirit of [Fever?]. It is called [Idrā]. It has three  
 forms and wings like a griffin. It settles in the . . . and in the basin (?) of men.  
 (Then) it is called Fever. . . . It is born in water . . . and ashes . . . thus, . . .

(i V) . . . [if the spirit of fever] does not go [of its own accord], then it shall  
 come out [of the body] of NN, son of NN, and vanish in the name of the Lord  
 Jesus the Friend, in the name of his Father the Highest, in the name of the  
 Holy Ghost, in the name of the First Reflexion, in the name of Holy El, in  
 the name of Baubo (?), in the name of Mānin the son of Eriū (?), (in the name  
 of) Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, in the name of . . . the glutton, [in the name  
 of] Sabaoth and . . .

(ii R) . . . Frēdōn shall throw down . . . all. Three forms are in me, and a belly (?)  
 of fire. In my hands I hold a sharp and stirring hatchet. I am girt with whetted  
 sword and dagger of pure adamant, and have with me the whip of speech  
 and hearing of the angels. . . . The seven fingers (of) hard steel that I have  
 grasped with my hand . . . in great . . . the hard ones . . .

(ii V) . . . the . . . of the house, the occult things of the house, all the

evil spirits of the house, all the wrathful "robbers" of the house: I shall enslave them and their downtrodden underfoot slaves so that they will not take up arms and stand against me. I shall take away their light and add it to my brightness, I shall take away their strength and add it to my own. Death that strikes . . . is watching for them! (1) . . .

## Notes

(3) *w'd* rather = spirit (as in line 44) than "wind-(illness)".

(4) *'pdr* may be the name of the spell or the fever or its "spirit". The ruling proclaims it to be a foreign word. May one think of 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥? The absence of the aspirate is against it. One is perhaps too easily tempted to explain unknown words as loanwords. In *Mir.Man.*, i, p. 183, line 4, I pretended<sup>1</sup> that *'hura* was 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥; now I see that it is merely = Pahl. *'hrs* "pregnant" (Av. *apadra*, Pers. *ābis-tan*,<sup>2</sup> etc.).

(5) *pāque* = griffin. Whether merely the spirit's wings, or ~~the~~ having three "forms" as well as his wings are here compared with the *pāque*, is by no means clear from the wording. In the former case the author ought to have said *'w'd pr a'ten pr 'y pāque* "and its wings are like the wings of P.", in the latter *'w'd pr* in the place of *'w'd pr*. In the construction of their comparisons, similes, and parables the Manichean authors are notoriously lax. Our author's negligence makes it impossible to determine from our text, taken by itself, whether the *pāque* was an animal noteworthy merely for the shape of its wings, or an extraordinary winged creature possessed of several "forms". The second alternative recommends itself, in view of the character of the text and the other forms of the word quoted below. Having several "forms" (*pāhikish*) means being a composite monster of the type of the winged bull, the griffin, etc. The Manicheans boasted a King of Darkness who was even *παραπρωπος* (*parapros* = *pāhikish*): he had a lion's head, an eagle's wings, a dragon's belly, demons' feet, and a fish's tail, cf. Polotsky, *Pauly-Wisdom*, Suppl. vi, 250. That the *Pāque* = *Pāhik* was a griffin or a monster like a griffin, is attested by a series of words in other languages. The words are throughout extremely rare: we have one example in Man. ~~in~~ Pers. and Parthian, one in Pahlavi, one in the Babylonian Talmud, two in Armenian, one in Syriac, two in Ossetic, and several in Georgian. The Caucasian words have been the subject of a long paper by N. Ya. Marr, *Ossedica-Japhetica*, i, *Φαγονί-ι ορετίνκις ακαζοκ ι γαφητεζεκίγ τερμιν φασκονδ* "mog", "c'estnik", "c'estaya pica" (*Izv. Ross. Ak. Nauk*, 1918, 2069-2100); with an addendum, *ibid.*, 2307-2310), who did not know of the other forms: the meaning "Magian", etc., attributed to the word by Marr has no basis in fact: it is founded merely on "Japhetite" speculations. The archaeological evidence

<sup>1</sup> *pyrat* (*-dya*), *ibid.*, line 2, is *frete*, corruption of Av. *crasftra*. There is much to be said for deriving *hik*, *modar* from the same word. Restore *pyrat* 'y *zayy* in M482 + 7.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Man. ~~in~~ Pers. (M II and *Mir.Man.*, vi). But Parthian *byra* (once in *Mir.Man.*, iii) is presumably "delay, respite", = Sogdian (*'patah* (see S.T., ii; cf. possibly also Av. *apastanemā* *USOB*, ii, 689).

has been collected by M. V. Trover in a book, *Sinnur-Pasku* (Izd. Ermitaž, 1937), which I have been unable to obtain, and in an article in the *Trudi Otdela Vostoka* (of the Ermitaž), vol. iii, 1940, 167 sqq., which I have seen. Mme. Trover describes the monster as "the winged dog (*krilataya sobaka*) of the Ossetic epic" and quotes the word as *Ossetic pasku*, *paskundzi*; such forms are not found in the Ossetic material available here. She wants to add a Ukrainian beast *Paskuda* to the series; of this I cannot judge, her book not being accessible; one would require convincing proof of its being unconnected with the ordinary Russian appellative *paskuda* "monstrosity". The following forms of the word can be regarded as certain:

(1) Talm. מַשְׁכָּרֵם = *maškarim*, *Bišši lašši* fol. 29b, with a variant מַשְׁכָּרֵם, one wonders whether the word was *maškarim* originally. It is traditionally explained as a *femur*-*rucc*: what it really means is evident from the context. In 1689 Buxtorf translated (ed. 1863): *cidi hhy' 'gruq' idam rimum* [11] *quae erat tam magnae ut* [12] *idem* [13] *pagus Bagaroniae. Pagus hic quum magnus erat! serpente continebat domos. Venit serpens et deglutivit rimum* [mispr. *rimum*]. 'i' *pasku* 'id' b' l-tay' *venit corvus et deglutivit serpentem et consolid in arbore quadam. Vide quantum fuerit robur istius achoris...* The gigantic dragon-eating *corvus* is a griffin.

(2) Man. MPers. *pakuc* = *Paskūc*.

(3) Pahlavi *lākur* = *laskūc*. In *Pahl. Rec.*, 229, it is said that the Spirit of the Orōn will fight with certain demons, "ninety-nine times will it fight as fiercely as *tau' lākur*." As the text stands, this would mean "as the bull (TAVK) *lākur*" or "as bull and *lākur*": one would think of a "winged bull". However, *tau'* may be a *tau*-word misspelt. Should we not read "*tayn'* (a) *lākur*"... as *fiercely as dragon and griffin*? Unfortunately, *tayn'* = *taimāni*, *tau'*, is not hitherto known as a Pahlavi word; it could be either loanword or ideogram (for *āzdašāg*?). Professor Bailey, to whom I submitted this reading, suggested that *tayn'* would be a suitable reading also in *DkM.*, 816<sup>21</sup>, a passage he discussed in *Zw.Padd.*, 29 sq.; *kaipin zivrezh 'taimāni* (pr. *tyu'*) *kerb būd* "the *zivrezh* of the Kays took the form of a dragon".

(4) Armenian *paskuc* translates *γρῦς* in *Zer.*, II, 13 (Marr 2083). In the Armenian Geography the *paskuc-har* "bird *Paskuc*" (in the Whistons' edition, p. 306<sup>22</sup>) is among the strange animals of India (Marr, 2084 sq.). Marr discussed the explanations given by dictionaries ("a bestial bird, which is called *korē*", p. 2083, n. 3), in which a Middle Armenian spelling *pasquē* is registered (p. 2087); in an unpublished meshchal dictionary it is glossed by "home-swallow" ("ossifrage").<sup>1</sup> p. 2087, n. 2.

(5) Georgian *p'askunji*, var. *p'ask'ufi* translates *γρῦς* in *Dend.*, II, 13 (Marr, 2083). In late medieval versions of the *Shahname* *p'askunji* renders Pers. *sinuri* (Marr, 2085 sq.). According to Orbelian the *p'askunji* is "in body like a lion, his head, beak, wings, and feet are like those of an eagle;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pers. *karūdi* (1) a mythical bird, (2) = Pers. *asazān-xān* "ossifrage (naprey)". The confusion is ultimately due to the use made of *γρῦς* in the Septuagint.

is downy; some of them are four-legged, some two-legged; he carries off elephants, hurts horses; there is also another kind, which is quite like an eagle, but very big" (Marr, 2063). Orbelian has also *paškunji* (with the non-aspirate *p*), Marr, 2307, n. 1. In a modern fairy-tale *p'askunji* occurs (Marr, 2087). There is also a popular dialect-form *p'askund* or even *p'askund* (Marr, 2088). All these are evidently corrupt forms. The old and classical spelling is *p'askunji* alone.—The following two are loanwords from Georgian:—

(5a) Svanetic *pašguf* in a folk-tale, from *p'unguf* by metathesis (Marr, 2082).

(5b) Ossetic *paškunzi*, a winged creature with seven heads, in Miller's *Osetinskie Epyki*, I, 64-8, 126. In an Ossetic tale recorded merely in Russian the same beast is called *Paskundi*, *ibid.*, I, 116, 161 n. 15 (Marr, 2079 sup.). The latter, which obviously comes from vulgar Georgian *p'askund*, is not recorded in the Ossetic-Russian-German dictionary in 1907, only *paškunzi*. Marr explains the absence of *paškunzi* as due to the influence of a language of the type of Mingrelian (p. 2006). [Professor Bailey kindly informs me that in an Ossetic book in his possession, *Iron Adāman Šafādund, fāndzām činlg*, 1911, p. 204, he has found a one-page story entitled *Daredzan's Ambran and Paškundz* "A. of the Daredzan family and P." (cf. Miller *loc. cit.*), which thus provides a third Ossetic form of the word.]

There are thus only four chief forms: *paškunzi* (\**paškunzi* ?), *paškui* (with *baškui*), *paškui*, and *p'askunji*. Armenian and Georgian may have come from Middle Iranian \**paškun* [?], but *-i* is stranger. The Armenian may have come from Iranian or vice versa; *-i* can be *-e*, in either direction. Perhaps an Akkadian word?

(7) *dy* or *ly*. Before the final letters some weak traces can be seen. They exclude the restoration of *prdy* (line 29), which may belong to *prid* "below". *ndy*, instead of *nāgy*, is found only here; in Parthian we have *ndy*: beside *nāgy*. Whether *matgy* does in fact mean "brain" or "skull" (*matgyr-ny* from Av. *matryān* Pahl. *matyrg*), is open to some doubt; it was proposed in *BSOAS*, IX, 86, on the strength of one passage. However, the Parthian homograph is clearly "intoxicating" (*matgarag* = Sogd. *matk'r'k*) in the only passage on record, M 11, 8, *arwyr pyl 'at' spt' r'lyt' bryg, bdyg matgy tyng* "First, meat and smell of decay; second, intoxicating drinks". In Man. MPers. *matgy* (*matgar*) occurs once, M 246 V 11, [*j*]m . . . 'y *matgy* "inebriating . . . cup", and there is a doubtful reading (*m*)*matgy* in M 654, 17 (no context). Thus one could translate as "it settles in . . . and in men's intoxicating (drinks)". [Restore [δ']*dy* "must" ?]

(18) *halyghyān arastgy*. In Gnostic parlance the "First Reflexion" (ἐνθόμνησις) would be the *Zōōla*: in Manichaeism it should be the First Man. As a matter of fact, the First Man is named *Raisonnement antérieur* in the

<sup>1</sup> In MPers. = thirsty, but in Parthian = drink (cf. Sophtian et al. "drink" beside *ch*. "thirst").



Chinese *Traité*;<sup>1</sup> see Chavannes-Pelliot, p. 23 [309], n. 3. Unfortunately, the Chinese term 先意 does not precisely correspond to the Middle Persian *handēšm māneštēn*; the usual rendering of *handēšm* in the lists of the five "limbs of the soul" leads one to expect 先思. However, in view of the wider application of the term ἐνθύμησις in Manichaean (ἐνθ. of Life, ἐνθ. of Death; *andēšmān* *šwandaḡān*; *warēnē* *imān*; *āwandig* *ayēnē*; Polotsky, *Mani-fund*, 78 sqq.; *BBR.*, 91), it will be better to regard the Chinese as a "terminologically inexact" translation; for that in our text the First Man is meant, should not be doubted.—Thus we need not involve ourselves too deeply in the intricacies of the so-called "macro-microcosmic correspondences" with which the Manichaean authors have caused us so much delight. But it should be pointed out that *hndykyēn* could be used as a substitute for the name of the *Glorious Rex*, MPers. *Wātahrāmyzd*. For *hndykyēn* is the fourth of the five "limbs of the soul", and the *Glorious Rex* is the fourth of the five Sons of the Living Spirit: the two series "correspond" to each other. We find it sometimes stated that not the "limbs of the soul" but the "Five Gifts" were so engaged (*Waldschmidt-Lents, Stellung Jesu*, 15, cf. my remarks in *OLZ.*, 1934, col. 5, n. 2; Polotsky, *Le Miroir*, xlv, 305), but this is an error induced by the Chinese *Traité*, 52 [545] sqq., where, however, the "Gifts" are merely said to symbolize the Sons of the Living Spirit (cf. below the note on line 43). We will admit that this error may already have been present in the mind of the man to whom we owe the *schönbuchdachte dogmatische Werk*, see Polotsky's just remarks in *Mani-fund*, 77 (first lines). The true facts—if these mental aberrations can be described as facts—are plain from what Theodor Herz (Qonai) says: *L'Esprit Vivant... s'est sorti de son intelligence l'Ornement de Splendeur... de sa réflexion le Roi de gloire et de sa volonté le Porteur* (Cumont, *Rech. Man.*, i, 32).<sup>2</sup> The relation between the two series is one of full identity in the *Kephalaia*, see Ch. xxiii, especially p. 93, 9/10, "the great King of Glory who is the great ἐνθύμησις". That it must be ascribed to Mani himself is proved by the occurrence of the term *Pm'ngyn yzd* in the fragment M 98, which there appears once as the name of Athra, see *OLZ.*, 1934, 751-2. *Pm'ngyn yzd* is the god of *purmānug* = λογισμός, cf. *Kephalaia*, 91, 31, "the Ἀποδόρος who is λογισμός".

(20) *bicbē*: the last letter cannot be read with certainty, but may be *wātr*. Hence *bicbētrē*? The Greek Βαυθδ is hardly worth considering.

(21) *mumygn* 'y 'yryc[ ut 'ydyr[. The restoration of 'yryc[n], i.e. the patronymic of Šrēc, is merely tentative; a descendant of Frēdōn would be suitable here, but Šrēc (Šraf) died sonless (Manūčehr is sometimes said to have been his son). Or should we mention a finite verb, 'yryc[yd] or 'yryc[ynd], and regard *mumygn* as a loanword (with strange ending) from Syr. *maumāthā* (pl. also *maumyāthā*), Talm. *māmī* "oath, exorcism"? Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, i, 1603, quotes the stat. abs. pl. *kl mumyn* "every kind of oath". Hence,

<sup>1</sup> So also in the Chin. Hymn-roll 124c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chavannes-Pelliot, 34 [520], n. 1.





ensures the meaning "to be light, bright, radiant". On the other hand 'spyz- occurs as "to sprout, blossom, be verdant", and in this sense is spelt *spe-* in the Pahlavi Psalter, which indicates (*š*)*spiz-* or (*š*)*spē-*. Thus (*sp*)*ē*'[?] (so proposed ZH., III, 213<sup>27</sup>) = Syr. *šp'pō*, Is. 131<sup>28</sup>, "but upon himself shall his crown flourish," and the causative *spc'n* = Syr. *špnāh*, Is. 131<sup>29</sup>, "there will I make the horn of David to bud."<sup>3</sup> That one verb should comprise such a set of meanings is by no means surprising: it is sufficient here to refer to the above-mentioned Syr. '*p*' "effloruit, luxuriavit, splenduit" and to Persian *sar-i sah*<sup>3</sup> from MPers. *saḥ* "resplendent, showy" (cf. MPers. *sr* *b'myāw*, Kāwān A 74). As *spe-/spyz-* = (*š*)*spē-* can mean "to be verdant", should one not connect with it Persian *sabz* "green, fresh, in full bloom", *mlz* *tudan* "sprout, shoot, germinate" (etc.)? Although there are difficulties,<sup>3</sup> this etymology of *sabz* may seem better than the one proposed by Morgenstierne, EYP., 66; NTS., I, 66. To come to the origin of '*spyz-/spyz-*' itself, the obvious etymon is the Iranian base *spyz* (*sparg*) "to sprout, blossom". The past participle \**spyxta-* would become *spixt* in early Middle Persian; for the rule is that *-s-* becomes brief vowel + *r* before a simple consonant, but *r* + brief vowel (generally *-i-*) before two consonants. As a word may not begin with three consonants, irrespective of a prothetic vowel,<sup>4</sup> *spixt* was necessarily shortened and became *spizt*; but where it was preceded by a preverb, no change took place, cf. Parth. *špyspyxt* (or Saka *špyspyga* as against *špdlai*). The present stem, \**spyfyā-*, would develop in the same manner, *spyfy-* > *spify-* > *spiz-* > (*š*)*spiz-*. We have to call in the help of analogy to explain the noun '*spyz*', *spyz* (Pahl. *spyz*, inverse spelling), i.e. (*š*)*spiz* < \**spiz* < \**spyz* (which should have become \**sparg*). Nyberg, *Texte cum mss.*, Kal., 77 sq., has a different etymology.

## II. A Parthian Amulet (Plate II)

T. 10 (M 1202). Upper half of a book-leaf, badly preserved; writing slightly faded, here and there obliterated. A Parthian amulet (*zācar*) whose chief content was a Manichaean Yaksa catalogue. Each hour was ruled by a Yaksa who occupied a certain country and had so-and-so many thousand sons who ate this or that food. Of the twenty-four sections what must have gone to make up

<sup>1</sup> For Pahl. forms see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, III, 311; X, 620; Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, 106, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Misunderstood and misapplied as "erect" in Persian.

<sup>3</sup> Pers. *-s-* from MPers. *-s-* is common and occurs even in monosyllables (see "red" from *rim-*). Metathesis as in *yāw* "cane" from *yāw*, *šah* "leaf" from *šah*. Words in *-s-* are rare. *dabz/gabz* "thick" are equally dubious; if *dabz* is correct, it could be from *dabz* (Nuchemson-Guillemain, *BSOS.*, III, 564) and help to prove the case for *sabz*. *šabz* (šah, with a *š*-form base) "humble-bee" has original *-bz-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, V, 45 sq. — *sabz* occurs as "green" even in Pahlavi books, e.g. *špdl.*, 140, I, *spz* (in the next line repeated as *spyz*), *Pahl. Ric.*, 202, 6 *spz* (not "brilliant" as do Henneaux, *Asiatique*, xxvii-21, 183 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> '*spyz*', etc., has original *-s-*. '*spz*' is from *sparymā-*. Latin *strula* becomes *strul* in Pahlavi, see Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, 305; *Zor. Probl.*, 115. *šahz* becomes *š'gh*, see *BSOS.*, III, 311. The only exception, Parth. '*šygn*' = *šparymāga*, is deceptive. It was no doubt pronounced as *šahz*igōga.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Khwar *šparyfik* "to blossom" (with secondary nasalization), cf. Morgenstierne *BSOS.*, VIII, 662.

the catalogue originally only five are preserved; owing to gaps in the MS. only four names each of Yakṣas and countries are available. The countries mentioned are in North-Western India. Our fragment is closely related to a type of Northern Buddhist literature of which the *Mahāmāyūri* and the *Candragarbha-sūtra* are the best known specimens. The Yakṣa catalogue of the *Mahāmāyūri* was brilliantly commented on by Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, i, 19-158; to the same scholar we owe a survey of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, *BEFEO.*, v, 1905, 253-305. None of the Buddhist texts, as far as I can see, offers a five-fold series such as we find in the Manichean fragment, hour: yakṣa: country: number: a food. In the *Mahāmāyūri* it is merely yakṣas: countries. In the *Candragarbha*, ch. xvi (pp. 262-6) it is countries: protectors (incl. yakṣas). In ch. xviii (pp. 268-281), we have nakṣatras: countries, the nakṣatras, arranged in twenty-five groups, being parallel to the twenty-four hours of the Manichean text. In ch. xix there is first a list of twenty-five *carṇas* which is found, with variations, also in the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra*, where they are put in relation with countries (pp. 281 sq.). It is followed by an enumeration of countries: numbers (of *lieux de Bouddha*), the countries being (on the whole) the same as in ch. xvii (pp. 281-5). Similarly we have in the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra*, ch. xxii (p. 303), a short list of countries with chief Nāgarājas, who are accompanied by thousands of Nāgarājas, e.g. "dans le royaume de Tchen-tan [China], 8 Nāgarāja San-kin avec dix-huit mille Nāgarājas". The Buddhist material thus attests at least a four-fold relation, nakṣatras: yakṣas: countries: numbers.

In employing such seemingly meaningless enumerations as charms or parts of charms, the Manichaeans again imitated the Buddhists. Thus the *Mahāmāyūri*, the "Great Peacock formula", = *sur des cinq grandes formules que le bouddhisme du Nord groupe sous l'appellation collective de Pañca-rakṣā* "la Quintuple protection" . . . ne doit son importance qu'à sa valeur magique. Il consiste essentiellement dans une série de formules en alébanabrah . . . est donc par excellence une formule de protection contre les serpents. Its catalogue of yakṣas is merely a minor item, within endless lists of divine beings whose aid is invoked to assure the efficacy of its central formula (*J.A.*, 1915, i, 19-22). Unfortunately that part of the text that made the transition from the introductory sentences to the yakṣa-formula is missing in the Manichean fragment.

The *Candragarbha-sūtra* was translated into Chinese in A.D. 506, the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* in 592 (loc. cit., 261). The first part of the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra*, to which the passage from ch. xxii quoted above belongs, was translated between 413 and 421 (ibid., p. 303). Of the *Mahāmāyūri* the oldest Chinese version that included the yakṣa-catalogue is of A.D. 516; the first incomplete translation, lacking the catalogue, is from between A.D. 317 and 322 (p. 26); the Bower MS., which belongs to the second half of the fourth century, contained parts of the book. S. Lévi assumes that the *Mahāmāyūri* catalogue remonte aux trois ou quatre premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne. Altogether one can perhaps say that the chief period of interest in this kind of literature was

the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; it is to that time that one would assign also the Manichaean text.

The Manichæans of Chinese Turkestan did not, as a rule, use the Parthian language as their medium; in the rare cases they did so use it, they betray themselves by lack of idiom, monotony of syntax, poverty of vocabulary, and patent mistakes (for details see Ghitaiu, *Langue Parthe*, 28-30). In the language of our fragment is intact, its composition must be ascribed to a period when and an area where Parthian was the living language of the Manichæan communities. The area in question is either Parthia itself or the countries bordering immediately on Parthia in the east, where the influence of the Parthian language was strong, and where the Manichæan religion had been spread by Parthian missionaries. We know now that Mani's Apostle of the East, Mār Amnō, went beyond Marv into the former Kusān dominions and reached districts near Balkh, possibly even Balkh itself (see my paper "Waruēān-Sāh", *Journal of the Greater India Society*, xi, 85-90<sup>1</sup>). This Mār Amnō, who was destined to become the founder of Eastern Manichæism, made Parthian the official language of the Eastern Church. It maintained this status until, in consequence of the spread of Manichæism still further east, it was replaced by Sogdian in Transoxiana probably under Mār Šāh-Ormīz (second half of the sixth century); but in the Parthian home provinces as well as Marv and Balkh Parthian no doubt continued to be used. Of the history of the Manichæan church in Marv and Balkh we know little; that it had strong communities for several centuries is beyond doubt. In the second quarter of the seventh century, Hsüen-tsang reported that Manichæism was the religion *par excellence* of Persia (*Mémoires*, ii, 179, as corrected by Marquart). This means that Manichæism was a very strong religion in those districts of Persia that bordered on Tokharistan; for it was there that Hsüen-tsang received his information on Persia.<sup>2</sup> Even at the beginning of the eighth century a Manichæan archbishop resided in Tokharistan (Chavannes-Pollard, *Revue*, 176 [152] sq.).

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> That is clear from his mentioning *la ralle de Ho-mo* (Homo, n. 189) as the eastern frontier of Iruja. *Ho-mo*, as already Marquart pointed out (Erasm., 75), is a mistake for \**Mo-Ao* (Mandshuk) or *Maryu* (Mare).



Already the oldest Man. Parthian documents, the poems we can now ascribe to Mār Ammō himself (*BSOAS.*, xi, 216, n. 10), contain several Indian (Buddhist) terms (*mar* "death", *rdmyn* "jewels", *mrh* "hell" with *mrhyg* adj., *krn* "action", and *zmbadyg* "world"). In the texts written in the fourth century (see Ghilain, loc. cit., 26 sq.) their number increases gradually. Our fragment, showing closer contact with Buddhists and an interest in the Indo-Iranian borderlands, may have been written in the sixth century, probably in or near Balkh.

- (R) (1) p'd tw n'm p'd t[w] (k)[']m p'd t[w] f(r)[m'n '](w'd) p'd tw z'wr  
 (2) (xw)d'y yvaw mšyh['] o p'd n'm mrym[ny] 'n'jywg yzd'n  
 (3) {f(r)stg} o 'wd p'd n'm cy tw'n (w)'d { wjyd}[g] {'}st'w'dg  
 (4) 'frydg k(y) wyg'n(m) ('')w hrwyn dyw'n 'wd z'wr[n t'ry](g)[o] p'd n'm  
 (5) {m}(y)b'yl x'yl rwt'yl 'wd gbr'yl {  
 (6) [ . . . ] qftynws<sup>1</sup> 'wd brymws fryt[t]g  
 (7) [n]m 'oyl 'wd ddyt<sup>2</sup> 'bryl ngydyl<sup>3</sup> 'w(d) (r)fy[ . . . . .]  
 (8) {'}(w) 'dm'h hrwyn dyw'n yxs'n pryg[']n {d}(r)[w]j'n r(x)[xs'n {]  
 (9) {'}(w)adya'n t'ryg'n 'wd w'd'n hzg'n (o) hrwyn z'dg'n {t'ryg}  
 (10) 'wd) { b'n'yg (h)ra 'wd 'h'z' (d)rd 'wd yw(b)hr . . . . .  
 (11) 'wd) {z}(r)w'n 'e prw'n z'wr 'stf 'wd ax[wn . . . . .]  
 (12) {n} 'ym mrdwm ky pdmw(x)[t](g) d'ryd o wryx[ayd . . . . .]  
 (13) [ . . . . ] 'wd 'bn'ayd 'spwbyd 'zyh[<sup>4</sup>]yl o (y)d[  
 (14) [ . . . . ] 'w dwr (w)[y'](g)  
 (15) [ . . . ]myl
- (V) (16) hz'r (p)w(h)z'u . . . ] {'}h'r 'xwrynd [oo pa]jwm jm'n 'e  
 (17) rwe yxs p'd[xs']hyd byā p'r(n) (n)m o 'w pws(k)wr<sup>5</sup> {pr}xyz[yd o]  
 (18) 'ws {s}t pwh'r'n wryt[ hz'rsw(r)yn 'h'r 'xwrynd [oo]  
 (19) dhw[m jm'n 'e] rwe yxs p'dxs'hyd qwetr n'm [o]  
 (20) [w . . . . .] prxyzd o 'w'st pajwyst hz'[r]  
 (21) [pwh'r'n . . . .] 'h'r 'xwrynd-oo hftwm jm'n 'e  
 (22) [rwe yxs p'd[xs']hyd nrg'n n'm 'w cynyxl'[n]  
 (23) [prxyzd] {ws} ('s)t pwh'r'n hāt'd hz'r mygdyy[n]  
 (24) {'}h'r 'xwrynd oo (h)twm jm'n 'e rwe yxs  
 (25) [pdxs'hyd] nrg(')[n {] n'm 'w qāpyx [prxyzd o (')]w6  
 (26) {st . . . . .} hz'r pwh'r'n 'sprh(m)yn 'h'r { 'xwrynd  
 (27) [oo uhwm] jm'n 'e rwe yxs p'dxs'hyd [ . . . . .]  
 (28) [ . . . . . ]myl n'm 'w d(jr)tbwhr<sup>7</sup> {1} p{xyzd  
 (29) [w'st pwh'r'n . . . . . hz'r]r dyftyn 'h'r  
 (30) [ 'xwrynd oo dwm jm'n 'e rwe yxs] pdxs'hyd]

<sup>1</sup> Or *qftynws*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *ryt*.

<sup>3</sup> Or *ngyrl*, possibly *rweo ngyrl*.

<sup>4</sup> Or *psdwr*?

<sup>5</sup> Or *diljlschr*? Or *r-?*



## Translation

(R) . . . in your name, by your will, at your command, and through your power, Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of Mar Mani the Saviour, the apostle of the gods, and in the name of your Holy, praised, blessed Spirit, who smites all demons and powers of darkness. In the name of Michael, Sara'el, Raphael, and Gabriel . . . of Qastinus and Bar-Sinūs the angel . . . in the name of An-el, Dad-el, Abar-el, Nūd-el, and Raf-el (who will smite) all you demons, yaksa, paris, drufs, rākṣasas, idols of darkness, and spirits of evil. All ye sons of darkness and night, fear and terror, pain and sickness, . . . and all ages: from before the firm Power and Word . . . away from this man, who wears it: flee ye, . . . vanish, take flight, pass away until . . . to a far place . . .

(V) . . . [he has] . . . thousand sons; they eat food of . . .

The fifth hour, of the day: a Yaksa, *Hā-pīrn* by name, rules it. He occupies *Paikaur*. He has twenty thousand sons. They eat food of salt.

The sixth hour, of the day: a Yaksa, *Kuāts* (?) by name, rules it. He occupies [ ]. He has twenty-five thousand sons. They eat food of . . .

The seventh hour, of the day: a Yaksa, *Naragān* by name, rules it. He occupies *China*. He has eighty thousand sons. They eat food of fruit.

The eighth hour, of the day: a Yaksa, *Naragān* [?] by name, rules it. He occupies *Kashmīr*. He has . . . thousand sons. They eat food of flowers.

The ninth hour, of the day: a Yaksa, . . . *mīl* by name, rules it. He occupies *Diartabur*. He has . . . thousand sons. They eat food of milk.

## Notes

(3) Cf. *hw'n* . . . *wd' rjplq*, *Mir. Mun.*, iii, 863, 9 (cf. p. 912 n.), where *hw'n* refers to the Father of Light. In our passage it may belong to Jesus (cf. line 1) or to the Father.

(6/7) Qastinus, etc., see Müller, *HR.*, ii, 15, 48, 55-9. Cf. also M 196 *mrwn arwn astypw y'qwb 'wl g'kyms 'ryndw u 'hrypwl' spt 'wd braym'w (hw)l'n'n apw'n* "the valiant shepherds", and the hymn published in *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1912, 56.

(8) The Parthian equivalent of Av. *druf*, Man. MPers. *drucā*, does not seem to occur elsewhere. There is not enough space for [d](r)[ucā]n.

(8) *rā* or *rx*. There is a hole over the *k* *x* where there would have been the point that transforms *k* into *x*: the letter itself is damaged, but nevertheless quite certain. A class of demons whose name begins with *rā* or *rx* is not mentioned anywhere else in Manichaean literature. In view of the pre-occupation with Indian matters that distinguishes our fragment, *rākṣasa* would be appropriate. Parthian borrowed *yaksa* as *yazā*,<sup>1</sup> *lāhik* as *bixā*, *mākā* as *māzā*, and *śakṣipada* as *carābed*, so *rākṣas* should turn up as *\*razās* (the first vowel would necessarily be shortened in Parthian) or even *razāz*.

<sup>1</sup> Apart from Khotanese Saka, it is only in Parthian that Skt. *-ks* is rendered by *-xā*; for Segal, *s'pā* (Bailey, *HSOAS.*, xi, 771) does not exist (see ibid., 719), and Man. Sogd. *axpā* (whence Uigur and Mongol) comes from Parthian.

cf. Saka *raṅgaya*, but Ugar *r'hā'a*, *Uig.* i, 44<sup>22</sup> (see Bailey, *BSOAS.* xi, 771 sqq., for further forms).

(9) *uzdēs* "idol" is loanword from Middle Persian (Parth. \**adya*, cf. MPers. *'adyāh*; Parth. *'adyh*).

(10) *'ar'a* = Pers. *hīrūs*, cf. *'ar's'da*, Ghilain, *Langue Parthe*, 75.

(11) *z'wr* is the key-word to the whole text. Its value cannot be appreciated until one has found the correct reading of *pdwrtg* in the next line; it eluded me for a long time. *Who demons are to flee* "from before" the "firm" *z'wr* — power, away from this man who wears it, viz. the *z'wr*. The *z'wr* thus is the amulet itself, and *z'wrt* "word" is the text of the amulet. This reminds one of the use of *δύναμις* as "magically potent substance or object", see Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie s.v., ii 5, and cf. A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 46, n. 1.

(12) *'hō'w* is transitive elsewhere, see Ghilain, loc. cit., 69. *'spuk*, not otherwise noticed, belongs to *'spā*, *BSOS.* IX, 81.<sup>3</sup> The transitive verb, *'spw-* "to frighten", also occurs. The *h* in *'spuk* is etymological, cf. *wzshg* from *wsh*, Ghilain, loc. cit., 67. The gap in *'zgh*, *yd* may be deceptive; the paper is broken and may not have been put together properly. The derivation given for *gd* "until" in *BSOS.* IX, 89, is unsatisfactory. One should pose *\*yātō* and compare OPers. *yātō*, which Salemann (*GrtPhl.* i, 1, 318) justly connected with Pers. *āt*. The syntactical value of *yātō* is precisely that of *tā*. That Pers. *tā* has lost its initial syllable is shown by Man. MPers. *dā*, from which it cannot be separated in any case. The Pahlavi form was *tā*, not *\*tāk*; the occasional confusion with the word for "piece" occurred after *tāk* "piece" had become *tā*; to those who persist in writing *tāk* we recommend *kak* for *ka* "when", *nak* for *na* "that" not "etc.", etc. (*Frah. Pahl.*, xxv, 2, 7). The Pazendists knew *dā* beside *tā*, see *Frah. Pahl.*, xxv, n. 14; this may account for the second half of Paz. *andā*.

(13) *byā p'rā* = *Byā p'rā* must be *Vīśvāpān*, who leads a shadowy existence in Northern Buddhism as the fifth of the "Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas"; he is due to create the next world, the world of Maitreya. As his colleague *Vajrapānī* appears frequently as a *yakṣa*, cf. Konow, *Asia Orientalis*, viii, 311-17, there is no reason why *Vīśvāpān* should not play such a homely role too. In the Candragarbha-sūtra the yakṣa of *Paruṣapata* is *Manipuspa*, that of *Gāndhāra* is *Simbaloma* (!). *Paruṣapata* is not mentioned in the *Mahāmāyāri* catalogue, where *Gāndhāra* occurs twice, in 32 (yakṣa is *Pramadana*), and in 72, where the yakṣa's name seems to be *Vaṅkṣita*; it has been connected with Av. *Vaṅkṣita* by S. Lévi, *J.A.*, 1925, i, 67-9; cf. Bailey, *BSOAS.* X, 917, n. 1. The discovery that *Vaṅkṣita* is *Gāndhāra* (which I take for proved) is of the greatest importance for the list of countries in Vendidad, ch. 1. It encourages me to propose a new explanation for *Varasa*, which in the Vendidad precedes *hapta handu*: should it not be = Skt. *Varuṇa*, the "Aopros" of Alexander, the

<sup>1</sup> Parth. *'akd* *akd* is evidently "thorn" = Sogd. *'akr* "thorn" *SCE.*, 46, also Man. *akd* (1080 V4). This meaning fits Av. *zāhiti* better than any other.

modern Buner? See Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, i, 71-3. In the *Mahāmāyūrī* catalogue *Varana* (30) stands shortly before *Gūndhūra*. The usual identification of *Varana* with *Gēlān* (cf. Christensen, *Premier Chapitre du Vendidad*, 1943, 49 sqq.) is ill-founded; for the Pahlavi version has no authority whatsoever in matters of historical geography, and the derivation of *Gēl* from *varana-* is weak (1. *varna-* > \**gē-* against Pers. *zarr*, etc.; 2. \**gē-* < *zē* hardly anywhere in the West; 3. and all this by the time of Pompey, see Strabo, *ib.*, 5, 1, p. 503).

(17) *paikter*. At first sight one would perhaps read *paikter*; but what seems to be a -r- point, proves on closer inspection to be merely a smudge; it stands a little lower than the -z- point should. The form *paikter* is thus as good as assured. *Paiṣṭker*, which may represent *Paiṣṭneur* or *Paiṣṭ*, is almost certainly an old form of the name of Peshawar (*Purūṣapura*). I asked Dr. L. D. Barnett how one could best explain the relation of pseudo-Sanskrit *Purūṣapura* to *Paiṣṭneur* or *Paiṣṭ* (and *Paiṣṭneur*, see below). He very obligingly suggested that the original form of the name was Skt. \**Puṣpa*(ka)-*pura*, whence in local Prakrit arose \**Puṣa*(ka)-*p*, or \**Pōsa*(ka)-*p* (for sporadic change of *ā* to *ō* see Pischel, § 125); presence or absence of suffixed -*ka*- creates a little difficulty in Indian as in Iranian; \**Puṣyaka*- is perhaps an abbreviation of a compound name such as *Puṣya-mūṛa* or *Puṣya-datta* and the name *Puṣaka* occurs twice in the lists of donors at Sanchi (*R.I.*, vol. ii, pp. 104, 397). In popular etymology \**puṣya-* was confused with \**poṣa-*—\**poṣa*—*pōsa* derived from Skt. *puṣya* or Pkt. *puṣa* through intermediary *puṣa* or *puṣa*, and hence arose the form *Purūṣapura*. To this I should like to add that the Iranians were bound to change foreign \**Puṣyaka* to \**Paiṣṭaka*, which would later become *Paiṣṭneur* and finally *Paiṣṭ*; it is necessary to assume an older form \**Paiṣṭaka* in order to account for the presence of an original -*k*- beside *β/w* from -*p*-. We can now discuss the only other occurrence of a form of the name with interior -*k*-. In the Parthian and Greek versions, discovered shortly before the war, of the inscription of Šapur I at the Ka'ba-i Zardšt (A.D. 262, see *BSOAS.*, IX, 845), the easternmost limit of the Sasanian state and at the same time the "Kušān country" (*kūšān kštr*; i.e. that part of the former Kušān state which the first Sasanians had conquered) is described as *Paiṣṭer* — (ἐμπροσθεν) Παῖστος<sup>1</sup>. The passage runs like this, "and all the upper countries: Kermān, Sakastān, Tūyṛān and Makurān, Pāratān<sup>2</sup> and Hindostān (*hmdstn*, Gr. *Ἰνδία*; = *Sind*), and the Kušān country up to *Paiṣṭer*". The Parthian version of the inscription is now accessible in a good photograph, published at the end of M. Sprengling, *Shahpuhr I the Great. On the Kuṣabāh of Zoroaster* = *AJSLL.*, lvii [1940], 4, 341-420. The Greek text is dispersed in little bits and pieces (which are interlaced with odd remarks on anything, from the shape of letters to the political situation) over the eighty pages of

<sup>1</sup> Other terms used to define the eastern limits will be discussed at the end of this note.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. *Παράσην* in Greek. Sprengling (333) wrongly attributes to Marquart the view that the corresponding name in the Pahlavi inscription should be localized in Surāt. On Skt. *Pāratā* see S. Lévi, *J.A.*, 1915, i, 102 sqq., on *Mahāmāyūrī* 66, where *Pāratā* stands beside *Sakastān*, *Pahlava*, and *Kāpih*.

Sprengling's article. It is supplemented by two articles by A. T. Olmstead in *Classical Philology*, xxvii (1912), 3, 241-262; 4, 388-420. Sprengling's editing technique excites no admiration, and his earlier exploits into the field of epigraphy inspire no confidence; cf. also M. N. Tod's critical remarks in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxii, 1913, 111 sq., and see M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iles Gesteas Duri-Saporis and Dura Bergius*, viii, 1913, 17-60. Confirmation must be awaited for the Greek spelling of the name which Sprengling (pp. 354 sq.) correctly referred to Peshawar; Parthian *pāshawar* is certain. It may be of interest here to mention briefly the parallel sentence in which the north-western limits of the Sasanian empire are defined: "Atrapatene (*Ἀτραπενή*), Armenia, Iberia (*Ἰβερία*), Siskian (*Σισκία*; spelt *sgka*),<sup>1</sup> Albania (*Ἀλβανία* ?), *Balāsakān* (*Βαλασακάν*), up to Mount Caucasus and the Gate of the Abans."<sup>2</sup> The last words are read *ἕως τῆς κρήνης τῆς γατρῆς* as *ἕως τῆς κρήνης* by Sprengling. The photograph, however, shows clearly enough: *ἕως τῆς κρήνης* = *ἕως τῆς κρήνης* (= *Kāf kāf ul Alānān bar*); even a non-Semite can recognize the Aramaic words *kāf* "mountain" and *bar* "gate". We note that Sprengling has also not succeeded in restoring the appropriate word for "gate" in the Greek text, which is of course *πύλη*; he has tried hard to find it and proposes "*Alānān* [*parakh* or *paakh* or *pharakh* = *pyramus* or *Meisourus*]"<sup>3</sup>. To return now to the *Pāshawar* passage, after "and the Kusān country up to Peshawar" the Greek text has, according to Sprengling (p. 355), *καὶ τῆς Κασσάνης καὶ Τασκάνης ὁρίων*, the Parthian being *B' H' N' L' k' s' u' g' d' W' s' s' s'*; the first *s* is not clear in the photograph; Sprengling gives *sas(m)* and restores the word for "mountain", whether *sas* should be *sas* or not I cannot say; it cannot be seen in the photograph, and in any case its presence or absence is immaterial for the meaning of the passage. Sprengling has recognized Sogdiana and *Čāc*; for *Kāf* he proposes with a fine display of judgement first *Catch*, then *Kashmir*, then *Kāf*, deciding himself in favour of the last. He takes it for granted that the last Greek word was *ὁρίων*. With this I cannot agree. We should read *καὶ ἕως τῆς Σαδασακῆς καὶ Τασκάνης ὁρίων* = Parthian *ul yad ā Kāf Sajat ul Čāc* (= *astān*) [*seimant*]. The boundary of Kāf was the famous *λίθος πύργος*, whence the traveller reached ἡ Κασία χώρα, Chin, *K'ia-ya*, Sogdian *Kās* (BSOS, IX, 567; *Sogdica*, F, 10), later *Kābyar*; for the western frontier of Kashghar at the time of Shapur see Markwart, *Wehrd*, 68. The boundary of Sogdiana was the Iron Gate. Shapur thus claims to have held at least a part of Transoxiana, in particular the important first stretch of the Silk Route, from Balkh to the Stone Tower. The definition of his eastern possessions, therefore, ends with the words "... *Parātān and Hindustān, and the Kusān country up to Peshawar and up to the limits of Kashghar, Sogdiana, and Tashkend*".

<sup>1</sup> Not understood by Sprengling. Same list as in the Armenian Geography, provinces of *Kusān-Kaploā*, 1-6 (where Siskian follows Balāsakān).

<sup>2</sup> A new sub-sentence begins with *καὶ ἕως*. Not understood by Sprengling.

<sup>3</sup> It occurs several times in the inscription. Sprengling misreads it throughout.

<sup>4</sup> Sprengling's transliteration.

(18) *šwryn* "salt(y)" (not noticed elsewhere). There are forms with *š-* and *s-*, Persian *šūr(-)*, but Bakhtiari *rūr* (Lorimer, p. 69), Gabri of Yazd *sūr* (Lorimer, *JRAS.*, 1916, 437), Baluchi *sūr*, Brahui *sūr*, and last but not least Pahlavi *sūr*. The word is unknown in Old Iranian and seems to be restricted (loanwords from Persian excepted) to the area of Persia and Baluchistan. Could it belong to a substrate language and be connected with Dravidian \**suvar* (Gondi *suvarōr*, GondiM. *suvar* "salt", Tamil, Malayalam *suvar* "salt-ness", quoted by T. Burrow, *BEOAS.* XI, 352)? For the mineral salt Parthian has the common Iranian *na imāhka* (Sogdica, *š.* and *Add.*; *na imāhka* cannot be maintained); as *umydk* it occurs in M 377 R 5. In addition, there is a strange word for "salty" in Parthian, *wl* = *wal*! The Manichaeans had, as of everything else, so also a series of (five) tastes, see Pełotaky, *Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl.* vi, 250\*. A full set does not seem to occur in the Iranian material, but there are three fragmentary series, one in Middle Persian (T i ■ 100, 121 sup.) and two in Parthian (M 183 and M 840), viz.:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
MidPers.	-	-	(dj)n	<i>lypā</i>	<i>thr</i>
Parth. 183	[w]	<i>tryft</i>	—	—	<i>td</i>
Parth. 840	<i>wl</i>	<i>tryft</i>	<i>djn</i>	<i>ty[stg]</i>	—
Keph. 33	<i>solzig</i>	<i>suur</i>	<i>acharf</i>	<i>nuu</i>	<i>litter</i>
			(brenzlich)		

(19-22) *gyetr* (— *Kucchaltra* t) is not known in *roc.* *Nrg'n* = *Naragān*, which occurs in line 25, is also not *šwtr*; *Naravāhena* (Kubera), who is mentioned in the *Čandragarbha* (p. 204 under No. 38), is not close enough. It is not altogether impossible that *Naragān* is an inverse spelling of \**Narāyana*, which could be regarded as a popular or local form of *Nārāyaṇa*<sup>1</sup> (in Sogdian *n'r'y'n*, VJ. and P 8; Saka spellings *apud* Bailey, *BEOAS.*, X, 1909, 914); *ke*, too, is found in the *Čandragarbha* (p. 265 under No. 17). The Middle Ir. ending *-ayān* (earlier *-akān*) became *-ayān* and finally *-iyān*, which then was liable to confusion with *-igān* from *-igān/-ikān*, cf. the case of *parnagān*, *parniyān* (Pahl. "parnikān"). *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 153. In the region of Tokhristan *-igān/-ikān* had become *-iyān* by the middle of the fifth century, see Marquart, *Berānshahr*, 215, and this may be true also of *-agān*. We cannot tell whether names such as *Čayāniyān* represent *Čayān-agān* or *Čayān-igān* (cf. Marquart, loc. cit., 226, n. 3). Some words have both *-agān* and *-igān* originally, e.g. *sāsānagān* in Parthian, *sāsānigān* in MPers.

(22-25) *eynst'n* = *Čenistān* (or *Čīn*) = China, *gtpyr* = *Kakpār* = *Kākinir*. *Kakpār* reflects a Prakrit form with *-tp*<sup>2</sup> and must not be confused with the Iranian and Central Asian form with *-sp* and apparently a brief *-i* (*Kasmeipia*,

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion is supported by the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and *Sāryagarbha-sūtra*, where "la Grande de Nā-la-ya" (i.e. *Nārāyaṇa*) est le lieu saint de la Chine" (*BREFO.* v 282, 2. For details see *BREFO.*, II, 248; *ib.*, 247).

<sup>2</sup> *-p* as in *tydp*, etc., cf. *Sogdica*, 68 and *Add.*

*Kasapatois* Ptolemy; Chin. *Ché-pin* = \**Ka(s)pir*; Khotanese Saka *Kaspār*, *E* xxiv, 5, cf. Kanow, *NTS.*, iii, 300; Tib. *Kasper*, Thomas, *Tib. Texts and Doc.*, i, 193). The form with *-in-* occurs in Iranian only in comparatively late times, e.g. in Pahlavi (*Gr.Bd.*, 197, 199) and Persian (Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 254). The proximity of China to Kashmir in our text would by itself be sufficient proof for its dependence upon an Indian prototype. Originally no doubt the Indian *Cīna* was meant, cf. *Mahāmāyūri* cat. 80 and S. Lévi's remarks, pp. 101, 120. This may also be the explanation of the series *Bro-sa* - Kashmir - *Hyga* (i.e. China)—*Nagarāhara* in a Tibetan text, F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., 261. One and the same yakṣa, it seems, took after *Cīnastān* and *Kāspīr* according to our fragment; in the *Mahāmāyūri* *Pāñcika* dwells in the confines of Kashmir, his eldest son in the lands of *Cīna* (understood as *China* by the translators):

- 77 *Prabhāṅkaraśen Kāśmīre Candakāśa Jajāpura*  
 78 *Pāñcika iti nāmānā tu vasaṭe Kāśmīrasaṅgadhīṇa*  
 79 *pañca putrakāṭā yasya mahāmāyā mahābalāḥ*  
 80 *jyēsthaputraḥ Pāñcikaṇya vasaṭe Cīnabhūmige*

The same *Pāñcika*, who, as Sylvain Lévi pointed out, is mentioned in a Pali story of the conversion of Kashmir, appears as the yakṣa of China in the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (p. 268, No. 55).

(23) *mygdlypi* "consisting of fruit". In M 83, 108, *mygd* "fruit" occurs. Sogdian *myd'kr* (etc.) = *myrōc* "fruit" and MPers. *myw* (*Mir.Man.*, i), Pers. *māc* "fruit" (for which Morjenssterne proposed a different origin, *Acta Orientalia*, i, 272) belong here; MPers. *māc* = \**māc* from \**mabg* (*māg* ?) with metathesis. The Parthian, Sogdian, and Persian words, in conjunction, prove Old Iranian \**mīgda-* (and \**mīgda-*) "fruit"; all of them are collective nouns. This Old Iranian *mīgda-* "fruit" cannot well be separated from the Aramaic and Hebrew *migdā* (etc.) "fruit", words which are often mis-translated because of etymological considerations (√ *mgd* in Arabic and Palmyrene).<sup>1</sup> Syriac *maydā* means nothing but "fruit", and so does Talm. *mygd* (*mgd*), for which Levy, iii, 12, gives *Kostbarkeit, köstliche Frucht*, while the passage he quotes has *b'-sprungy* or *mgdy*, evidently "with flowers" (MPers. *šparkmag*) and fruit". Biblical Hebrew *mgdā*, in *Deut.*, 33<sup>2</sup> sqq., and unquestionably in *Cant.*, 4<sup>12</sup>, 14, 7<sup>14</sup>, means "fruit", both literally and metaphorically ("fruit of heaven", etc.); Brown-Driver-Briggs say "excellence; excellent or choice things: always of gifts of nature . . .".

(24) *prays-*, here translated as "occupy", could also be "protect", see *BSOAS.*, XI, 4, n. 2, where the connection with Av. *haē-* (Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 33) was pointed out.

(25) *djrbchr* or *dārbchr* ? -*r-* and -*jd-* (-*jr-*) can be distinguished only with

<sup>1</sup> It is beyond my province to express an opinion on Hebr. *migdānāḥ* (from √ *mgd* or *mipd* ?). The ultimate provenance of the word for "fruit" (Semitic ? Iranian ? or a third group ?) is not clear to me.



difficulty wherever the writing is slightly faded; here the chances are equal. A point over *d* (changing it to *r*+) may have disappeared. Much depends here on the proper reading. It seems possible that the town (or district) meant here was the *Jafāpura* of the *Mahāmāyūri* catalogue 77 (see above note on 22 𐭪𐭫), which there stands between *Kāsmīra* and *Uṇa*. As, however, a town of that name is known to no other source, its presence would prove a very close relation between the Manichæan fragment and the *Mahāmāyūri*. It is somewhat unfortunate that the reading of the name in the *Mahāmāyūri* is not quite certain; the Chinese versions have *Jafāura* (name of a people mentioned by *Varāhaṇihira*) and *Kaṣāpura*, but these two forms add up to *Jafāpura*, which the Skt. MSS. have in unanimity. S. Lévi (p. 101) thinks that *Jafāpura* could be the "town of the Jats" (*Jāt*, the *Zut* of the Muslims), whose name Candragomin may have given as *Jarta* (REPERO., in, 51). Beruni glosses *Sindhu-Sauvin* by "Multān and جهرور *Jahrūwar* (?) " (*India*, 152<sup>a</sup>, 168<sup>a</sup> transl., i, 300, 302; cf. 130<sup>b</sup> = i, 250), see Liders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, 51 sq., but Marquart, *Erānsahr*, 239, has made it likely that "*jahrūwar*" is the same as جهرور, according to Marquart, *Candrinvar*. If Minorsky is right in deriving the name of the Persian *Zut*, *Lōr*, from that of *Rōr* (*Arōr*), *J. A.*, 1931, i, 281 sqq., the old capital of the *Sauvins*, *Raurika* (*Lohwa*), see Liders, loc. cit., may lay some claim to the designation of *Jafāpura*; the name of the yaka of *Raurika*, *Prabhānikara*, occurs in the line in which *Jafāpura* is mentioned, though not as the name of the genius of *Jafāpura*. Evidently it is impossible, with our present means, to determine the position of this town. The Parthian spelling *djrtbchr* (or *dltbchr*) is easily explained. It must be remembered that the letter we transliterate as *j* has, in Parthian, the value of *z* at the beginning of a word (in MPers. it is *h*). If a foreign *j* was to be reproduced accurately, a combination of two letters had to be used, either *dj* or preferably *dj* + *z* (*djz*). One can compare Parthian *dy*, *dyz*, a fairly frequent variant of *cy* = *cz*, Avestan *pō dō dāf* (*Bartholomae, GrtPhl.*, i, 1, 158), and Mandæan *ḥ* (*Nöldeke, Mand. Gram.*, p. 2 n. 1). Unetymological *h* in the group vowel *i*; *r* has been noticed before, see *J.R.A.S.*, 1942, 239 sqq. on Pers. *siṣhr* and Parth. *zinychr*, to which ManMPers. *whzchr*<sup>1</sup> should perhaps be joined; in the case of *-bchr* the numerous Parthian names in *-bhr* "son" (early pronounced as *-bir*) added to the temptation. Thus *dltbchr* could be *Jatabūr*, while *djrtbchr* = *Jurtalsir* would remind me of Candragomin's *Jarta*; however, it is common knowledge that the Indian linguists were often represented by *r* + dentals (cf. also *hyt p'ru* in our fragment), and so we should regard *djrtbchr* merely as an accurate rendering of *Jafāpura*.

<sup>1</sup> The etymology recently proposed for this word by H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 774, n. 1, would require *-hr* in the MPers. form. The absence of *-h* from all other spellings, even that in the inscription of Bhapur, is against *\*wrti h'ru*. One would also hesitate to regard *hōpdrn wdy'gr* as a loanword (the regular Sogdian form should end in *-ay*).



## Excursus

The Parthian ending *-ēndē(h)*.

In an article "Contribution à l'histoire de la flexion verbale en iranien" (*Le Monde Oriental*, xxxi, 1937 [publ. 1944], 63-86) Professor H. S. Nyberg has returned to a problem to which he had devoted several pages in the introduction to his *Hilfsbuch des Pehlvi* (i, 13-19; 1928): the problem of the two mysterious verb-endings (*x*<sup>1</sup> resembling *BYN*; *x*<sup>2</sup> resembling *Av. q*) that can be added to ideograms in Pahlavi. Professor Nyberg has considerably modified his earlier views, which had come in for a good deal of criticism: but he still maintains his analysis of both *x*<sup>1</sup> and *x*<sup>2</sup> as *𐭠𐭡* (with which I had—ill-advisedly<sup>1</sup>—concurred). He has abandoned his interpretation of the value of *x*<sup>1</sup> as *-ēndēh* and admits that the arguments put forward against the importation into Pahlavi of an optative ending that can justly be described as a distinctive feature of the Parthian language are not without some force; but he declares that, as most Pahlavi books had been written in Northern Persia, in *Ray* and Azerbaijan (p. 83),<sup>2</sup> the Parthian *-ēndēh* might have intruded into Pahlavi occasionally, and he claims to be able to prove that it did so intrude into a page of the *Dinkerd*.<sup>3</sup> As there is little profit in arguing for or against a thesis that a word, form, or ending might or might not have been borrowed by one language from another, I will confine myself to an examination of the single *Dinkerd* passage that in Nyberg's opinion is sufficient to prove his case.

The passage, from the beginning of the seventh book (*DINK.*, VII, 11 sqq.), is about the First Man and Woman. God sends a minor divinity to them to give them some instructions. The messenger does as he is told. His performance is described in the same terms as the order itself, except for the forms of the verbs, which are (according to Nyberg) third persons singular optative in the order, but past participles in the description of its execution. Thus we have two sets of forms, viz.:

3rd sg. opt.	SGYTWY-DS	𐭠𐭡DS	āfrīnēnDS
p.p.	SGYTWY-1 (— <i>raft</i> )	𐭠𐭡	āfrīnēnū
—	<i>se rendre</i>	<i>faire naître</i>	<i>donner la bénédiction</i>

The group of letters that looks like *DS*<sup>4</sup> is to be analysed as *\*dyh* = *\*dēh*. The three optatives, which are to prove the existence of the ending *-ēndēh* in Pahlavi, have to submit to some measure of emendation: *āfrīnēnū* est une haplogogie assez naturelle (ou simple haplographie ?) de *āfrīnēnēndēh* (p. 85), the verbal stem being *āfrīnēn*: it may be censorious to point out that the

<sup>1</sup> For the arguments against his analysis are overwhelmingly strong. No such ending (*𐭠𐭡*) is known in any type of the more ancient Pahlavi material (inscriptions, Dura-Europos, coins, papyri, pumiers, a large part of which antedates our oldest Pahlavi manuscripts by as much as a millennium). Indeed, the letter *𐭠* had fallen into disuse (except in the forenamed ideograms, i.e. word pictures) even before the third century. The *schreibgeschichtliche Analyse* seems to operate in vacuo.

<sup>2</sup> In my view they were written in Southern Persia, in Fars and Kerman.

<sup>3</sup> I am using capital letters here where I want to indicate the shape of the Pahlavi signs without expressing an opinion on their value, but small letters for their value. Thus, *DS* can

element *-en-* of *-endēh* is thus not attested here. In the combination *absurde* *zhkDŠ*, *-k-* est une faute pour *-gn-*, et *-dš* pour *-dyh*; nous obtenons *zhgnāyēh* = *zahēndēh*, which together with its past *ast* should belong to Pera, *zhānān* produire, but is translated *faire naître* as if it were a causative verb; would it be carping to stress that the syllable *-en-* is here, too, not in the text? The third form, \**SGYTWN-dēh*, should, by all rules of Pahlavi grammar, represent \**mudēh*; for *SGYTWN* stands for *raw-* (before vowels) or *rau(-)* (in pause and presumably <sup>1</sup> before consonants). But in view of the other forms Nyberg commands us to read *rau-mudēh* instead. It will be clear already now that the passage is incapable of proving *-endēh* for Pahlavi, simply because this ending does not occur in it; but Nyberg concludes on ne peut donc nier que les formes en *-endēh* se trouvent dans les textes religieux dans la langue officielle du sud-ouest, etc. (p. 86).

The important parts of the Dinkord text are transcribed by Nyberg in this way: *ēn-ē hān-ēh-dēn pānāk kā-ē gušt Ōhrmazd ē kax pūt akraōh apar-artānāk, ēnāk hūt pāzān. kū: kax ē pūt akraōh apar-artānāk apar amēndēh ē Maxyē u Maxyānē<sup>2</sup> u zahēndēh hūn ē avē yōrūk mīn hāt Maxyē u Maxyānē; hūn axiān āfrinēndēh kū . . . sāyūn ahwar<sup>2</sup> pūt apdē-ēstānēh-dēn ē druz.* He translates: "et qui signifie ceci: il est manifeste de par la bonne religion qu'Ōhrmazd dit à un tel qui sort d'une noblesse supérieure en justice, à savoir un des dieux: "Un tel qui est d'une noblesse supérieure en justice se rendra chez Maxyē et chez Maxyānē; il fera naître de Maxyē et de Maxyānē le prêtre fait dieu; il leur donnera la bénédiction en disant . . . [we omit his words which are repeated<sup>3</sup> in the execution of the order] lire deux ahwar afin de repousser les démons mâles et femelles. In the repetition there is a brief additional sentence: *u rāst kax etc. apī-ē zāt etc. apī-hūn dāt apī-ē mēdān āfrinēnūt kū etc. apī-ē arāt ahwar<sup>2</sup> etc. = et un tel . . . se rendit . . . il fit naître . . . et il le leur donna; il leur donna la bénédiction en disant . . . et il lui deux ahwar . . .* With regard to Ōhrmazd's messenger we learn that l'être divin est appelé "un tel", *kax*, et évidemment Ōhrmazd s'adresse à lui à la 3<sup>me</sup> p. (p. 86).

The assurance with which Professor Nyberg presents his theories should not blind us to the fact that his reading and interpretation are equally wrong in all important points. Even the first words are incorrectly translated; they mean "what follows, too, is an Avestan text". That indeed the passage is the Pahlavi version of a lost Avestan text, is manifest from its peculiar syntax and style and has to be kept before our eyes if we want to understand it properly.

The next point which attracts the reader's attention is the peculiar way of

stand for *dh*, *gh*, *yh*, in my view also for *dh*, *gh*, etc. The drawback is that those who are not acquainted with the peculiarities of the Pahlavi script will be prevented from following the discussion. It is outweighed by the precision secured by this mode of writing; the printed Pahlavi type is inadequate for our purposes.

<sup>1</sup> The case does not occur.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta: Afāsi ud Māstān.*

<sup>3</sup> In this case there should be no change at all in the wording; but there is *caus* against *caus*. One of them must be wrong. Nyberg judges differently, p. 86.

referring to God's messenger as "somebody".<sup>1</sup> Any divinity, lessor or least, should be entitled to the courtesy of a name. It is hard to imagine an expression of this type "God said to somebody 'somebody shall go', etc.", especially when it is meant to convey "God said to . . . 'you shall go', etc." However, we need only glance at comparable Avesta passages to understand the construction here, e.g. Vd. ii, 22, *āy aorā ahurō mazdā yimāi: yima sria*, etc. = Pahl. tr. *u-š guft Ōhrmazd ā Yim ku Yim [š] nēvok* = and Ohrmazd said to Yima "oh Yima, beautiful one, etc." The name of the addressed person occurs twice, first as dative (Pahl. *š . . .*), then as vocative, and so it is in our Dinkerd passage too. Verbal forms that occur in *oratio directa* and convey a command to the addressed, may confidently be expected to be 2nd persons, singular or plural, as the case may be. It is true, custom may sometimes admit the use of the 3rd person instead. Thus, in eighteenth century German one could (and did) say to an underling "*Scher' Er-zieh zum Teufel*"; but to the speakers of either Avestan or Pahlavi such a convention was unknown, and in any case Ahura Mazdah would never have talked to anyone in so markedly impolite a fashion. So the verbal forms of the Dinkerd text are 2nd persons singular of the optative, or, as the existence in Pahlavi of a special form for the 2nd sing. opt. is doubtful, of the indicative with the sense of the optative, or of the imperative.

Who then was Ohrmazd's messenger? His name is spelt *HDS*, which Nyberg, interpreting it as 'yh, regards as the ideogram for *kas* "somebody". The correct reading is *hul* = *Hadit*, who is a minor divinity entrusted with the care of the homestead.<sup>2</sup> He is rarely mentioned in the Zoroastrian scriptures, so rarely indeed that in the Dinkerd passage a glossator found it advisable to warn the reader against the misreading *kas* by adding *fray az yadān* "one of the divinities"; but his name should be familiar to all students of the Zoroastrian religion since the time when J. Darmesteter, in a brilliant little paper, introduced him to the learned world (*Études Iraniques*, ii, 1883, pp. 201-3). Spelt as in the Dinkerd, *hul* is found e.g. in the Pahl. version of *Vispered*, 9, 5 (= Sp., 10<sup>24</sup>), but *hdyā* also occurs (*Visp.*, 1, 9 = Sp., 1, 31).

The epithet of *Hadit*, *pad ahrāyih abar arcānīg*, represents a single Avestan word, but this does not occur in our Avesta. One should attempt its reconstitution. *arcānīg* mostly translates Av. *asr* and *han*, rarely also other words, e.g. *haxša*: *abar arcānīg* is found for Av. *pairi.khandana*. The closest parallel is perhaps *pad ahrāyih frāz āfrid* = Av. *ašava.fraθvartia* Y., 71, 6 (= Sp. 70, 22). One might be tempted to suggest *\*ašava.pairi.khanhanana* "who has been granted (the reward) by the Holy One", but it cannot be denied that in view of the variability of the Pahlavi versions there are several other possibilities, e.g. *\*atō.aps.baxša* "esteemed by *Rta*" (cf. *pad ahrāyih sardr*

<sup>1</sup> That, rather than "as tel", is the meaning of *kas*.

<sup>2</sup> This could have been found out easily enough by referring to West's translation (SSS., 47, p. 7) or to Christensen, *Premier Homme*, i, 28 sq. One wonders why the work of earlier scholars should be so pointedly overlooked.

= Av. *uša-sar*). In any case Nyberg's translation *qui étoit d'une noblesse supérieure en justice* is inadequate. We can now reconstitute the beginning of the original Avestan text (with due reserve as regards the epithet): *āy austa ahurō mazdā hadiše āsara.pairi.haḥhanānāi: hadiā āsara.pairi.haḥhanāna. . .*

Hadiā went = pay his visit to Adam and Eve and became involved in one<sup>1</sup> of those delightful bits of folklore that European scholars, from time to time, contribute to the treasures of Oriental thought: *il fit naître de Marye et de Moysân le pain fait de blé et il leur donna*. The Zoroastrian books, it is true, tell us of the origin of plants (including species of grain) from the gigantic corpse of the Primordial Bull who died seventy years before Adam and Eve appeared in the world, cf. the Pahl. texts discussed by B. Geiger, *BSOS.*, VIII, 551 sqq.<sup>2</sup>; but that Adam and Eve bring forth finished loaves, with Hadiā apparently acting as midwife, is a novel feature. One is sorry to have to demolish this charming story. The Pahlavi verb *zastan*, common in the Pahl. versions of the Avesta, means not "faire naître" but "ask"; it renders Av. *jad-* "to ask" to which it belongs by etymology, cf. further *Man.MPers. zast.*, ZII, III, 188. Its present is spelt in various ways, :- (instead of *zd-* = *zay-* before *-y-*) in *zyt*, *Vd.*, 3<sup>1</sup> (*Sp.*, 19 *pap.*) = *jaiðyā*, *FOim.*, xv = *jaiðyā* [but both probably wrong for *zd*], or *zd-* = *zay-* in *zdynd*, *Vd.*, 19<sup>22</sup> (*Sp.*, 217<sup>14</sup>) = *jaiðyenti*, or *zdy-* in *ZHYM* = *zdyym* 1st sing. *Y.*, 9<sup>19</sup>, etc. (*Sp.*, p. 74<sup>11</sup>, <sup>20</sup>, <sup>21</sup>, 75<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>, etc.) *jaiðyenti*, as 1st pl. *Y.*, 68<sup>21</sup> (*Sp.*, p. 234<sup>12</sup>) = *jaiðyamad*, and in *ZHYH* = *zdygh* 2nd sing. *Y.*, 11<sup>1</sup> (*Sp.*, p. 84<sup>2</sup>) = *jaiðyehi*, or finally as *z'd-* in *z'dānyh* *Y.*, 65<sup>14</sup> (*Sp.*, p. 227<sup>13</sup>) = *jašm*, *ZHYM* = *z'dym* as 1st sing. *Y.*, 65<sup>11</sup> (*Sp.*, p. 227<sup>20</sup>, <sup>21</sup>) = *jaiðyāni*, as 1st pl. *Vid. Yt.* 8 (p. 188<sup>3</sup>) = *jaiðyata*, indirectly in *zdyt* spelt *YLYDHYN-gt* *Y.*, 9<sup>20</sup> (see *Atr.Wb.* n.v. *gad* n. 5), and last not least *Z'HYH* *Y.*, 65<sup>10</sup>, in Spiegel's print, *Z'DHŠ* in *K.*, fol. 293v, n. = *jaiðyāt*. The last mentioned form, which in the Yasna renders the 2nd sing. opt., is identical with the form in our Dinkerd passage, the sole difference being this that in the Dinkerd stem and ending are written as if they were two separate words, whereby *z'd-*, standing virtually in pause, has automatically assumed the disguise of *Z'K*; that final *d/g/y* frequently look like *-k*, is, one trusts, known to students of Pahlavi palaeography (cf. esp. *BSOAS.*, XI, 752). It is appropriate to mention here that over thirty years ago Bartholomae discussed the verbal forms in this Dinkerd text and correctly read *zdygh*, which he translated *rogas*; needless to say, he understood all



<sup>1</sup> Another we owe to J. Stephenson, *The Zoroastrian Section of the Nuzhat-i-Qulāb*, p. 44, "the spider . . . they prepare a net as a snare for flies, which form their food. The male spins the thread and becomes a female (my italics)". The Persian text has "the male spins the warp and the female the weft (my italics)".


<sup>2</sup> Forms derived from MPers. *zāst* occur in modern Iranian not only in Sāyud (as Geiger says, *Ibid.*, p. 652). Cf. Tajiki *bašt* "katal" (Mansur, 53), Bakhti *gawd* "katal" (*Ibid.*, n. 146); *Čuker Čamančir*, 119, 5, *baun* . . . Latin *religere* (i.e. *zāst*) = Turkish *birge* (برجان). Differently Gouda ch. *Kumār*, III, 72 s.v. *kyāg* = *religere* hardly = *bašt*, *religere*, but rather = *bašt*, *zāst*, *zāst* = *zāst*, etc. [Persian dictionaries have corresponded with *bašt*: *bašt*-*zāst*, *bašt*-*zāst*, for various species of katal and pān.]


the other forms properly too (*WZKM.*, xxix, 17). Nyberg does not mention Bartholomae's article, which is quoted in his *Häfsbuch*, ii, 18, 1.

Hadiš, therefore, "went to Adam and Eve and asked them for bread of that corn. They gave it (to him) and he blessed it for them." "That corn" is appropriate here; for in the lines preceding our passage we read that Ohrmazd had provided Adam and Eve with cattle and corn, and instructed them in the cultivation of corn, etc. (*DM.*, 593<sup>b-14</sup>). They had bread even before Hadiš appeared on the scene. Hadiš asked them for some and they gave it (to him): the corresponding Pahlavi words, *a-bân dâd* (in N.'s transcription *api-sân dâr*), appear in Nyberg's translation as *et il le leur donna*. Professor Nyberg energetically demands that his critics should not confine themselves to briefly pointing out their divergent views, but should produce lengthy reasoned statements, quoting chapter and verse; would a classical philologist be expected to give reasons for rejecting the translation of *dabant* as "he gave"? The object of Hadiš' mission is to teach mankind to speak a blessing over their food before sitting down to it. The blessing should conclude with the formula known as *Ahunavar* to Zoroastrians (as *Ahunar* to Nyberg): *u-š arôd ahunavar 2* "and [Hadiš] recited two *Ahunavars*". Nyberg's version, *et il lit deux ahunar*, instead of *il lut*, embodies an error that compares with the one he committed in his rendering of *u-šân dâd*. In his order Ohrmazd said to Hadiš *ariyân ahunavar 2* = "you shall recite two *Ahunavars*". The form in *-ân* has here (as often) the value of an imperative or optative; *ariyân/arôd* should join the three doubly attested verbs as a fourth.

We have now cleared the way for a consideration of the ending *DŠ*, which is here used for the 2nd person singular. Nyberg's article leaves one with the impression that the ending occurred solely in the *Uinkert* passage; but in fact neither is it uncommon nor has it escaped the attention of scholars. We have already mentioned *id-DŠ* as the equivalent of Av. *jasdyôz*, which is 2nd sing. optative, in *Yasna*, 13<sup>10</sup>. No deep study of the Pahlavi versions is required to discover that the ending *DŠ* is used, with fair regularity, to represent the Avestan 2nd sing. opt. In order to discover that, we have to be acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of both the manuscripts and the printed type that was (and still is) used in Europe. The only edition worth the name of the Pahl. *Yasna*, *Vespered*, and *Vendidad*, is that by Spiegel (1853-9). For the text of the *Yasna* he based himself, quite sensibly, on the MS. *K*<sub>1</sub>. We can now control his readings, thanks to the full-length facsimile of *K*<sub>1</sub> we owe to the enterprise of Dr. Munksgaard; it is well known that *K*<sub>1</sub>, written in A.D. 1323, is one of our oldest and most important Avesta MSS. (if not the most important). An exceptionally clear *DŠ* occurs in *K*<sub>1</sub>, ms. in *YMLLWN-DŠ*, 294r. 3 (= {*fra*)*purš* of *Y.*, 65<sup>10</sup>, a corrupt form standing for either 2nd sing. imp. or opt.): in Spiegel's edition (p. 227<sup>10</sup>) we have *YMLLWN-HH* instead. And so it is everywhere. Throughout his work Spiegel printed *HH* for the *DŠ* of the MSS. He did that because he felt convinced that there was no real distinction between the two groups and because he knew that the MSS.

themselves frequently failed to maintain any such distinction. But he was not consequent and sometimes printed  (which in his print is not different from *DDH*) when he realized that the signs were meant to express *dā*, *tā*, etc.; thus  gives *BDS* (or rather *BDDH*) for *bēs* (e.g. p. 226<sup>a</sup>) while *K*<sub>2</sub> 292r. 1 has *BDS* with precisely the same group as in the verb ending. It should also be noted that the scribe of *K*<sub>2</sub> made no distinction between *DŠ* and *DDH*; cf. e.g. *LWNDS* = *arwandih* 295v. 1, *GDH'wmdS* = *farrah-āmawih* 295r. apu., *HL'DS* = *ahrūyih* 298r. apu.  $\equiv$  *passim* (all of them *DŠ* as in *YMLLWN-DŠ*), but also *n'wDDH* = *amāwandih* 295r. 11, etc. In common with the scribes of most old MSS., he thought very little of the difference between *t* and *gh* (etc.), and so wrote *dradatgh* 306r. 6 or *p'tygh* 323v. 3 with *Š* or conversely *P-t* 248v. u., *YK-t* 301r. 8, *nyrktyt* 227v. 10 with clear *DDH*. The "wrong" use of *t* and *gh/d*, etc., is nearly as common as the "correct" one. This applies also to *K*<sub>22</sub>.

It is less easy to decide whether the scribe of *K*<sub>2</sub> intended to make any difference between *DŠ/DDH* on the one  and *HH* on the other. It is a matter of some doubt. But it is quite certain that *HH* is conventionally written for *DDH* in many words in all Pahlavi MSS. Thus we have *HH* with the value of *gh* = *ghā* in *mādiyān*, *mūān*, *niyāz*, *niyāz*, *niyāz*, *niyāz*, *niyāz*, *frigid*, *pādiyān*, *ziyān*, *pū(s)tyāz*, *niyāz* (e.g. *K*<sub>22</sub> 79r. 4 sqq.). This same mode of spelling is habitually applied to the ending *DŠ* in later MSS. where it appears as *HH*, i.e. precisely as in Spiegel's print. There is thus some justification for his mode of printing: for as he dealt with more than one MS. in editing his text, he could not very well be expected to produce as "variants" what are merely mannerisms of handwriting.

Examples for *DŠ/HH*: *B'YHWN-HH* = *ayawān*, *Vd.*, 9<sup>14</sup> (Sp., 131<sup>10</sup>); *'kncfHH* = *pariti.hindōs*, *Vd.*, 9<sup>15</sup> (Sp., 132<sup>4</sup> sqq.); *frakārayōis*, *Vd.*, 9<sup>16</sup>, appears as *ZRYTWN-HH* ap. Sp., 130<sup>10</sup> sqq., as *-DDH* once in Jansz's edition and in *FOim.*, v. It alternates with *gh* and the 2nd sing. opt. in *Vd.*, 17<sup>4</sup> (Sp., 193<sup>12-13</sup>), *HHPLWN-HH* *arakanōis* . . . *YBLWN-gh* *abarōis* . . . *pr'e* *YMLLWN* *framruyā*. In *K*<sub>2</sub> it has sometimes a semicircle each above and below, see *pr'e* *YBLWN-DŠ* = *frabarōis* (*Y.*, 65<sup>10</sup>) fol. 293v. u. The same ending looks like a cross between *DŠ* and *x* in *YBLWN* in *K*<sub>2</sub> 261r. 5 = *harūhi*. Outside the Pahlavi versions of the Avesta the ending is used both for the 2nd sing. indic. and, in some MSS., also for the 3rd sing. opt. of the verb "to be". Thus AV. 3, 6. *YTWNt HWH-HH* "you have come" (twice) with variants *-DDH*, *-H*, *-HY*. *Pahl. Riv.*, 83<sup>2</sup>, *pusēd ku karāzagh kē xōš HWH-HH gōvād ku* . . . *man* . . . *tō xōš hom* "I will ask 'my girl, whom do you belong to?', and she will say ' . . . to you' ". Ibid. 23<sup>1</sup>, 4, *zīrist HWH-HH* "you have lived", *YTWNt HWH-HH* "you have come". Ibid., 147 pp. 16 *kē mard HWH-HH* "who are you!". These are all clear indicatives. As 3rd sing. opt. *HWH-HH* occurs, in conditional clauses, etc., nearly throughout as auxiliary verb, in *Pahl. Riv.*, 27<sup>4</sup>, 38<sup>4</sup> sqq., 46 pp., 52 , 53<sup>1</sup>, 82<sup>2</sup>, 2, 86<sup>2</sup> (here variant *HWH-HDŠ*), etc.; occasionally the ideogram *HWH* is then omitted so that



spellings such as 'MT . . . SGYTWN-*HH* arise (*Dd.*, p. 45), "as if . . . went," Pers. *raft-ē*), cf. the spelling YHWWN-*DB* for YHWWN-*t* HWH-*DB* in "classical" Pahlavi (= Pers. *bād-ē*; cf. Spiegel, *Gramm. Huz.*, § 117, n. 2).

The function of *HH* in the texts translated from the Avesta as the ending of the 2nd sing. opt. (or subj.) was on the whole correctly understood by Spiegel in 1856 (*Gramm. Huz.*, p. 110). In 1874 West gave *DŠ* or *HH* (mentioning both forms) as the ending of the 2nd sing. opt., and noticed the use of *HWH-HH* and its variants as 2nd sing. indic. and 3rd sing. opt. (*Glossary and Index*, p. 344). In the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (1893-1901), i, 1, 312, Salemann discussed the endings again; he noted all possible spellings, including both *DŠ* and *HH*, but doubted whether we should assume a separate form for the 2nd sing. opt. (or subj.). Nyberg, in 1944, does not know of the existence, outside his Dinkerd passage, of an ending whose function has been established for nearly a century.

How is the ending *DŠ HH* to be read? It would be wrong to disregard the well-defined function it has in the oldest layer of Pahlavi texts. Spiegel was certainly right in maintaining that it should not be confused with the ending of the 2nd sing. indicative. The 2nd sing. opt. of the *aya*-class would end in *-āi* or *-ayāi* in Middle Persian; this, therefore, is the appropriate reading of *DŠ HH*. After the loss of final *-ā*, the 2nd sing. opt. became indistinguishable from the 2nd sing. indic., which had been *-āh* or *-āih* or *-ayāh* or *-ayāhi*; the 2nd sing. opt. disappeared and merged in the 2nd sing. indic. The ending *DŠ HH* thus became redundant and served for final *-ā* or *-ī*,<sup>1</sup> at first only in the 2nd sing. indic., then also in the 3rd sing. opt., and even in nouns such as *gētHH* "world" = *gēt* or rather *gēt* (cf. the Old Syriac spelling *gēh*, Nöldeke, *Festschrift Roth*, 35, n. 5). *HHHLLHH* = *Mahā*, *MHHLLHHNH* = *Mahliṣā*, *Pahl. Riv.*, 29<sup>th</sup> eqq.

As soon as the function and phonetic value of *DŠ HH* are understood, it also becomes clear what letters are compounded into this ending. It will be remembered that in cursive MSS. the ligature is sometimes furnished with two semicircles (above, p. 63), of which the one above represents the upper half of the head of *D* and the one below indicates the tail of either *D* or *H*; both together prove that the group contained *D*. The whole group represents the old ending *-ydy*. If we apply to the ancient Pahlavi material, we find that from as early as the third century onwards *-ydy* is regularly employed for final *-ā*/*-ī*. It occurs often in the Pahlavi Psalter, see Schaefer, *Ung. Abb.*, xv, 574 sq., but is found even in inscriptions by Šāpūr I, see provisionally *BSOAS.*, IX, 829. In the Pahlavi Psalter a direct ancestor of our *DŠ* is attested in Ps. 129, 3 *HT . . . NTLWN-ydy* "if thou . . . shouldst mark"; *NTEWN-ydy* = *pāy* is 2nd sing. opt. (not indic. as some authors say). It is

<sup>1</sup> The distinction of *-ā* and *-ī* in MPer. and early NPer. is a matter of some difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> This spelling exemplifies the three most common values of the group *HH*, viz. (1) " + " (*ā* + *ā*), (2) *yā* + *yā*, (3) in final position *ī*, *ē*. One would like to know how Nyberg would propose to read the word; in view of his words *plāh* "world" and *faḥāh* "help", one would expect *Mahāddāh*.



possible that the ending  $x^2$  is, amongst other things, also a variant of "DŠ", cf. K. Barr, *BSOS.*, VIII, 402 sq.

We must not forget to mention that several years before he published the article here under discussion, Professor Nyberg happened on a passage in the *Pahl. Riv.*, a late text in which the ending *HH* is particularly frequent in 2nd sing. indic. and 3rd sing. opt. (*La légende de Keresdapa. Oriental Studies* . . . C. E. Parry, 1934 [written 1929], 336-352). He then interpreted the ending as *-ah*, explained evident indicatives as subjunctives (although *-ah* is unknown to MPers. as ending of the 2nd sing. subj.), and enriched the Pahlavi grammar by the 3rd sing. opt. *ahh*. There is no point in discussing the details of an explanation that results in so peculiar forms. What is noteworthy is that the ending that he then explained as *-ah*, and the ending that he now interprets as *-endh*, are one and the same ending; their identity may be slightly—only very slightly—obscured by the accidents of handwriting and printing type, but is for that not any the less real. It is not as if Nyberg had abandoned the earlier reading *-ah* to substitute *-endh* for it; on the contrary, he now quotes it with approval (p. 72, n. 1; p. 81, n. 2).

## INDEX

(Numbers preceded by 1 or 2 refer to the text, other numbers to the page)

[illegible]

Tuph. *brizae* 61 n. 2  
 Lat. *erigeris* 61 n. 2  
 Tib. *Kaspar* 66  
 Hebr. *maḡād* 66  
 Aram. *maḡād* 66  
 Arm. *paḡaḡ* 62  
 Greogr. *p'astunsi* 42-3  
 Syrah. *p'ayayaf* 43  
 Talm. *puḡḡaph* 42  
 Kyr. *tiḡā, ḡawā* 45-6  
 Litr. *"cuer* 55  
 Syr. *"zandag* 46

## A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony

As a good missionary and teacher Mani knew the value of repetition. With endless pains he had elaborated a story of the world, which was to explain all phenomena, of nature and the mind, that came within reach of his knowledge. Its comprehensiveness made it so complicated that it required—and still requires—a strong effort to remember all its details. The greater was the need to force it, by ceaseless repetition, into the minds of those who were ready to listen to the new prophet. No doubt every one of his books and longer epistles opened with this story, which may have been the sole subject of several of them. It is therefore useless to try to identify the various accounts before us either with each other or with one of the books of which we know merely the title.

The chief versions of the Manichaean story of the world are the *Epistula Fundamenti*, the Middle Persian fragments M98.9, the Middle Persian book T in D 260 (= *Mir. Man.* i), the Uigur fragments T in D 173 (*Turk. Man.* i, 7-17), the book excerpted by Theodor bar Qōnnā, and the one used by Ibn n-Nadīm. To these should be added the Sogdian book whose one surviving fragment is published here. Apparently it was the most elaborate account of all. Each form of the story has points that are peculiar to it and absent from all others; the Sogdian is no exception to this rule.

This Sogdian fragment is interesting also for its history. It was the first Manichaean fragment studied by a European scholar in modern times. With its help F. W. K. Müller tried to decipher the Manichaean script, but failed because its language was unknown (*Sb. P. I. W.*, 1904, 349, n. 1; *Handschriftenverh.* ii, 90 sq.). In printing, after his successful decipherment, a few excerpts from it he published the first Sogdian text ever made known. When one views the development of Sogdian studies, founded as they are on this first publication, one is surprised at finding that the fragment has remained in limbo these many years. By placing it before the public now we make *amende honorable* for long neglect.

M 178, "the best preserved Manichaean fragment, a double folio, of white, thin leather, a masterpiece of calligraphy" (Müller, *loc. cit.*). No photograph is available; the text is published according to a copy I took (from the original) about twelve years ago (possibly without due care). The lines printed by Müller are 14-16 and 83-99. Between the first folio (paradise) and the second (fundaments) three or even four double-folios, i.e. twelve or sixteen pages, may be missing (darkness, attack, first man, mixture, second creation, redemption of first man). The headlines do not give the contents of the pages, but

are pieces of a continuous text which ran from the first page of the book to the last and in content amounted to a colophon; they are these:—

1st fol., recto	Št prw mykš dynt	... shall be in the whole
verso	'rt'wpyh	Church (and) Righteousness ...
2nd fol., recto	yw'w'cyy wny	... remission of sins to
verso	ymlnßryt	the toil-weary ...

### First Folio: Paradise

(Recto) (1) wny mzyx 'xšwmyy zrw'ßyy (2) pyrmš'r o 'ly 'šlyk x'nš (3) 'frytyt 'wēkt kyy 'tyān šk (4) [ ] plān'r nyyat kw 'ly wōyyš (5) myn'nš x' rwxān'l'ßyyāt (6) fryātyt 'ty mrd'apndt 'ty (7) z'wkynd pr mzyx wāw'w 'lyy (8) š'wxy' o 'rtān wy' nwwē (9) jw'nyy xw 'ny'm nyyat o (10) 'rly ctf'myk 'waw'c bzy'šc (11) wy' rwxāw'w rwxān'yrdmny' (12) wyš'myq qrdn'w wyn'mnlyh (13) kyy 'tyān wnyy šyr'ky'šc pēm'k (14) nyyat o o 'rly ßyyātyy krjy'w (15) pīmwk 'ty nywōn y'šwq šyšvm 'ty (16) šwā'nš 'pk'k 'ty wyspang'n (17) zywr 'ty py'šyy xwtyy šfryn'š (18) pr wrexwādy' o o 'ty pncnyk (19) x'n' rwxān' x'y xwzmyy nwwē (20) qry'wr kyy 'tyāy wyy šk'wyh' (21) 'ßy'pnyyāt o 'rlyāy xww (22) n'ywk'wyy nyy 'p'š šwē o 'rly (23) nyy š'n 'tyāy ('wyjā'cyyh (24) prwyšš š'y 'špřt oo 'rlyh (25) 'ßy'nyq pšpřu 'bjy'znc'šc (26) kyy 'ty 'yqwn nyy 'šwtyy o 'rly (27) xw wyspw šytw 'yšc qywyššy (28) 'jyyt o 'rly yw pyšlyy 'šxkt' (29) yz' o wysp'špyyny o rwytyh (30) prw yřš p'ryz' o 'ly wnd' (31) ßryyßrynyy šrywmyy kyy 'tyān xw (32) ßryy kō'c nyy 'wryšt nyy pwal (33) 'ly nyy kymmyy šwē o o 'rlyy (Verso) (34) x'xaryy šwš'š'k'k kyy (35) 'ly 'mbyrēš w' 'nytt (36) rwxān'yrdmny mzy r'y pww (37) š'q 'špncē š'ykd' 'ly (38) y'šwq 'ly pš'wē kyy 'tyh (39) 'ykwn 'ykwn nwyāy 'škwnd o o (40) 'rly w'nw pšy' xyy x' (41) rwxān'yrdmny prwyšš pnc (42) mzyx'w 'rly 'wrm wrmny'y (43) 'škwnd o 'ly pcywyr nyy pš'nd'šc (44) prw rwxān'y'k 'škwnd kw 'tyān (45) xw t'ryy nyyat o prw nwwē jw'n (46) kw 'tyān mrc nyyāt o pr jwky' (47) pr r'f o prw wyāy kw 'tyān (48) 'ndwē nyyāt o prw fry'wryh (49) pww jyāt'wē o prw fryy'hw'z (50) kw 'tyān yw'r nyyāt o prw kšn (51) kyy 'ly nyy wyndyy'šc o prw 'ßy'nyyk (52) šmb'r kw 'ty wyg'n'šc nyyāt o prw (53) wāyyny xwrt pww pwyšš kww (54) 'lyāy prw ymbn 'ty wryy' nyy (55) šr'od o 'ly pr wyn'mnlyy (56) pyšlyt and o 'ty x'wkynd prw (57) x'wr o 'ty prw š'wādy' nyyr (58) š'wādyt and o 'ty šyāt'wē n'm (59) nyy pš'n'nd'šc o 'rlyyšt pš'lyt (60) qrdn'wē 'ty pyšlyt and o 'rtān (61) jyk' nyyāt prwyān šmb'r o (62) 'rtān xw wyndyy pīmwk 'št'š (63) 'ßrywr ang'n py'lyy xyy rnyyny (64) kyy 'ty qš'c rymnyy nyy šwē oo (65) 'rtān x' wē'kt nyy wyndy'šc

\* Or *wygyk'wyh*.

<sup>b</sup> *mzyy'*, corr. *pr.m.* into *mzyzyy'*.

### Translation

[The Realm of Light is divided into "Five Greatnesses" (lines 41–2), the 五大 Chinese Manichaeism.<sup>1</sup> No. 1 is missing, of No. 2 only the last

<sup>1</sup> *Frank Manichaeism*, 60 (132), 22. *Hymn-Scroll*, 122b, 138c. They were incorrectly explained by Chavannes-Pelliot, loc. cit., p. 1, and Walschmidt-Lentz, *Manich. Dogm.*, 195.

worlds are preserved. Cf. Allberry, *Manichæan Psalm-Book*, 9, "The Kingdom of Light . . . consisted in five Greatnesses, and they are [1] the Father and [2] his twelve Aeons and [3] the Aeons of the Aeons, [4] the Living Air, [5] the Land of Light.")

. . . [the twelve Aeons who stand] before the Great King God Zarwān.

The third, the Blessed Places (= Aeons) without count and number (= *beata et gloriosa saecula neque numero neque praeclaritate aestimanda*, Ep. fund.) wherein dwell the Light Gods, Angels, Elements, and Powers in great bliss and joy.

The fourth, the Pure Air in the Light Paradise, wondrous, beautiful to behold, immeasurable its goodness for them (= the Light Gods, etc.). By supernatural power it shall, by itself, bring into being (create) the gods' marvel dress and garment, throne, diadem, and fragrant wreath, ornaments, and linery of all kinds.

The fifth, the Light Earth,<sup>1</sup> \*self-existent, eternal, miraculous; in \*height it is beyond \*reach (1), its \*depth cannot be perceived. No enemy and no \*injurer walk this Earth: its divine pavement is of the substance of diamond (*vajra*) that does not shatter forever.<sup>2</sup> All good things are born from it: unborn, graceful hills wholly covered with flowers, grown in much excellence; green fruit-bearing trees whose fruits never \*drop, never rot, and never become wormed;<sup>3</sup> springs flowing with ambrosia<sup>4</sup> that fill the whole Paradise, its groves and plains; countless mansions and palaces, thrones and \*benches that exist in perpetuity for ever and ever.

Thus arranged is the Paradise, in these Five Greatnesses. They are calm in quietude and know no fear. They live in the light, where they have no darkness; in eternal life, where they have no death; in health without sickness; in joy, where they have no sorrow; in charity without hatred; in the company of friends, where they have no separation; in a shape that is not brought to naught, in a divine body where there is no destruction; on ambrosial food without restriction,<sup>5</sup> wherefore they bear no toil and hardship. In appearance they are ornate, in strength powerful, in wealth exceeding rich; of poverty they know not even the name. Nor, they are equipped, beautiful, and embellished; no damage occurs to their bodies. Their garment of joy is finery that never gets soiled, of seventy myriad kinds, set with jewels. Their places are never destroyed . . .

#### Notes

(3) *sāk* "number" (MPers., Parth. *sig*) is from \**sāhuk*, cf. Av. *śaduhui* "number" (Pahl. *marak*).

(13) Cf. the construction of BBB., 48, b 6-8.

(19) *zaymānyy*, above translated as "self-existent", is one of four hapax

<sup>1</sup> With this section the reader should compare the poetic treatment of the subject by Mār Asad, in the first canto of *Haridagmān* (= *Hymn-scroll*, 281-338, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 198-208, 216-10).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 271.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 304.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 290.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Hymn-scroll*, 281c-d.

legomena in as many lines; it may roughly correspond to (*terra*) *ingemita*. Perhaps \**arwēmane* from \**arwēmene* from an ancient compound \**arwamanyaka-* (or the like) with *arw-* "self" as first part; the second half may belong to Av. *mainya-* "authoritative", which has derivatives in Sogdian, see Benveniste, *HSOS.*, IX, 513.<sup>1</sup> or Sogd. *mēn-* "to be, stay, dwell" (*BBB.*, 97), which is from OPers. *mānaya-*, Av. *mānaya-* "remain, wait".

(20) *sk'wyh* almost certainly from *sk-* "high" (Chr. *sq-*).

(21) *βy'p* "reach" (or "limit") from *abi + ap-* "reach, obtain". The appertaining verb exists in Chr. Sogd. *by'p'd'm*, *S.T.*, II, Lentz "ich habe erfahren" (cf. Pers. *dar-yāftan*), and possibly in *βy'p'y*. *UJ.*, 743.

(22) *n'ywk'wyy* is probably the antonym of *sk'wyh* (20), hence "depth". *n'ywk* occurs in unpublished fragments as both adjective ("deep") and substantive ("depression" ?). Cf. *UJ.* II D 93b (Sogd. script), *ryg ZKnyg n'ywk cryw . . .* "ph . . . o'drs'r p'lsca hō'skua" "he dived down into the deep ocean's water". In Manich. script M 247 V 6 *n'ywg* "pyg" "deep water" (broken passage); M 502, I, V 4, *ryncj 'tys n'ywk gap* } *ryf* *pōgyat* "waves . . . and pulls them out of the jaws of the deep . . .", cf. Gershevitch, *JRdS.*, 1946, 180; M 452 b 11 (very broken) *yrj' ryl* } *jygy n'ywk of* } . . . *x'xryt* "mountains, seas, . . . depressions, . . . springs". Note *ry-* "sea" (Av. *rayah-*), which was hitherto not known as a Sogdian word. Av. *nārya* "deep" ?

(23) *'nyggy'ryy* may render Parth. or MPers. *azgydg'r*, hence from *wi-fati-* (as *rygd* from *wi-fanti-*, if the Parthian is loan-word from MPers.) ? The initial *'-* is difficult to explain.

(32) *'ryz-* "to drop, be shed" was badly explained in *Sogdian*, 31, where the passage was quoted. The Sogdian verb cannot be separated from Persian *rizidan* "to drop, be shed (leaves, hair, etc.)", which was confused with *riztan* "to pour" owing to the identity of their present stems; we had recently occasion to point out a similar confusion in the case of Persian *riz* (*HSO.*, 18, XI, 45). Decisive is here the existence of *riz-* in Parthian where OIr. *ruib-* would appear as *ryz-*, cf. M 171, 35 *'ris . . . pnyg ny ryzpid* "its leaves are not shed" (the text was given in full in *HSO.*, 18, XI, 61, n. 6). Here also belongs Pashto *rižādā, rižādā* "to cast off, shed, to fall (as leaves)", cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 65.

(38) *py'w-*, above translated as "bench", is evidently some kind of seat or bed, cf. M 521b 28/9 *lōf py'at y'ōwyl 'tyy w'd*. One wonders whether this word can be connected with Persian *pad*, var. *pad* = \**pānāw* (vocalized *pādā*), which translates Ar. *ḥiḍ* "the trunk of a palm-tree used as a gallow" in the *Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab*, 22, 10; the glossators may have had in mind another meaning of *ḥiḍ*, viz. "roof-beam". Vulliamy has *pad* merely from the *Parthian-i Su'ān* whose author attributes to it the meaning "skylight" and quotes a verse which seems to admit "roof-beam". The *Parthian-i Qāṭi* provides us with *pad* "a pole to support the branches of a fruit-laden tree";

<sup>1</sup> With Chr. Sogd. *nyw'dr*, cf. OIr. *minnaw, minnaw*.

its *b* is no doubt due to popular etymology (*bār* "fruit"); the author of the *Farhang-i Anjuman-āray-i Nāqirī* throws doubt on this word and complains of its absence from other dictionaries; but it is given by Surūrī.<sup>1</sup> A popular form of *pārū* or *pārūr* "beam, pole" is *parde*, also not in the dictionaries, cf. *Muqaddimatu'l-Adab*, 25, 6, *خرد* "a small *parde*" = Ar. *'arīḍ* "joist (of a roof)"; *Gazophylacium linguae Persarum*, 448, *trave*: *travicella* — *parde*; cf. *Velutru parū* "small sticks or pieces of wood laid in the ceiling at right angles to the larger beams" (Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, 90); it must not be confused with *parde* "curtain". The word was neglected by the Persian lexicographers because it so happened that it was not used by poets.

(50) *yū'r* was discussed recently by M. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1930, i, 232, *Versantura J.*, p. 88, and by myself, *JRAS.*, 1944, 140, n. 2; *BSOAS.*, XI, 487, n. 4. I now accept the meaning suggested by M. Benveniste ("separation") in preference to that proposed by myself ("mourning"); M. Benveniste's interpretation has the additional advantage of relieving us from the need of assuming two homographs *yū'r*.<sup>2</sup> "Separation" fits also Parth. *yū'r*. Cf. further Oas, *uwrjā* (Dig. *uwrjā*) "divide, distribute", Khwarezmian *yū'sār*, imperf. *yū'sār* "to understand" (= "distinguish" < "separate"); to the same stem belong also Khwarezmian *lū'sār* "to separate" (different from Freiman, *Ucratē-nāpīskā Leningradskogo Gosud. Univ.*, 1940, No. 60, p. 31) and MPers., Parth., *'zū'r*, Pahl. *uzrōr* "distinguish, understand".

### Second Folio: The Firmaments

On whatever subject Mani was writing or talking, he was always lavish with details. Unfortunately he frequently failed to notice that the details he produced on the spur of the moment did not square with his teachings of the day before. His picture of the world is a case in point. Minute circumstances are absurdly elaborated, but the whole is utter confusion. One saving quality is Mani's consciousness of his shortcomings: to make his cosmologic views clear he published a volume of drawings and paintings, called the *Ēišwār* in the Coptic Manichaean, *An(o)phang* in Parthian, *Ertēk* in Persian.<sup>3</sup> This volume, which in the Chinese "Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of the Buddha of Light Mani"<sup>4</sup> is defined as "the drawing of the two great principles"<sup>5</sup> and his seven books, taken together, formed the canon of Mani's works. The drawings, which are lost (a copy existed in Ghazna as late as the eleventh century), would no doubt have helped us to understand

<sup>1</sup> So at least in a MS. in my possession of the Majles *7 Farz* (first edition).

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity to tender my apologies to M. Benveniste for giving in *BSOAS.*, XI, 723, note on 941 a wrong date (1939, to his article "Notes Septuagies (IV)", *BSOAS.*, IX, part 3, which in fact was published in the summer of 1938. I regret this error all the more as the later date was favourable to my argument, which I withdraw accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, I, 2; cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 51, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Tsūshō Tsūpōshū*, vol. 54, No. 2145.

<sup>5</sup> It also contained pictures of the final judgment. In *Kephalaia*, 234 sq. an *Andōr* complains that his ultimate fate was not depicted in the volume.



many puzzling points; nevertheless one cannot help wishing Mani had made himself a little wax model of the world and kept it by his side and looked at it from time to time when talking on such enthralling subjects as the Eight Earths, the Exterior Hells, the Three Wheels, the Seven Great Columns, the posture of Atlas, the Giant of the Sea, the Veins of Connection, the Column of Glory, etc., etc.

Our fragment deals with the Ten Firmaments; comparable passages are *Kiñb al-Fihrist*, 330; *Mir. Man.*, i, 178, 188 sqq.; *Mir. Man.*, iii, 888-890 (= M 67). Each Firmament has twelve Gates, which appear to be not connected with the twelve constellations, and another four Gates = the cardinal points. Each of the twelve Gates has six Thresholds. I have endeavoured to explain before that the idea of the Thresholds reflects a very primitive view of the movement of the sun in the sky, akin to that known from the *Éthiopie Book of Henoch*,<sup>1</sup> and is primarily not linked to the observation of the movement of the sun in the ecliptic (*Mir. Man.*, i, 188, n. 4; *St.P.A.W.*, 1934, 34). Nevertheless, as the stay of the sun in a Threshold coincides with his stay in a zodiacal sign, in this way:—

while the sun is in the 1. Threshold, he is also in either Gemini or Cancer

2. Threshold	Taurus or Leo
3. Threshold	Aries or Virgo
4. Threshold	Pisces or Libra
5. Threshold	Aquarius or Scorpio
6. Threshold	Capricornus or Sagittarius

one can say that in the matter of time or degrees of the ecliptic a Threshold amounts in effect to a zodiacal sign. A clear time value can be attributed to several of the subdivisions of the Threshold; they are these:—

How many of each group contained in one of preceding group.	Sogdian.	Arabic.	MPers.	Parth.	Time Value.	Degree of Ecliptic.
—	šgr	šgr	šgr	šgr	—	—
6	pšyrd	'atārah	'at'ag	'at'ag	month	30°
20	w'era	'akrah	'at'm'n	'at'm'n	day	1°
III	'gr	raff	ar'gry	gr, er, n ?	2 h.	5'
2	pr	—	an'n	'ry	1 h.	10"
180	qpyš	—	—	—	20 sec.	50"
2	—	—	ar'gry	an'nyd'n	10 sec.	20"

The image underlying the Sogdian designations of the subdivisions is that of a bazaar; *w'era* is the Sogdian form of the word *bazaar*; *'gr* should be a "row" or "street" of the bazaar, *pr* one of the two "sides" of a street; hence, if there is any consistency, *qpyš* must mean "shop" or "stall".

(Recto) (66) 'ty q'nd kwn' en šmukw'ne (67) j'ryy a 'ty pawc 'rtān pta'r (68) twxān'yrōmn š'r syn' a (69) 'rty pta' wyōp't xw 'štkyēpy (70) xwt'w šn

<sup>1</sup> The (180) "gates of the sun" are mentioned in *Kephalaia*, 87, 71-3; cf. also *BDOAS*, XI, 65, n. 2.

'rd'w'n m'z o "y'and (71) nβyr'z c'bw 'ty pta'cym w' (72) m'n 'lcmbδδ o o (73) 'rtpa'r nwrz fr'y'and pta'cym (74) 'rtyw 'ftm'yy kwn'nd pnc (75) fap' o 'rty 'ww xāyāp' βyw (76) wδyδδ nāyāδ'nd o 'rtms (77) cywyδ c'δrstr pty's'and (78) δa' sm'n'yy i wrcwnkrc myy' (79) w'stād xii rty'yy o 'rty 'yw (80) βyp(δ)yy wδyδ p'āyy nāyāδ'nd (81) w'nw 'ty prmywn δa' sm'n'yy (82) x' dyw' p'δβn nyy kwn'nd o (83) 'rtmāty m xxx (84) cyfryn' ky 'ty 'ww δa' sm'n'yy (85) 'skya'r p'rtāwδ'nd o 'rty pr (86) wyapw sm'n'yy xii xii xw' δbrt'nd (87) pty's'and o 'rtms tyn 'nyt (88) iv iv δβr' pr ctf'r qyr'n (89) s'r mns'and o 'wrδ kw 'ty (90) x' ftyāty 'skwnd o 'rty wyny x (91) sm'n'yy xw δβ'nzq'wyy δa' (92) βryywr fawx xeyy = 'rtyā m (93) x' βry' βrywr fawx 'rtpr xii (94) xii δβr' ky 'ty wy' sm'n'yy (95) 'skwnd o pr 'yw 'yw δβrw vi m (96) pδynd mns'and = 'rty pr 'yw 'yw (97) pδynd qwn'nd xxi xxi w'and (Fero) (98) 'ty wy' 'yw 'yw w'cnyy (99) xii xii 'yā pr 'yw 'yw pr (100) clxxx qpyδ qwn'nd 'ty (101) p'δβtyk pnc clxxx (102) 'ty wy' wyapy' qpyyδy' (103) ykāyā'ty dyw' βynd'nd 'ty (104) ptyqā'nd 'rty 'ww nyrkt en (105) cty'āty ptyyn ptyqā'nd (106) 'rty pta'r xw wyāpkr 'ww (107) sm'n'nyδ jyyr o 'rtyw (108) wy' 'βtmyk sm'n'nyy pr (109) y'δwk nāyāδ'nd 'ty m mywn (110) δa' sm'n' 'xāyδ 'ty xwt'w (111) qwn'nd o 'rtpa'r en δa' (112) sm'n'ny c'δrstr n'nyh (113) cxyy 'ty 'nrxwn pty's' (114) 'rtcn w'ndt tmykt dyw'yy (115) 'ty βjng'ryatrt 'ty βjrt (116) 'ty stβrt' w'n'nd o 'rtā (117) wy' 'nrxwny endr βynd'nd on (118) 'ty xii 'nrx' ty vū pxyy pr (119) mywn ptyzo' 'fombδ (120) 'xāwδ'rt kwn'nd o 'rtān 'yw (121) wnyy δβty' pty'r w'stynd o o (122) 'ty en wyapw dyw'yy ky 'wy' (123) 'nrxwny fawx and w'x r'k (124) 'ty p'δnd w'nd 'ty ptyw'nd (125) 'rty wy' o'δreyq sm'n'nyh (126) βwn xwn'nd o 'rty 'ww 'nrxwn (127) cywyδ m'qwo'nd 'tyy i (128) βyāy p'āyynd w'stynd w'nw (129) 'ty 'kyayq cxtw r'mndyy

### Translation

[The Father orders the *Spiritus cinens* and the Mother of Life to create<sup>1</sup> the world] "... and clean them [= the Elements of Light] of the poison of Ahriman and purify them; thereafter raise them in the Paradise".

Thereupon at once the Lord of the Seven Climes and the Mother of the Righteous began to plan how to arrange this world. Then they began to fashion it. First they made Five "Rugs"; there they seated the Splenditeneva. Thereunder they formed ten Firmaments, set up one magic twelve-faced "Lens". There they seated a Son of God as watcher, so that in all the ten Firmaments the demons could do no harm. Furthermore he (sic) evoked (created) forty angels, who hold the ten Firmaments upraised.

In each firmament they fashioned twelve Gates; another four Gates each they constructed in the four directions, there where those<sup>2</sup> angels stand.

<sup>1</sup> Or rather, to conform to Manichaean parlance, "arrange" or "fashion". The Manichaeans, strictly speaking, used the word *create* only of the process by which a divinity produces another divine being, of lower rank, emanating it out of its own substance.

<sup>2</sup> The forty angels mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph.



## Notes

(69-70) *ʔikykyj xwʔw* "Lord of the Seven Climes" = "Lord of the World", see BSO. AS., XI, 721, on *ašd-kšp* = Pers. *haft liivar*. In Sogdian he is more often known by his original name, *Spiritus vivens*, which generally appears in its Parthian form, *wʔd jwvndy* or (in phonetic transcription) *wʔd jwvndyy* = *wʔd-šwrande*. Both names together are used in the little fragment T ii D 06, 2, of which we give here the whole *recto* page. (1) . . . (2) *ʔiqrwnt* *ʔyʔyʔy* *na en* (3) *sʔat* *ʔiqrwnt* *myʔi* (4) *xwʔw o en* *ʔkʔpyh* (5) *xwʔw* *wʔd jwvndyy* *ʔyʔh* (6) *ʔdʔwʔn* *myʔy o en* *wvndyy* (7) *y xwʔw ʔyʔy* *xwʔw xwʔw* (8) *ʔy o en* *ʔyʔy xwʔw* (9) *yʔw dyaʔn* *ʔyʔw o en* (10) *wvnd* *ʔyʔy xwʔw* *ʔyʔw* " [From] six kings (and) gods, from (1) the magnificent king, Lord Miti, from (2) the Lord of the Seven Climes, the Living Spirit, and (3) the Mother of the Righteous, from (4) the victorious and brave Father, skilful God Xurmazd, from (5) the redeemer Lord Jesus, the Prince of the Churches, from (6) the shining Daughter of God, the wondrous . . . These six are the *Tertius Legatus*, *Spiritus vivens*, Mother of Life, *Primus Homo*, Jesus, and the Maiden of Light.

(76) *ʔap*, above translated as "rug". The word has not been noticed elsewhere. The five *ʔap* are beyond the ten firmaments; they intervene between the Paradise and the Mixed World. There is an abundance of "walls" and "moats" in this world, in the Manichean view, but five walls exist in sun and moon only; in Sogdian the words are *št* "wall" and *prk* "moat" = MPers. *pargin* (e.g. in M 128; M 664; T ii D 116); the Universe is bounded by a single wall, see M 98 V 13, M 98 V 2; *Kephalaia* III, 5; *Fihrist*, 330, 21 (but cf. *Paulm-book*, 139, 13-14). The world has a "roof", *Kephalaia*, 170, 25 (cf. 80, 2, of the New World), there are "watch-towers" in the realm of the *Splenditeneus*, *Paulm-book*, 138, 26, which is further described as a "camp", *Kephalaia*, III, 13. All this does not help us to define the meaning of *ʔap*. There are, as far as I know, only two passages in the Manichean literature that give any information on the "roof of the world", *Kephalaia*, 90, III, and 170, 2; in both microcosm and macrocosm are confronted. *Keph.*, 90, 22 aqq., "the head of the cosmos is the *špyh* of the Garments; its throat in the neck of the Garments; its stomach is the five *ānāpāra*, which are the . . . of the Garments"; the items next mentioned are the firmaments and the sphere. *Keph.*, 170, 1 aqq., "his head corresponds to the *ānāpāra* of the five Garments", followed by the ten firmaments and the "wheel of the sphere". These Garments are undoubtedly the Three<sup>1</sup> Garments or Wheels of wind, fire, and water, in which the late F. Cumont recognized the elemental spheres

a male and a female." With these words concludes the description of the creation of the firmaments in that fragment; they agree closely with the last words of our fragment. We can thus confidently say that the description of the firmaments is complete in our text, except for two or three words.

<sup>1</sup> Despite the unpleasant fact that their number is said to be five in *Keph.*, 170, 2. Perhaps "five garments" there is ellipsis of "five spreads of the three garments". Different are the five "great garments" of *Keph.*, 177, 2-3, which came into existence only after the third creation.

(water, air, fire) of the Stoics, which surround the earth. According to the Manichaeans the Garments, although they have their proper place under our earth, also encompass the universe and so have their *ἀπαρχή* on the roof of the world. They had to be protected against the Powers of Darkness and therefore were enveloped in the five *ἀπλώματα*. These "spreads" obviously accompanied the Garments from their emplacement in the "third earth" to the top of the world; it is thus appropriate that they should be mentioned as the first thing created in the Mixed World. With the *ἀπλώματα* we would identify also the *matkbi*,<sup>1</sup> "mattresses" or "beds", named by Theodor bar Qorai in connection with the Garments, in a troublesome passage (Pagnon, 129, 6; cf. Cumont, i, 31 sq.; Schneider, *Studien*, 345; Jackson, 240). At any rate, Sogdian *farasp* = Syr. *matkbi* = *ἀπλώματα*. Hence, from Av. *faraspāt*, Yt. 15, 2, between *qātu* "throne, couch" and *apastaruu* "spread, rug", cf. Pers. *farasp* "tapestry".<sup>2</sup>

(78) *myj*, above translated as "lens". Not found elsewhere in Sogdian. The passage can be interpreted in three ways. Firstly, it is commonly said that the *Spiritus vivens* created "ten firmaments and one wheel (of the sphere)"; hence, "magic *myj*" = the zodiac? This must be discarded, because the zodiac is dealt with later on (111 sqq.) and ought not to have been mentioned here. Secondly, the second half of the sentence, "they set up one magic *myj*", could be meant merely to define the shape of the ten firmaments in their totality ("they formed ten firmaments and set them up as a, or in the shape of a, magic twelve-faced *myj*"). It seems to me that this, too, must be rejected, because the wording scarcely admits this sense: the numeral "one" would not have been used; there would have been *'yān c' hū* (or some such words) after *sm'nyj*. The third possibility, the only one that seems to meet the case, is that the "magic *myj*" is an object that is distinct from the firmaments, not forming part of them, but situated within the area occupied by them. Only one such object is known from other sources: the "wheel that lies in front of the *Rez honoris*", to which a whole chapter of the *Kephalaia* (xxxvi, pp. 87 sq.) is devoted. This "wheel", which must not be confused with the "wheel of the sphere" (as was done by A. Böhlig in his summary of the contents, *Keph.*, p. xxii), fully deserves the epithet "magical". The invisible "roots" of the firmaments, Archons, and Elements are tied to it. All that happens in the firmaments can be seen in it by the *Rez honoris*, seated on a throne in the

<sup>1</sup> Thus to be read as plural (with Pagnon).

<sup>2</sup> Regrettably this meaning is anything but assured. The *Dastān* has it from Surūfī, who declines responsibility for it and attributes it to the *Nasabī* *ʿAlīrūd* *ʿIshāq*, a book (No. 56 in Blochmann's list) used also by the author of the *Farhang-i Jahāngiri*, who, however, refrains from giving this meaning, perhaps wisely. Ordinarily *farasp/farāsp* is a "roof-beam", see e.g. Ibn Isfandiyyār's *Hisāb-i Tabaristān*, tr. E. G. Brown, p. 38, n. 1 = ed. Tehran, i, 87, 7 [the unknown *پلور* there is a local word for "rafter", cf. V. Viatkin *magyar*, Lambton, *Three Persian Dialects*, 60; in the *Isfahāddīn* *ʿAlī*, *Adab*, 26, 5, *پلوار* = Ar. *ʿalūd* could be "پلواره"; Anadī *Eqbal*; *Shāhname* (once); *ŠF.* (three times); etc. "Roof-beam" is also the meaning of Pahl. *farap* in AV, ii, 11, 12.

seventh heaven; it is his magic mirror (cf. *Keph.*, 88, 31, "the wheel is like unto a great mirror"); there are twelve "forms" or "figures" (τύποι) in it, cf. the Sogdian *xii-rytgy*, 𐰌𐰽𐰚𐰚, "twelve-faced" (cf. *gye-ryt'k* "μονοπρόσωπος", P 8, 107, of a *pδ'k* = *palā*, elsewhere *pr'*, *pr'kh* "banner"). A "light-faced wheel" is mentioned in the *Palm-book*, 138, 32, though as belonging to the *Splenditenens* (cf. *ibid.*, 138, 𐰌𐰽𐰚𐰚, "the *Rex honoris* . . . who looks after the root of Light"); it is doubtful whether *'skyryq cix* "superior wheel" (lit. "high-lying wheel") in our fragment, line 129, refers to the King of Honour's television set (the parallel passage quoted above, p. 313, n. 𐰌𐰽𐰚𐰚, can be said to militate against it). Now, if 𐰌𐰽𐰚𐰚 is conceded that the "magic *myj*" is this "magic mirror", we can more confidently hope to discover the meaning of the Sogdian word. I had considered "wheel", "mirror", "orb", "prism", ending up with "disk", when it occurred to me that *myj* could well be the Sogdian word for "lentic". Persian *mīzū*, *mīzū*, also *میز* = *mīzū* "lentic" (e.g. *Manūddimutu* 'I-Adab, 14, 15; 60, 14 = Ar. *'adaa*) is *mīzūk* in Pahlavi; it is spelled *myzūk* and *myzīk*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Geiger, *BSOAS.* VIII, 362; wavering between *z* and *h* in Pahlavi invariably indicates the rare sound *z*. The Old Iranian form was *\*mīzu-* or *\*maizu-* (*\*mīhu-* or *\*maihu-*). Since old *u*-stems often appear in Sogdian with the ending *-ā*, as e.g. Man. Sogd. *β'z'*, Buddh. Sogd. *β'z'kh*, OIr. *bāzu-*, Pers. *bāzū* (*BSOAS.*, XI, 732), or Man. Sogd. *prā*, Buddh. Sogd. *prā'kh*, OIr. *parau-* (Av. *parau-*, *parəu-*), Pers. *pahlū*, the postulated OIr. word for "lentic", if it existed in Sogdian, should be *\*mīzū* (Man. *\*myj*), Buddh. *\*myz'kh*) in that language, precisely the form found in our text. Accordingly, I have ventured to translate as "lens", in the sense of "any object resembling a lentic or the double-convex optical lens in form" (second meaning in Webster's *Internat. Dict.*: the optical lens was invented about a millennium after Mani's time). Words for "lentic" were used for lenticular objects in antiquity, chiefly, it seems, for hot-water bottles, also for various kinds of flasks, etc.; cf. Lat. *lenticula*, Gr. *φακός*. Late Hebrew *'dāšāh*, cf. I. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 182. As early as the time of Trajan the crystalline lens was so described, as *φακοειδής*, by Rufus of Ephesus, cf. G. Barton, *Intro. to the Hist. of Science*, i, 282. [On magic mirrors, cups, etc., see H. Laufer, "The Prehistory of Television", *The Scientific Monthly*, xxvii (1928), 455 sqq.]

(90-100) *'yzt, prā, qpyδ*. The *-t* of *'yzt* "row" or "street" forms part of the word, see the passages below; wrongly *BBB.*, 122; *BSOAS.*, XI, 727. Chr. Sogd. *'yzt*, too, is singular = "street" (Lentz translated as "Plätze"). On *prā* "side" see the preceding note; *prā'kh*, as "rib", in P 7, 57. The word for "shop, stall", *qpyδ* = *\*kəpū* (1), recalls Pers. *kūbe* (Man. MPers. *kurbag*, Arm. *kəpək*, etc.).—Cf. 𐰌𐰽𐰚𐰚 108, 10 (very broken passage) *δ'm'ngt 'nrtuzn βystyt* [ ] *'yzt 'ygy qpyδt* [ ] *'ty δs'h*. Of greater importance is the fragment M 548, a miserable scrap, which once contained a different recension, but one very close to the one published here, of the "story of the world".

<sup>1</sup> In the same passage in different recensions and MSS.; there is thus no need to consider other words such as Pers. *māzūq* "green pea" (Kabuli *māzūq*).



Its *recto* page corresponds to lines 97-105, its *verso* page to 122-4:—

M 548, *recto*

- |                                     |                                 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) āys xlx w'crndt 'skw[           | [in every threshold] are thirty |
| (2) wyepw w'c(r)[n]yy xii xii 'yz[  | bazaars each, in each bazaar 12 |
| (3) 'āyy oo wy[spy'] 'yzdtyy cyncr[ | rows, in each row [3]60 stalls. |
| (4) [xxx]xx kpyδ 'āyy o 'rty my[    | Those bazaars, stalls, rows     |
| (5) . . . ] kpyδt 'yzdt 'ty w'er[   | . . . [therein] are [fettered]  |
| (6) . . . ] s't dywt and o kyy r[   | all demons that . . .           |
| (7) [tk[                            |                                 |

M 548, *verso*

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| (8) [tδ'r[ 'tyh am'nyyt[              | . . . he did . . . and the heavens . . . |
| (9) p[dyne'nd o 'rty s[ml][n]yyt 'tyh | they pulled up, and the heavens . . .    |
| (10) kn xyδδ dyw[tyy p]rm (wyath !)   | from these demons roots                  |
| (11) [an'w[ [tyy δ . . .              | . . . sinews and . . .                   |

(106) *wytpkr* need not be a proper name (as assumed in *RHB.*, 60), but can be an appellative and hence refer to the *Spiritus citius*; thus it may have the force of "demiurge". According to M. Benveniste (see *Textes Sogdiens*, p. 215) *wytpkr* should be the Indian *Vikrārkman* in disguise. This is ingenious and possibly even true. Except for the *t*, apparently the sole reminder of its Indian origin, *wytp-kr* would be correct Sogdian for *Vikrārkman*; Sogd. *arkar*, preserved only in the compound '*kr-ant*') *ny* *synakita*, is no doubt identical with '*rk*— "work, job, deed" (presumably an ancient *\*wstem*); even the *t* can perhaps be excused, with the help of *wytpy* "prince". It is possible that *wytpkr* is a genuine Sogdian word that merely coincided with the Indian name. At any rate, my identification of *wytpkr* with the *Mydgy's* 'wd' *dygyr yd* of *Mir. Man.*, i, 178, was ill-considered. After the creation of the world the *Spiritus citius* and the Mother of Life place that "divine messenger", whose nature and position in the Manichaean pantheon remain unexplained, before another god, whom I proposed, in the edition of the text, to identify with either the *Rex hominis* or the *Splenditeneus* (with some measure of preference for the former). Waldechmidt and Lentz, *Man. Dogm.*, 610, declared that the second alternative was not worth considering. However, if one translates the passage *mot à mot*, it is easily seen that the *Splenditeneus* and no other is meant there. "(That god) who stands above that firmament and holds the head(s) of those gods"—"those gods" nearly throughout refers to the Elements. Properly understood, the sentence M once recalls the words used by St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xv, §. *Ostende nobis moechos tuos, Splenditeneum ponderatorem et Atlantem intumescens: Illum enim dicis caput elementorum tenere mundumque subtinere, istum autem genu fixo, reopulsa validis subjugulare tantam molem utique ne ille deficiat.*

{Additional Note.—The meaning "shop, stall" conjectured above, pp. 311, 316, for *qpyδ*, is confirmed by a series of words in Turkish languages, which



were probably borrowed from Sogdian; in the Eastern dialects of Sogdian the pronunciation of *qpyd* approached \**kepid*, cf. *BSOAS*, X, 97. Kāšyārī, i, 298<sup>3</sup>, *کبت* *kebit* = *kānūt* "shop, tavern"; *Hua-yi-yi-yü*, ed. Klaproth, 20<sup>3</sup>, *کپت* *k'pyt* = *kebit* "Bude", with reference to Tatar *کبت*; *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae*, 78<sup>13</sup>, *chebit* = *apotecha* = *duchan* (*dukkān*); Radlov, ii, 1400, 1416 *kibit* "Inka, Laden" for Fohol and Kazan dialects. Pelliot, *Toung Pao*, xxviii, 1931, 112, whose tentative comparison with Mongol (etc.) *kibit* "carpet" can scarcely be maintained, ascribed the word to Mongol; it occurs, according to him, in the Mongol *Hua-yi-yi-yü*; it is not found in the Mongol material generally accessible.]

## ADDENDUM

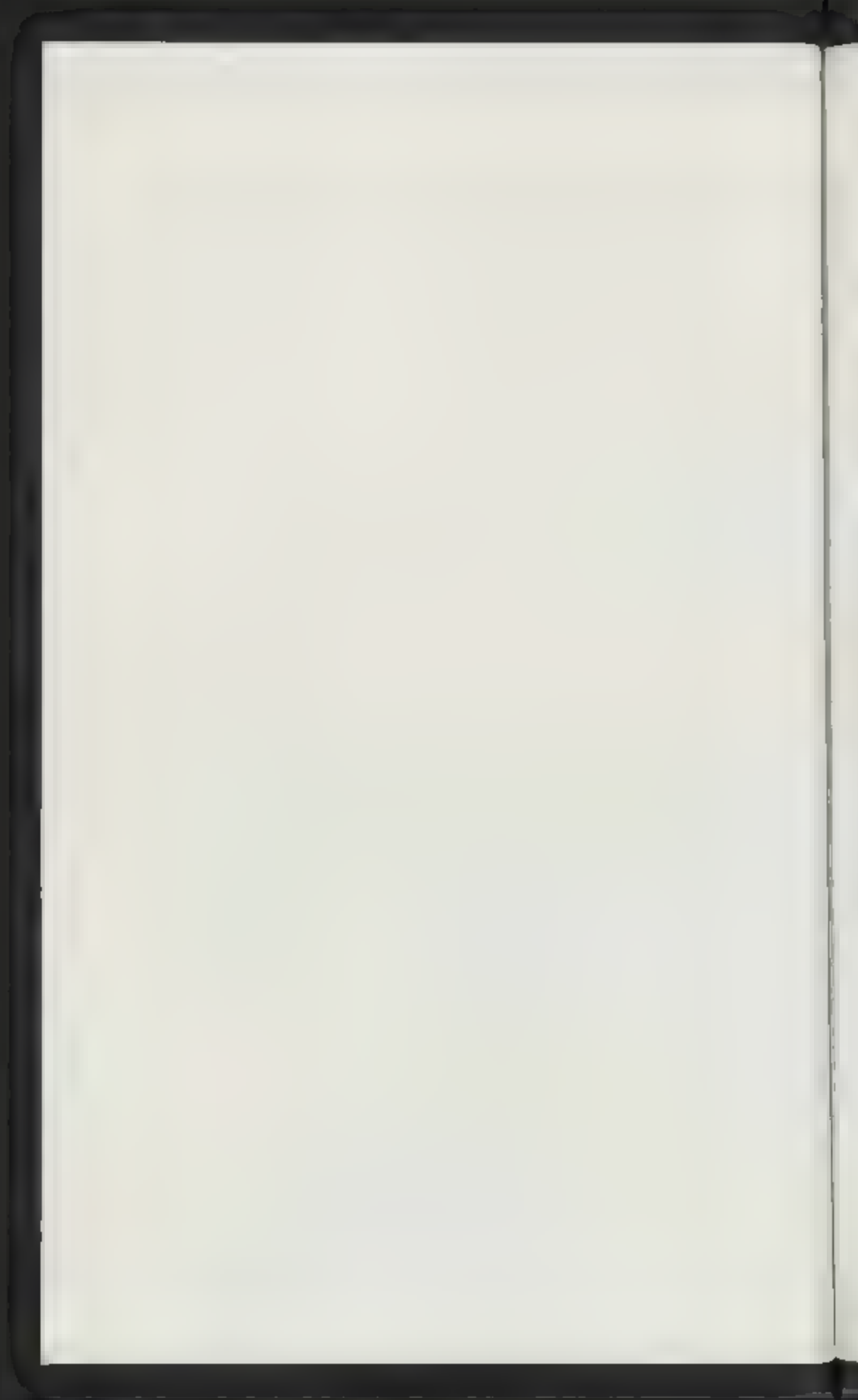
Unfortunately I overlooked the tiny fragment T ii D 139, 3<sup>a</sup>, another copy of the text of the first folio of M 178 (above, p. 307). It is from the middle of a page and has no complete lines. Its recto page corresponds to lines 32-40, its verso to lines 54-65; it has a few additional words at the end. Variants: - (38) *qymnyh* (35) *'lyy* (36) + a *'lyy* before *ny[y]* (37) *(a)'k 'lyy 'xymn(e)[f]* (40) *['rlyy n'a[n] p[ay]yy* (42) *army'h* (43) *plz'n'nd* (45) *nyat* (46) *['f[y]y* instead of *'ydn* (54) *[rlyy'h nyh]* mistake (56) *nyat xnd* (56-7) *pr = 'ur* o *'ly pr ['r'm]dky* (58) *'nyy d(y)[f]eue* (59) *[p]z'n'ny' o 'nyh py[st]* (60) *pyy[st] [y]* (61) apparently *(pr) wyh* (62) *'β[st]* is expressed by numerals, *p[pp]h = lxx* (63) *xyh* o (64) *qymnyh*.

End of fragment: *['q] n(y) (f) wgyndy (= 65)*

*ly'k f're ny[y] β[st]*

*β[st] . nd xnd . y β[st]*

The variants are, on the whole, purely orthographical. They suggest, however, two improvements in the translation printed above, p. 306. Lines 34 sqq. "All good things are born from it . . . springs flowing with ambrosia that fill the whole Paradise; countless groves and plains, and mansions, etc."; lines 45-6 "in eternal life without death". The last words of the text probably mean "Their places are never destroyed, [their] bright [ness] never becomes darkened. The . . . [omit] delicious fragrance (xnd) β[st] (f) ."



## The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters

'R βyε zw'w p'nyf

'LP βryer SLM nm'cys

THE Sogdian "Ancient Letters", no doubt one of the most important of Sir Aurel Stein's many finds, have been attributed to the middle of the second century of our era, on the strength of archaeological evidence (*Serindia*, ii, 571 sqq.). Their editor, H. Reichelt, expressed a mild doubt (*Die Sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, ii, p. 6), and so did Pelliot in his review of Reichelt's edition (*T'oung Pao*, xxviii, 1931, 457-463). If the date originally proposed by Sir Aurel Stein (between A.D. 105 and 137, or in 153) could be substantiated, the Letters, which are on paper, would have to be regarded as the oldest paper documents in existence.<sup>1</sup>

For some time now I have held the view that the Letters were in fact written at the beginning of the fourth century, to be precise in 312 and 313. I owe thanks to Professor Haloun for explaining the nature of the archaeological evidence, which apparently conflicts with this opinion. The Sogdian Letters were found together with a large number (about seven hundred) of Chinese documents, of which a seventh part can be dated (see E. Chavannes, *Les documents chinois*). Those that are written on slips of wood are distributed in this way:—

period	number of documents dated		total
	with certainty	doubtfully	
88 B.C.—30 A.C.	67	11	78
A.D. 1—A.D. 94	27	3	30
A.D. 137	1	—	1
A.D. 153	—	1	1
	—	—	—
	95	15	110

The majority of these wooden slips, those that belong to the time before the alleged invention of paper in A.D. 105, are irrelevant for the purpose of dating the Sogdian paper documents. Only two are later than A.D. 105, and of those two one only is satisfactorily dated, the one of A.D. 137. To argue that the Sogdian Letters must belong to a year in which occupation of the site is attested by the presence of a Chinese document, or to a year earlier than that, is perilous.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Their claim to such eminence has already been widely admitted.

<sup>2</sup> It is not as if the document of A.D. 137 were one of a series: it is isolated by a long gap (forty-three years—nearly a life-time) from the last preceding.

Moreover, this argument is deprived of whatever force one may like to accord it by the fact that Chinese paper documents, too, some (three) from the second (?) century, but most of them (eleven) from T'ang times, probably the *eighth century*, were found in the same area. As in these circumstances archaeology cannot help us to reach a conclusion, we shall have to rely on the internal evidence derivable from the Letters themselves.

From palaeography we can learn scarcely more than that the Letters are "pretty old". The cursive ("Uigur") type of Sogdian script, familiar from the inscriptions, documents, and Manichaean Books of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, must have reached its final form by A.D. 600; the calligraphic handwriting used in Buddhist books perpetuated the stage attained by the cursive script in about A.D. 500. Somewhat earlier is the writing employed for the legends of the coins ascribed to the "Bukhâr-khudâhs"; these legends, which were continued almost unchanged down to the end of the eighth century, were introduced probably in the middle of the fifth. The cursive script of the Letters is older again. In the absence of comparable material we have to confine ourselves to saying that the Letters, to judge by the handwriting, may belong to any period between A.D. 105 and A.D. 400.

The contents of the Letters, on the whole, do little to help us narrow down these limits. We do not know when Sogdians began to establish colonies along the caravan routes leading to China and within China itself, but it is likely that they did so long before the invention of paper; these colonies continued to exist until the tenth century at least. No doubt the agents of the "merchant-princes" of Sogdiana<sup>1</sup> and the other colonists of Tunhuang or Ku-tsang sent letters home to Samarkand and Bukhara throughout the ages, letters in which they complained of postal difficulties (almost the chief content of the Letters) and the troubled times, listed the latest commodity prices and the current exchange value of silver, gave news of their families, and gossiped about their friends. The antiquated language, in comparison with the other Sogdian material; the preservation of several ideograms lost to later Sogdian<sup>2</sup>; the absence of references to Buddhism and Manichaeism, and on the other hand the belief in the Old Iranian religion<sup>3</sup> and in particular the reverence

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barthold, *Turkistan*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Reichelt's list (p. 2) can be added to: 'M Yâ' "mother", iii, 12; 'Y M T w' "when", several times in Letter No. II, regarded as an Iranian word by Reichelt (e.g. 21/2 [1] i) as 'Y M T w' M N caw[ compared with 5/1 'at ut rēš' Y N Š Y M N caw[ s'r; in spite of the complementary as it should correspond to šš, which does not occur in the long Letter II; were it not for this notable absence of šš, one would of course think of c's'tw: šš > šat is = 'Y M T' also in Pahlavi; XL "all" in iv, 2 (Reichelt šš), 4 (Reichelt mš), distinct from šš (in III. the tails of the letters are crossed); on M E Y see below, p. 611.

<sup>3</sup> Proved by the personal names and the *šypr*, I, 10 (cf. *BSOS.*, VIII, 582 sq.), who may well have been a priest at a local Zoroastrian temple (Letter No. I was written in Tunhuang). Heathenish personal names, however, were only slowly abandoned by the Sogdians when they became Buddhists or Manichaeans; the monks only of either Church had to take religious names. See esp. the colophon of P 3 (Buddhist); the *Mahāmāyā* and Sogdica, 6-7 (Manichaeans).

for the goddess Nanai<sup>1</sup>; the absence as yet of Chinese family names<sup>2</sup>; the apparent existence of cultural relations with the Indians in Shan-ahan<sup>3</sup>—all these points go to confirm the estimate (second to fourth centuries) arrived at by the study of the handwriting, but are utterly useless for the purpose of determining the precise date.

It is a piece of great good luck that Nanai-vandal, the author of Letter No. ii, went beyond the narrow limits to which the other writers confined themselves and provided his correspondent, Nanai-švar—one of the "merchant-princes" of Samarkand, a Sogdian Maš—with a brief account of contemporaneous events in China as viewed by a foreigner living in an outlying province of the Empire. In spite of Reichelt's here imperfect translation Pelliot at once recognized the gist of the passage and its importance: a great catastrophe had occurred which compelled the *Syner* = Chinese Emperor to abandon Sry = Lo-yang, his capital, which was burnt down. "Il s'agit d'une de ces destructions comme Lo-yang en subit par exemple en 190; cette année-là, Tong Tchu brûla Lo-yang, et transféra l'Empereur à Singan-fou." However, he concluded, "il serait toutefois prématuré de vouloir préciser qu'il s'agit bien de cet événement" (loc. cit., p. 459).

The statement that Sany/Lo-yang was burnt down is of the greatest importance. By itself it is sufficient to invalidate all arguments proffered in favour of dating the Letters in the first half of the second century; for although Lo-yang may have been destroyed more than once, it did not suffer in the period A.D. 103 to 155. As a matter of fact Lo-yang suffered such a fate three times only (between A.D. 103 and T'ang), and each time its destruction presaged the fall of a dynasty: in 190 (Later Han), in 311 (Western Chin), in 530-532-534-535 (Northern Wei). These therefore are the only dates to which the Letters can be referred. We can unhesitatingly exclude the events of the sixth century from consideration, on the general grounds given above. This leaves us with 190 and 311. The choice is made easy; in 311 Lo-yang, and with it the power

<sup>1</sup> Sogdian, 7; *JRAS.*, 1944, 137; *BSOAS.*, III, 737. *Našt* is said of Anahita, not only in Pahlavi, but also in the inscription translated by Sprengling, *JSLI.*, LVII (1940), 219 (in both instances the ideogram). Cf. further Horn-Steindorff, *Sogdianische Siegelsteine*, plate vi, No. 1621, "Altindische Gemme," inscribed *šavrk*; the figure (a lady in a somewhat extravagant posture) may represent Anahita-Namai.

<sup>2</sup> Two which are known so far, "a" = *śa* and *y'a* = *śā*, see *BSOAS.*, XI, 738. They clearly correspond to 安 and 康 respectively. Cf. Houbert, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, I, 1936, 201, n. 32. Professor Houbert points out that in T'ang times the Chinese names must be understood to mean "man from Luchow (安)" and "man from Samarkand (康)".

<sup>3</sup> "The Indians and Sogdians" are mentioned in one breath in li, 37 (in Lo-yang). Lou-lan occurs once. The woman's name *Qū'gā*, i. l., is found also in the Niya documents, *Chiao* (-ga, -ges). Indian loan-words in the Letters were probably borrowed from the Indians of Lou-lan. So e.g. *dykh* or *lakhā*, which was not used in Sogdiana (see the Niya documents, 24, 25, 38, where *n'at* instead). *šl* *prst*(*k*) Reichelt recognized *prstha*, cf. Niya 721, 6 *prpjo prst* i. Here *prpjo* (left untranslated by Houbert) is prob. Pers. *maipusta* (Syr. *maipustā*, *ml. maifusta*), *-usta*), and *maip* *prga* (see Houbert's note on 225) is the same, half-translated; *maipusta* is a sickly-sweet decoction of grape-juice or must with spices added. *šl* *Althaus*, 314-a (3, 57); *Yule-Girler, Marco Polo*, I, 84, 153, and notes; *Kempfer, Amoen. Exot.*, 390.

of Chin, is destroyed by the Hsiung-nu: in the Sogdian Letter the Huns are mentioned as the adversaries of the Chinese. As there can thus hardly be a doubt that the Letters were written in or shortly after 311, reference is made in what follows to events pertaining to that period only.<sup>1</sup>

It may be convenient to reproduce here the relevant lines of Nanai-vandak's report (5-23, 29-38, and the date 61-3), even though Reichelt's text is on the whole satisfactory:—

- (5) ... 'HRYZ' xwt'ynß \* 'rm'ts[. . .] ðr'w'ny ðrw'k 'ynoy 'HRYZ 'm'c  
 (6) k'o'ny ðrw'k 'ynoy 'HRYZ' xwt'ynß 'st (ü) srð 'YKZY MN entry  
 (7) s'r swyðyk 'yt 'HRYZm pñt ywms'c 'HRYZ ðrw'k 'ynoy  
 (8) 'HRYZ 't kwr'ynk s'r wyt'rt 'HRYZcn nwkry nyðk 'yst 'PZYßn  
 (9) ap'ys'w MN-ZKylMw<sup>2</sup> swyðyk'hw ZKZY c'entry s'r wyt'rt kwyð'tn  
 (10) krt'y'nt k'tmw ZYn n'pw p(r)'yt 'y'nt 'HRYZ xwt'ynß ZNH  
 (11) pñtm ßypwr n'ð w'ß'nt M(N) ðßz' 'pr'at MN'ary 'HRYZs  
 (12) sðnk s'yknw 'PZY rðnk knðh '[t]rwh wyt 'HRYZ swyt 'xw  
 (13) s'ykn 'PZY 'xh knðh w(y)knt 'HRYZ ms [ ] 'sy L' 'nkp'  
 (14) 'HRYZ ms (ZNH) [ ] xw]n'w<sup>3</sup> 'HRYZm  
 (15) 'xwmt'n [ ] [ ] 'PZYs[n] ! w]r'nt krt't' n'y'n'y(m)h<sup>4</sup> 'pmw  
 (16) 'PZY 't 'nkp' pruw my x[w]n [ZK]ZY 'zyy myð ßypwr xypð wmt'nt  
 (17) 'HRYZ xwt'ynß L' x'n'ymn k(t'rw) ZYn ZNH wy'pwt'kw cyn  
 cynn cynstn  
 (18) ZNH xwn ðk'rtw<sup>5</sup> w'n'y'mt [MN 'x]w]mt'n 'WZYn-n ZNH p'r'kw n'pw  
 (19) ny's'y'nt 'HRYZ [ ] ðrw'ny (s)t' c<sup>6</sup> 'stpyðrk  
 (20) am'rkndø (')[ ] mb kn'xs.\*[ ] [ ] (xxtx)[ ] mrtlyy  
 (21) 'HRYZßn xw(t)[y]n[ß] (M)N .. 'rx.[ ] 'HRYZ [ ] ü srð  
 (22) 'YMTw MN ent(s)ly s'r [ ] \* (ðß)[n]p[n]w<sup>7</sup> 'HRYZ MN  
 (23) ðrw'n 't kmxy(n)<sup>8</sup> pr(mw) pr[ ] t

(29) 'HRYZßn xwt'ynß 'YMTw wywpw

(30) axwn ap'ys'w 'YKZY ZNH cynstn krt 'HRYZ p'r' syrnub 'HRYZßn

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Haloun, who was ever ready to give of his time to help with the problems presented by the Sogdian Letters, for supplying precise dates and data for the years before and after 311.

<sup>2</sup> [Restored], [incomplete] or [uncertain] letters. Reading and precise meaning of xwt'ynß/ xwt'yrß are unknown. Reichelt's translation is no doubt approximately correct; the derivation proposed by him is unacceptable.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ZDMG., 90, 1936, 197 sq.

<sup>4</sup> The only other restoration to be considered here is [cy]n'aw.

<sup>5</sup> Or s'y'g(c)h. The third and seventh letters (possibly 's') are doubtful. The word may be incomplete at the beginning.

<sup>6</sup> A scrap of paper which belongs somewhere else is stuck over the first half of the .t. and the lower part of ð' in line 17.

<sup>7</sup> The lines must be slightly rearranged.

<sup>8</sup> kn'x(n)s, ? kn'x(n)s, ?

<sup>9</sup> Or [ ]. Perhaps [ ] s.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. [ðß]ymwæ vi, 4 (so to be restored).

<sup>11</sup> Reichelt has ðw'yð instead. The third letter is certainly s/z, the fifth probably -n.

- (31) on pry'w nyst 'HRZY kwt'ynš 'st üü üü arš 'YKZYm pryāt  
 (32) ontry a'r s'yr'k 'PZY prn"[...] 'HRZYky<sup>stc</sup> 'st üü arš 'YKZYmnc  
 (33) pešnt 'βy'rt 'HRZY šyr'wš[. . .] wim't-at 'HR(Z)Y 'YK ZNH pššun  
 (34) βyz krt 'HRZYnc nwkry pššn(t) (L) βyr'm kwyš'wtn krt'y'nt  
       'st üü arš  
 (35) 'HRZYm mš pryāt 'ny mrt'y 'rtyxw-šntk [n']m 'YKZY MN ko'n  
 (36) a'rth wyt'rt 'HRZY wr wawš[(k)(w m)]'xw m'[...] (w)m't 'HRZY 'YK  
 (37) 't ary pr'y't-nt 'HRZY wr '(P)[ZY . . .] (t) 'PZY 'yntkwi 'PZY awyšykt  
 (38) 'HRZY MN ššz wyšp mrt-at ('[HRZYm] (p)ryāt Z(K) nay'(')p 't šrw'n

(61-3) 'HRZY ZNH šykwb krt 'YKZY cyršw'n MR'Y xüü arš wim'tw pr  
 tym'yew m'xw

- (5) . . . . And, Sir, Armāte[āš] ' in Therwān is ' well. And Arsāš  
 (6) in Kačān is well. And, Sir, it is three years since a Sogdian  
 (7) came from "inside". Then I fitted out Ghōtamsāš. He is well.  
 (8) He went to Kwr'ynk. No one comes from there ' now. I will (now) write  
 (9) (and tell) you of those Sogdians that went "inside", how they fared,  
 (10) what land(s) they reached. And, Sir, the last  
 (11) Emperor—so they say—fled from Saray because of the famine. And his  
 (12) fortified ' residence (palace) and fortified town were set on fire '. The  
 (13) residence burnt down and the town was [destroyed] '. No Saray (is) no  
       more, 'Ngup' no more!  
 (14) Moreover then the [ . . . ] by the [Hā]ns.' And they

<sup>1</sup> So probably, cf. 'r'z, ydm-s'c (and Ar. *dašd-šc*).

<sup>2</sup> In 'mcy(y) we can now recognize an older form of Man.Sogd. 'mcy (BBE., 26, § 75; the etymology there proposed must be withdrawn). Reichelt's translation ("women") not merely makes strange sense, but involves a grammatical error (*šw'k* in the place of *brck*).

<sup>3</sup> Or "from him". The correct translation is in Reichelt's glossary, not however in his text. Instead of *ex* one can also say *ex* in the sense, as line 34. This *ex* is an enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. and pl.: it is often devoid of meaning (as *dativus ethicus*). Cf. between "from it" 31: -mnc "by me from them or him" 32; *kyš't-n š, kyš't-n š* 34; *š'w'w Z'Y-n š* 10; *š'w'w Z'Y-n š* 17 in sentences in all of which the self-interest is involved, from the point of view of the subject. When it is doubled, the first is an ethical dative, while the second has the force of a full pronoun; cf. here 'WZ'š-n š . . . n'y'š'nt "or . . . took (for themselves) their . . ." 18.

<sup>4</sup> With some hesitation I have accepted Reichelt's explanation of *ršw* as from *drwg*. One could refer to Skt. *dravga* "frontier-watch station" (acc. to Stein), Nya *dravga* which, however, is "other" acc. as *harrow*, BSOA., vol. 508 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Parthian 'trsk in the name of Šapur, lines 6 and 12 (in Greek *trsk*, in Pahlavi *trsk*), BSOA., IX, 824. Sogd. *w'c*, *w'c* "emit, let": cf. P 12, 23.

<sup>6</sup> The second letter of the word I have restored as *wy[šw]* "destroyed" is not quite certain. Should one read *w'* and restore a finite form of the stem occurring in line 15? Hence, "pillaged"?

<sup>7</sup> "Moreover then the [Emperor was taken prisoner and led into captivity] by the [Hā]ns" or some such words may well have stood in this line.





- (20) And, Sir, I wrote (and told) you  
 (30) the details of how China fared,<sup>2</sup> it would be the story of) debts<sup>3</sup> and  
 woe<sup>4</sup>; you have  
 (31) no wealth from it.<sup>4</sup> And, Sir, it is eight years since I sent  
 (32) Sāyarak and Farnā... "inside", and three years since I  
 (33) received a reply from them—then they were well... But now, since  
 (34) the last débâcle occurred, I receive no reply from them (to my question)  
 how they fared.  
 (35) Furthermore, four years ago, I sent another man, Artixw-vandak<sup>5</sup> by  
 name. When the caravan (*mīrta*)  
 (36) left Kačān, he was... there for six months<sup>6</sup>. Then when they<sup>7</sup>  
 (37) reached Saray, the... Indians, and Sogdians there—all had  
 (38) died from hunger. Then I sent Naayān to Th<sup>8</sup>rwān.

(61-3) This letter was completed when it was the year thirteen of the Lord of  
 Ār-šawān, in the month of Taynā.

Before discussing the substance of Nanai-vandak's report, we must try to  
 identify the place-names mentioned by him. Nothing much need be said

plural; their existence could be adduced as arguing for the assumption that Nanai-vandak  
 undertook those journeys. Three sentences, however, seem to contain a general complaint  
 of the bad times—of the windy and rainy weather in Reichelt's translation—and do not necessarily  
 refer to the travels mentioned in lines 21-31. On balance it is more likely that the traveller of  
 these lines is the one referred to in line 8/7. Nanai-vandak would hardly have said "it is three  
 years since a Sogdian came from inside", if he had been that Sogdian himself. The question  
 is important for determining the place where N. wrote the letter.—Lines 21, 2nd half, to 29,  
 1st half, have been omitted here chiefly because I do not understand them; also, they do not  
 seem to contribute to the solving of our problem.

<sup>1</sup> The implication is: "what happened to the China trade".

<sup>2</sup> *pde* = Av. *patā* "guilt", Pashto *pā* "debt". It occurs also as *pāh*. So in 11, 35, where  
 Reichelt read *weh*: "through the guilt of Farnand, or through his debts, we have become the  
 servants of Chinamen, I as well as my mother." Further in 1, 9: "I live in the deepest distress,  
 without clothes, without food. I try to obtain a loan (*pa'm pāh*, R. *pa'm pāh*), but every one  
 refuses to give me one" (*amē*, R. "fals"), in finite verb, from *amē* "to agree, engage to do  
 something, without (lit. bend)", with *L* "to refuse", cf. *L* *am'wē* 1, 6, "I shall refuse,"  
 R. "Prügel"; *am'wē* 11, 8; *amē* 11, 11; further *am*, ASOAR, XI, 472, line 8].

<sup>3</sup> *Deestid* = Hindi, *deh*, FJ., 319; *am'wē*, *ibid.*, 213.

<sup>4</sup> Probably = "the China branch of your business is completely ruined; your (former)  
 wealth from it = the China trade is no more". Scarcely = "you would have no profit from  
 my giving you a fuller account of recent Chinese history".

<sup>5</sup> The name means "slave of (Av.) *Asi-rayeti*". The name of the goddess is spelt *riye*,  
 "rity" in the later Sogdian, see *Orientalia*, vii (1938), 92.

<sup>6</sup> A gap makes it impossible to decide which of the following two meanings should be attri-  
 buted to the sentence. (1) "A. travelled with a caravan up to Kačān, but when the caravan  
 went on, he had to stay there = in Kačān for six months, because he was ill or imprisoned."  
 (2) "A. was on the road there = with the caravan for six months—an abnormally long time for  
 the distance from K. to Saray; it demonstrates the state China was in four years ago."

<sup>7</sup> A. and his party, or the caravan of line 25 with which A. travelled?

nowadays about *Sry* = *Saray* = *Lo-yang* (near mod. Ho-nan-fu) and *'xam*'<sup>1</sup> = *\*Khumdān* (with a Sogdian prothetic vowel), otherwise *Khumdān*<sup>1</sup> = *Ch'ang-an* (mod. Hsi-an-fu). Neither name has so far been explained satisfactorily.<sup>2</sup> I am all the better pleased at being able to quote Professor Haloun's views on the origin of one of them:—

"*Khumdān*, I suspect, represents 咸陽 *Hsien-yang*, the name of the capital of the Ch'in empire since 350 B.C., which lay immediately to the north of Ch'ang-an across the Wei river. *Hsien-yang*, Middle Chinese *ymt-ian*, was *\*g'em-dian* in Ancient Chinese, which appears to correspond sufficiently closely with *xam-dān* (as in the final -n [ŋ], of *šrw'n*—*Šrouwa*—*Tun-hua* and the names discussed below under *Ke'n* and *Kmzyn*). One would have to assume that this appellation was continued in use and applied to Ch'ang-an when that town supplanted *Hsien-yang* as the capital (of the Han Empire) in 200 B.C.—but was not the name of *Ch'in* (*Čynan*) also so retained, as the name of the whole country, after the fall of the Ch'in dynasty? Did these names, probably both together, reach the Sogdians through intermediaries or result from direct intercourse? The latter, and with it perhaps not inconsiderable trade, is strongly suggested on the one hand by the influx into China of Indo-Scythian concepts in the course of the fourth and third centuries before our era (see Conrady, *ZDMG.*, 1906; Maspero, *Chine antique*, 607 sqq.), on the other by the use of Chinese nickel alloys in the Greco-Bactrian coinage of the early second century (Taro, p. 87)."

Together with *Saray* a place *'nkp'* is named, line 13. It is evident from the context that this must have been a town comparable in importance to *Lo-yang* (the capital of the Former Ch'in dynasty) itself. From lines 15/6 we learn that *'nkp'* and another locality whose name cannot be deciphered (*n'yu'ymh*?) were considerable places reached by the Hsiung-nu in their campaign of devastation. The passage seems to imply that *'nkp'* was destroyed on that occasion, but it is not explicitly said. At any rate, *'nkp'*, like *Lo-yang*, "is no more" (line 13). So far the name has not been identified, chiefly, I suppose, because of the misleading spelling which inevitably suggests *\*Ank-pa*, *\*Ang-pa* or the like. Pelliot, loc. cit., 468, operated with *\*Aggyu* and could not explain it. I asked several eminent Sinologists what *Angpa* could be: it is natural that they could not give an answer to a question that had been put so utterly wrongly! To find the corresponding Chinese name one has to remember the Sogdian transliteration *y'y 'nkryn* (Reichelt, ii, 70, 34) of 元

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BSOAS*, XI, 726.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Schuler, *Iranica*, 48 sq. The spelling *yam*'<sup>1</sup>n, quoted by him from the Sogdian lower, of Karabalgassan (p. 45) does not in fact exist. In his edition of that inscription Hansen gave *ymmdt* (p. 21, fragm. 7, line 6), but being at a loss to account for such a word suggested timidly (pp. 36 sq.) that one could perhaps read *yam*'<sup>1</sup>n instead, was sehr fraglich ist. It is out of the question by reason of the apparently assured -š-.—Schuler quotes neither the *Amudoma* of the *Pan-yü-tai-ming*, fol. 396 (Hagchi, *Dans lex.*, i, 1929, 78, 285) nor, of course, the *'xam*'<sup>1</sup>n of our Letter.

K'ai-yüan, Middle Chinese *k'ai-ngi'-on*, which shows that the Sogdians inconveniently transliterated a foreign initial guttural nasal by 'ak-; no doubt they were unable or too lazy to produce such a sound and so said *ay* or *ayg* or even *ong* instead. As soon as one realizes that 'akp' represents *yapa*, or rather, as the final -a is likely to be a Sogdian ending, *yap*, one sees that 耶 is meant. Yeh (near mod. Chang-tê-fu, in Ho-nan, to the north of the Huang-ho) was one of the chief towns of Northern China; several dynasties used it as their capital city (so the Wei, 220-264, as one of several capitals; the Later Chao, a Hsiung-nu dynasty, from 330; the Eastern Wei, a remnant of the T'o-pu, 534-549). The Middle Chinese pronunciation of 耶 = 魚 往 (*ngi'-o* + *k'jap*) = *ngjap* [*ŋ(ɥ)ap*].

China itself not only appears as *cynata* = *Cinatan* (see p. 606, n. 7), but is also referred to as "inside", cf. Reichelt, p. 13, n. 9; whether the whole of China or merely a certain part of it is included in this term is not clear. Professor Haloun kindly suggests that it may perhaps imitate the Chinese 內 *nei* "inside", an elliptic designation of the Chinese home-country current in contemporaneous sources.

Turning now to the West, we have a firm point in *šrw'n* = *Tā'ruōn* = Ptolemy's *Θροάνα* = Tun-huang. The town next in importance to Tun-huang, from the point of view of the Sogdian merchants—judging merely by the numbers of times the various towns are mentioned in the Letters—was *Kc'n*, *Kc'n*. Reichelt thought it might be Kao-ch'ang in the Turfan oasis; to Pelliot this identification seemed *plus douteux, sans être impossible* (loc. cit., 460, cf. also *T'oung Pao*, xxviii, 1931, 140); in my view it cannot be maintained. All the passages in the Sogdian Letters point to its situation to the east of Tun-huang, somewhere on the great trade route leading from that town to the Chinese capitals. Letter No. v shows clearly that *Kc'n* was a great trading centre where the Sogdians disposed of the wares they had carried through the desert from the West and bought the silks and other articles they wished to take to Samarkand; Kao-ch'ang can scarcely be so described! The Sogdian Letters were found together a little to the west of Tun-huang, on the road to Lou-lan. Some were written in Tun-huang, one at least (v) in *Kc'n*. Evidently the letters the Sogdians in Western China wrote to their home country were gradually brought to the westernmost town, i.e. Tun-huang, where they accumulated until a caravan left for Samarkand. It is unlikely in the extreme that a man sitting in Kao-ch'ang would send a letter to Tun-huang to catch the post to Samarkand—five degrees of longitude to the east.

For all these reasons I have long suspected that *Kc'n* = 姑臧 *Ku-tsang* = Liang-chou-fu; the Sogdian letter -c stands for -k and -c ("ts"); as to the finals, cf. *šrw'n*: *Tun-hu'ang*, or *y'n*: *k'ang* (above, p. 603, n. 3). At the beginning of the fourth century Ku-tsang was the leading Chinese town to the west of the Huang-ho. It was the residence of Chang Kuei, the governor of the province of Liang (301-314), which at that time included Tun-huang (as well as the oasis of Turfan). Presently it was to become the capital of several

Liang dynasties (Former Liang, 317-376, founded by Chang Kuei's son Shih; Later Liang, 386-403; etc.). Every Sogdian entering China had to pass through it. Moreover it is known from Chinese sources that it was a town frequented by Sogdians. In a passage of the *Pei-shih*, recently treated by O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Byzantion*, xvii, 1944-5, 226 sqq., we read "Merchants of Su-tê (= Sogd) used to go in great numbers to the region of Liang, but on the capture of Ku-tsang (439) all of them were taken prisoners. At the beginning of the period Wên-ch'ang (462-465) the king of Su-tê sent an envoy to ask for their ransom, which was granted by cabinet order."

This identification is confirmed by the itinerary *Chinân-kath* (Kao-ch'ang)-*Khumdân* which was contained in *Jaihan* text work and is known to us from Gardizi and—though not in the form of an itinerary—the *Hudûdu 'l'Alam* (tr. Minorsky, 84-5, 229-230). Here the stage named immediately after Kan-chou is 𐰽𐰺𐰍 (Gard.), 𐰽𐰺𐰍 (Hud.)—the second spelling, which is the only correct one, is identical with the Sogdian spelling. As the first important town reached after leaving Kan-chou is Ku-tsang, its identity with 𐰽𐰺𐰍 cannot seriously be doubted.

Reichelt found not only Kao-ch'ang, but the neighbouring oasis of Ha-mi/Qomul as well mentioned in our Letter, in the guise of *km'yô*, line 11. This was approved by Elliot, loc. cit., 460. One asks oneself in vain why these Sogdian merchants, supposedly engaged in the China trade, should have gone to such outlying starved desert places where nothing worth mentioning was ever produced. Here, however, Reichelt's reading was wrong: *km* is clearly *kmny*, *kmny*, see above, p. 604, n. 11; the presumed resemblance to Qomul therewith disappears.

There is little doubt that, as in the case of *Kc'n*, this place, too, should be looked for on the caravan route linking Tun-huang with the interior of China. I put the problem to Professor Haloun, who was able to identify the name without a moment's hesitation: it represents 𐰽𐰺𐰍 *Chin-ch'ang*, Middle Chin. *Han-shang*. *Chin-ch'ang* was the great fortress town that covered the crossing of the Huang-ho. Situated on the right bank of the river (near mod. Lan-chou-fu), it was the first important town of China proper that the traveller from the West reached. A foreign merchant could scarcely find a place better suited to his requirements. A re-examination of the photograph shows that the last, somewhat shadowy letter is in fact -n. Hence, we read *Kmny(n)*, which a Sogdian may have pronounced *Kemzin* (note that here again the final Chinese *ng* ["ng"] appears as -n).

The place mentioned in line 8, *Kwr'ynk*, was probably another town on the road to China, presumably to the east of *Kemzin*. Nansai-vandak throughout complains of being cut off from "inside"; he states that he cannot get into touch with his agent in *Kwr'ynk*; hence, one might argue, *Kwr'ynk* lay "inside" or even beyond. Reichelt, on the contrary, identified the name with that of *Krorayina/Lou-lan*. Yet it is unlikely that traffic to Lou-lan was

subjected to more than ordinary difficulties at that time; indeed, from iii, 7, one learns that during the three years preceding the dispatch of the Letters the road to the West (on which Lou-lan was the first considerable stage) was open not less than five times. Moreover, Lou-lan is spelt *kr'wr'n* = *Kr'wrdn* in vi, 5. Surely the Sogdians must have adopted a standard spelling for the names of the more important places? Had they allowed themselves such vagaries as writing *kr'ywk* and *kr'wr'n* indiscriminately, the unfortunate addressees of these Letters—to say nothing of us—would have had no chance of understanding what their correspondents were talking about. As a vehicle of communicating foreign, above all Chinese, names the Sogdian script may well claim to be the worst imaginable, even without the complication of vacillating orthography.

Another place-name, probably, is *cyrdw'n* in the date. *MR'Y*, the ideogram for "master, overlord, prince" (presumably representing *zrd'w'n*), is elsewhere preceded by a place-name (or an adjective derived from a place-name). So in the Mugh letters the official style of King *Dēwāstūē* is *synčytk MLK' sm'rānbo MR'Y dyw'štye* "Sogdian King, Prince of Samarkand, D." If we may rely on analogy and so regard *cyrdw'n* as the name of a town, one lying in the region from which Nansai-vandak sent his letter (between Tun-huang and the Huang-ho), can we help thinking of the old name of Su-chou, 濠洲 *Chiu-ch'uan*, Middle Chin. *Tsiu-dz'i'an*? This over-vowelled monater may have been heard as \**Ci-dacan* by the Sogdians who then may have yielded to temptation and inserted an unsystematical *-r-* (as they did frequently, see *HSOS.*, IX, 570); the resulting \**cr'-dacan* seems to be adequately expressed by the Sogdian letters *cyrdw'n* (the letter *-c-* = the sound *-o-* ["*ts*"] as in *Ko'n*).

Who then was this "Prince" or "Overlord" of Su-chou by whose years Nansai-vandak dated his letter? Only one answer seems possible; the above-mentioned governor-general of the province of Liang, Chang Kuei. He had been appointed in 301 and died in 314 (on the 8th July); his 13th year thus coincides with 313. While this date appears to agree well with the other data derivable from our Letter, it cannot be denied that the view presented here is scarcely more than a *pis aller*. No objection can be raised to the assumption that foreigners living in Su-chou or Tun-huang dated by the years of Chang Kuei; on 6th June, 313, even a Chinese may have been excused for not knowing who the legal Emperor was; in the eyes of foreigners coming from the West Chang Kuei, though a loyal servant of the Chin, must have seemed a ruler of great authority—he certainly was the leading representative of Chinese might to the west of the Huang-ho. What, however, is strange is that he should be called "the Overlord of Su-chou"—why Su-chou? and not, e.g., Ku-tsang?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schoder, *Ung. Jahrb.*, xv, 575, n. 5. Schoder thinks *cyrdw'n* is a personal name, but gives no reason for this view.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Haloun (who disapproves of my explanation) points out that a prefect of Chiu-ch'uan 張 鎮 Chang Chên by name, is mentioned as having been involved in intrigues against Chang Kuei in 308. He was probably removed from his office at that time, and so whoever was prefect of Su-chou in 311 or a year or so later cannot have been in his 13th year of office.



Presumably because Nansi-vandak resided in Su-chou; he lived certainly to the west of the Huang-ho, but neither in Tun-huang nor in Ku-tsang. The Magh letters show that the Sogdians were in the habit of calling their ruler the MR'Y of a town (in addition, it is true, to giving them a wider title); may not the Sogdians of Su-chou have done the same! <sup>1</sup>

Having dealt with the place-names we can now briefly review the relevant events of Chinese history to which the Sogdian Letter appears to refer. At the beginning of the fourth century we find the southern branch of the Hsiung-nu, admitted into Chinese territory *comme fédérés, comme troupes au service de l'empereur*<sup>2</sup>, in occupation chiefly of mod. Shan-si, with their centre first in Tai-yüan, then in Ping-yang. Taking advantage of the conditions of chronic famine and revolt that characterized the rule of the Chin emperor Huai-ti (beg. 307), the Hsiung-nu *shang-gé* Liu Yüan proclaimed himself Chinese Emperor in 308. His son 劉 聰 Liu Ts'ung, who succeeded him in 310, *fut l'Attila de la Chine*<sup>3</sup>.

A minor effect of the troubled conditions, one that was not primarily connected with the activities of the Hsiung-nu, was the destruction of Yeh in 307. In the 5th month of that year (= 17th June-16th July) insurgents led by one 翟 曷 Chi Sang captured the town, burnt its famous palaces—they burned for over a week—killed more than ten thousand people, and, after plundering the city, withdrew to the south-east. Even at that moment it could well be said that "Yeh is no more".

The famine was, even for China, abnormally severe.<sup>4</sup> *La saison ayant été très mauvaise dans le territoire de Lok-yang, les denrées devinrent si rares que le peuple, pendant cette affreuse disette, en vint jusqu'à manger de la chair humaine, et que les mandarins, ne pouvant plus y subsister, en sortirent presque tous pour aller ailleurs. L'Empereur fut lui-même sur le point d'abandonner la ville.*<sup>5</sup>

The final catastrophe took place in 311. The capital (Lo-yang), which had been deserted by the army, was invested by the Hsiung-nu. The Emperor had wanted to leave it, but had missed the opportunity. On the 13th July Lo-yang was stormed; the Emperor, Huai-ti, hoping to establish himself in Ch'ang-an, tries to flee, but is immediately captured and carried off to Ping-yang. The

<sup>1</sup> No good alternative explanation is at hand. MR'Y is conceivably an Iranian word for "number" (it does not occur), and *cyra* could be the (unattested) Sogdian word for "14" (this would leave *mr'y* unaccounted for). However, to operate with "the 13th year of the 14th number = period (1)" is useless. The nearest 13th year of the sexagesimal cycle is 318, but the number of the cycle in the most widely used system of chronology is 319 (and in none fourteen). *Cyra*'s Sanskrit name of a ruler of *śaka*-*śaka*.

<sup>2</sup> B. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 98. Cf. Sogdian Letter, line 18.

<sup>3</sup> Grousset, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sogdian Letter, lines 37-8.

<sup>5</sup> A. des Michels, *Hist. Géogr. des Sécs Byzantines*, notes de comm., p. iv. Cf. Sogd. Lett., line 11. The verb, *pr'd*, means "fled", and "weggegangen", cf. iii, 28, "Farnzund absconded; the Chinese sought him (weygy'at), but did not find him (byrg'at)." Cf. Sogd. *pr'dy* (read *pr'dy* ?), S.T., ii, *pr'dy*, Genyze, 284; *Yaghoo's apr'd*, *apir'd*, *Gr'f'ail*, i, 2, 335, all = "flee". From *apm-nat* (SkT. *akā*, OPers. *rad*, MPers. *radān*, NPers. *radān*).



palaces are burnt, the town is sacked and completely destroyed. It remained deserted until the Yüan Wei (T'o-pa) decided to make it their capital again (city walls built in 493, rebuilding of the palaces completed in 502).

Yeh, or what remained of that town (which was an important fortress), was at that time commanded by Liu Yin, a Chin general. The Hsiung-nu, under Shih Leh, attacked him in the 6th month (beg. 20th July) of 312, but failed to take the town. It was captured and sacked only in the 4th month (12th May-9th June) of the next year, by Shih Hu, who by his cruelty and blood-thirstiness evoked the disgust of even Hsiung-nu generals.

Immediately after the destruction of Lo-yang the Hsiung-nu initiated a great attack on Ch'ang-an (311, 8th month = 31st August-28th September), which was in the hands of Prince Mu, the Governor and C.-in-C. of all N.W. provinces. Having taken T'ung-kuan, the main fortress guarding the entry into the Wei valley, and defeated Mu's troops there, they advance to Hsia-kua. The general commanding the garrison troops of Ch'ang-an, Pei-kung Ch'un, who leads the auxiliaries sent by Chang Kuei from Liang-chou, leaves the town and surrenders. Prince Mu, thus abandoned by his soldiers, follows his example, and Ch'ang-an falls into Hsiung-nu hands.

In the 10th month (29th October-26th November) the prefects of three adjoining prefectures collect an army and defeat the Hsiung-nu before the gates of Ch'ang-an, but they succeed in holding the city. In 312, 3rd month (23rd April-21st May), Chang Kuei rushes troops to the East for its recapture. In the 4th month (22nd May-19th June) the allied Chinese relief troops at last force the Hsiung-nu, under Liu Yau, to abandon Ch'ang-an. They retire to their dominions to the east of the Huang-ho, not without removing 80,000 people from the city.

Prince Yeh (a nephew of Hui-ti), who had been proclaimed Regent after the fall of Lo-yang, now enters Ch'ang-an. He assumes the title of "Hui Presumptive" in the 9th month (17th October-15th November), 312. After the death of Hui-ti, which occurred in the 2nd month (14th March-11th April) of 313, Prince Yeh, the future Min-ti, ascends the throne in Ch'ang-an (4th month = 12th May-9th June). That month is marked by a minor attack on the city by Liu Yau, who again appears before it in the 10th month (5th November-3rd December), enters and burns the suburbs, but is defeated in the following month and withdraws. There is no point in pursuing this sad history any further here.

Nannai-vandak's report agrees with these events in all important details: the enemies are the Hün; the war is concerned chiefly with the three cities of Saray, "Khumdân, and "Ngap": Saray is completely ruined; the terrible famine; the Emperor's flight, and possibly his capture (line 14?). Taken one by one, these details are recurring features of Chinese history; but in their totality the points of agreement are too numerous to allow of any doubt: the report refers to 311. We may, however, go a little further and try to determine the precise date.

The Sogdian month *Tym'yc* (= Persian *Dai*)<sup>1</sup> corresponds to 7th June–6th July in 311, to 6th June–5th July in 312, 313, 314. The year 311 is too early; for Lo-yang was taken only on 13th July. The year 314 is too late; for at that time Min-ti had occupied the throne for over a year, so that Nanai-vandak could not well talk of Hsui-ti as the "last Emperor"; Min-ti was strongly supported by Chang Kuei in whose territory Nanai-vandak lived. We are thus left with either 312 or 313.

Here the choice is far more difficult. It depends above all on the assessment of the sources on which Nanai-vandak relied and the speed with which news reached his ears. On the assumption that he lived in Su-chou, there were eight hundred miles of war-torn and completely disorganized territory between himself and Lo-yang. From his own agents he had heard nothing for three years. Even though Chang Kuei, the mainstay of the Chin, was doubtless well informed of the latest events, accurate knowledge was scarcely accessible to a foreigner in Su-chou who had been deprived of his normal news supply. Even taking into account the influx of numberless refugees, the time-lag between any event and the moment it became known to Nanai-vandak (who presumably endeavoured to check rumours) was in all likelihood scarcely less than a full year.

His information corresponds fairly exactly to the true position existing in June, 312, when the fate of Ch'ang-an was in the balance. Allowing for the time-lag, we obtain June, 313, as the date of the letter. In that month Nanai-vandak can hardly have known yet of Min-ti's accession; he should perhaps have heard that Ch'ang-an had been recaptured: the fight for that city, however, went on (with interruptions) until it was again taken by the Hsiung-nu in 316. It cannot be made out whether he had heard of the death of Hsui-ti. His information on the fate of 'Ngap' provides no conclusive data—there seems to be a reminiscence of the events of 307—but apparently he knew that the city was attacked by the Hsiung-nu; that attack took place after the end of the *Tym'yc* of 312. Of its final capture, which occurred in a month that overlapped—by four days—with the *Tym'yc* of 313, he can scarcely have been aware; unless one were to assume that his sources of information were extraordinarily accurate and speedy, which assumption would not square with his hesitation in the case of Ch'ang-an.

On all counts June, 313, seems the best date. It agrees well also with the repeated statement that all traffic with the heart of China was interrupted "three years ago", hardly long before the capture of Lo-yang. Three and a half years ago the famine had reached its height in the capital (lines 35–8); the wealthy foreign merchants, who no doubt knew their way about the "black market", are not likely to have been the first victims. Is it then an accident that the June of 313 falls within the thirteenth year of Chang Kuei, the ruler of all Chinese lands to the west of the Huang-ho where Nanai-vandak

<sup>1</sup> The first day of *Tym'yc* is the 271st day of the Sogdian year; the first day of the Sogdian year fell on 10th September in 310 and 311, on 8th September in 312–15.

lived, and that a *thirteenth* year is mentioned in the date affixed to III letter?

As all the Letters no doubt belong to the same year, or to two successive years—the one dated in the 10th month probably belongs to the Chinese year preceding 313—we can tentatively assign the following dates to them:<sup>1</sup>—

Letter iv	15.10.	30th November, 312
Letter iii	10.3.	21st April, 313
Letter v	30.3.	11th May, 313
Letter ii	Pym'ysh	6th June–5th July, 313

It remains to say a few words on the names used in the Sogdian Letter for the Chinese and Hsiung-nu. It is obvious that *an cynda* = *Chinai* is "the land of 𐰽 Ch'in", so *cy* = *Chin* is "the people of Ch'in" = "the Chinese"; it occurs five times in Letter No. iii<sup>2</sup>, but was not recognized by Reichelt. Of far greater interest is *xun* = Hsiung-nu: the first letter, by origin the Aramaic *ḥṣh*, serves in Sogdian, a language devoid of the sound *h*, to represent not merely the indigenous *x* (χ)—voiceless guttural continuant—but also any kind of foreign *h*-sound (occasionally also the Chinese *k*). Thus *xun* can be read as *Hun* or *Hūn* or *Xun* or *Xūn*. In recent years there has been some considerable reaction, led by O. Maenchen-Helfen<sup>3</sup>, against the firmly established but possibly naive belief in the identity—in whatever terms conceived—of the Hsiung-nu of the Far East with the *Hunni* of Europe (with the Indian *Hūna* coming in as a weak third); much doubt has been thrown on the identity of even the names. Yet here we find a name that is indistinguishable from that of the *Hūna*, *Qūnu*, *Hunni*, Arm. *Hen-k*, Saka *Huna*, Khwarezmian *هون* *Hūn*<sup>4</sup>, employed not of nomads of vague definition, but actually of the genuine Far-Eastern Hsiung-nu. And, what is more remarkable still, this name, unlike that found in the Saka *Lehrgedicht*<sup>5</sup>, was in use well before the time when either the European *Huns* or the tribes that became known as *Hūna* to the Indians made their first appearance in history.

<sup>1</sup> The other Letters bear no dates or no complete dates. III is taken for granted that those months that are designated by ordinal numbers are Chinese months.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the passages have been translated in this article, so line 34, p. 612, n. 5: line 36, p. 607, n. 2: *cy[m]y š[ʔ]h* also in vi, 38; *cy* in line 17 is not yet clear. Line 20 "I shall (have to) learn how to be polite to the Chinese"—plainly, to the writer's mind, a fate worse than death. Reichelt has not well understood this letter, which must be read in conjunction with Letter No. 4; both are written by the same woman (No. 1 to her mother, No. 3 to her husband) and deal with the same matters. Her husband, Yama-šāt, had left her without money in Tun-huang, and now she has been reduced to the ultimate ignominy of having to go into service with Chinese people. While writing (or rather, dictating) the letter she becomes more and more enraged, and ends up with the words "I'd rather be a dog's or a pig's wife than yours!"

<sup>3</sup> "Huns and Hsiung-nu" and "The Legend of the Origin of the Huns" (with full references), *Orientalia*, xvii, 1944-6, 222-251.

<sup>4</sup> Found only in *هون زن آذک* *hūn-zn-ak* "slave" (lit. "a Hun's son" or "a Hun-boy") and *هونان* *hūnan* "slave-girl" (lit. "a slave-Hun"; formed with a Khwar. fem. suffix -an), the equivalents of Arabic *'abd* and *ḥarīṣah*, Persian *band* and *harīṣ* respectively.

<sup>5</sup> vi, 9, *Huna Gineppa* may mean "Hsiung-nu and Chinese", but this cannot be proved (cf. St. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1933, 35).



## The Aramaic Inscription of Asoka found in Lampāka

(PLATES I & 2)

SEVERAL years before the war a photograph of a stone inscription in Aramaic letters was published in the Persian language periodical *Kabul* (vol. ii, 1932, p. 413). The following note (in Persian), printed below the photograph, constitutes the whole of our information on the material, history, and provenance of the inscription:—

"A historical inscribed stone: A few years ago a broken stone tablet (*lauḥe*) with ancient Sanskrit writing was procured in the neighbourhood of Pul-i Darunta, Laghmān, and entrusted to Kabul Museum. So far its contents have not been read and understood. The original of the above (depicted) stone is in Kabul Museum."

Laghman, older *Lamyān* (from *Lambayān* < \**Lampakāna*),<sup>1</sup> is the name of a district on the left (northern) bank of the Kabul river, a little above Jalalabad; it comprises the valleys of the Lower Alingār and Ališang.<sup>2</sup> This district, whose name is familiar to Sanskritists as *Lampāka* (also *Lambāka*), was traditionally regarded as part of the Indian borderlands, the ultima Thule 卐 *Jambudvīpa*. Cf. *Mémoires de Hiouen-thsang*, i, 55, "en partant de ce royaume (= Kūpiś), il . . . franchit les montagnes noires, entra dans les frontières de l'Inde du nord, et arriva au royaume de Lan-po". 卐 also *Lampāka* in the *Yakṣa* catalogue of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and further H. Lüders, *SbPAW.*, 1930, 43, 48, 61, 63. One may presume that the traditional view reflects the conditions prevailing under the Maurya dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription was made known in Europe by Professor Morgenstierne, who, on finding that the alphabet was Aramaic, asked H. Birkeland to publish it. He, in his turn, recognized a number of words as Aramaic, but saw that others belonged to an unknown language (*Acta Orientalia*, xvi, 1938, 222-233). These he suspected to 卐 Iranian. One of them, that appears not less than five times in the very short inscription, 𐎧𐎡𐎴 *šyky*, was tentatively explained by Morgenstierne as Oīran, \**śahayati* or early Middle Iranian \**śakhi*, to

<sup>1</sup> Suffix -āka(a) as in many Iranian place-names. \**Lampo* or *Lambā* may have been a tribal name. Cf. also the form used by al-Bīrūnī, 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬵 or 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬵𐬀 — *Lambāka/Lambokā*, *India*, 130, 200 (= transl. i, 249; ii, 9); *Qāṣṣa Naṣ'ṣaṣ*, ed. Zeki Validi, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> The hamlet 卐 *Darunta* itself, however, as M. Ramez Curiel, of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, assures me, is on the right bank of the Kabul river. The precise finding-place is apparently unknown.

<sup>3</sup> If the inscription under discussion must indeed be ascribed to Asoka, there can be no doubt any longer that *Lampāka* (and, with it, *Nagarāhira*) belonged to his empire. Dr. Tarn assumed that *Lampāka* had remained in Greek hands since Alexander's time (*Greeks in Bactria*, 66 sq.), and put the frontier between the Greeks and Candragupta along the Kunḍa river (*ibid.*, 100).

correspond to Old Persian *šātiy* (from \**śahati*) "he says" (p. 233, n. 1). Birkeland recalled the only other Aramaic inscription known from India, that discovered by Sir John Marshall at Taxila, which most scholars now attribute to Asoka's reign, but thought that for reasons of palaeography the new inscription belonged to an earlier date, probably late Achaemenian times. Several improvements on Birkeland's readings were suggested by F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaische Forschung seit H. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen*, III sq.<sup>2</sup>

The study of the inscription was then taken up by E. Altheim, who recently devoted a long chapter to it in his *Weltgeschichte Asiens im Griechischen Zeitalter*, vol. i (Halle, 1947), 25-43.<sup>3</sup> He unhesitatingly ascribed it to Asoka himself and regarded it as one of the *dhamma-thambhāni* "pillars of morality" mentioned in the Delhi-Topra Edict, vii, 23 (p. 132, III. Hultsch). The unknown words he explained as Iranian, as belonging to the local Iranian dialect, which he thought was identical with or closely related to the language of the Avesta. "*Beide Sprachen, iranisch und aramäisch, verteilen sich derart auf der Inschrift, dass die erste für den einleitenden Satz, die zweite für das königliche Reskript verwendet war*" (p. 30).

In the one essential point, the attribution to Asoka, I am entirely in agreement with Professor Altheim. It is only proper that I should pay tribute to the ingenuity displayed by him in putting the inscription into its true historical context, all the more so as I find myself disagreeing with him on nearly all the other points. First and foremost, I cannot admit that there is a single Iranian word in the inscription. The readings on which Professor Altheim based his Iranian interpretation are, in my view, incorrect throughout. The far-reaching conclusions he has drawn, from the "*aramaisch-avestischen Inschrift*", for the history of the Avesta cannot stand.

The reading given by Birkeland and Rosenthal is substantially correct. The one point to be criticized is Birkeland's transliteration in his confusion of *d/r*, *w*, and *n*. The last word in the inscription, *šwā'n* (Rosenthal), shows how these letters were in fact distinguished: *w* is a simple right angle, *]*, *d/r* is a double right angle, *7* (sometimes notched at the top, *1*), while *n* has a narrower top than *d/r* and a longer down-stroke than either *w* or *d/r*, *]*. Noteworthy is the tendency to distinguish final letters from their peers by making them a little larger than the others (chiefly by prolonging the down-strokes); thus final *-s* in lines 4 and 5 (note *škyr/s* *skyty*), final *-b* in line 7 (*bakb* as against *b'm*), final *-n* twice in line 8 (as against e.g. *l'n* in line 2), and possibly final *-'* in lines 1 and 3. All lines are incomplete at both sides, except the last, of which the end is preserved.

<sup>2</sup> This book has not been accessible to me. However, I have been acquainted with some of his readings through a talk I had with Dr. Rosenthal a year or so before the war. He then very kindly left with me a copy of the photograph that had previously been before Professor Birkeland and himself, and thus enabled me to take an interest in the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> The first three paragraphs of this chapter (pp. 25-40) have been reprinted in *Festschrift Otto Eissfeldt . . . dargebracht*, Halle, 1947, pp. 25-40, under the title of "Eine neue Asoka-Inschrift".

Text <sup>1</sup>		
אֵלֶּה מִנֵּה	1	כ' מ
אֵלֶּה לֵאנֶשׁ	2	[(h)w] l' nš
אֵלֶּה סִדְתִּי לֹא מִן	3	[(t)w] shyty l' d
אֵלֶּה סִדְתִּי הִנֵּה	4	[m]s' rth shyty h[et]
אֵלֶּה דִּדְחִיתִי סִדְתִּי	5	[h]zh dyhhyty shyty
אֵלֶּה אֲנִיכִיתִּים סִדְתִּי	6	[(w)w] prys 'dhyty shyty
אֵלֶּה סִדְתִּי שִׁמְךָ לִמְנֶה בְּעֹלָמָה	7	[ry]w shyty hyme lmkth b'm[ud]
blank	8	['h]ryn hnd'n blank
blank		blank

It will be advisable to deal with the reading and the Aramaic words first, before discussing the words in the unknown language:—

(line 1) *l'pt* Birkeland, *l'pt* Altheim. The nature of the second letter, a misshapen, oversized Alef, is not seriously in doubt; there is clear word-division. *l'* is presumably the end of a feminine noun, *pt* may be the remainder of an attributive adjective. As the number of Aramaic words that begin with *pt* is small, there is a chance of hitting on the correct restoration. A reasonable one would be *pt* *l'pt* *l'pt* "living being(n) fattened . . ." (sing. or pl.) cf. *pt* *l'pt* *l'pt* quoted by J. Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Wb.*, iv, 27 s.v. *pt*.

(line 2) That the first word is *hwh* was already assumed by Birkeland. It may be incomplete at the beginning. One could restore *hwh* "let it be known to men . . .", cf. the Biblical . . . *hwh*. There are countless other possibilities.

(line 3) Instead of *l'w* Birkeland read *l'w* (with a question-mark), Altheim *l'w* or *l'w*. The characteristic long down-stroke of *l* is unmistakable; there is even a trace of the shorter right-hand down-stroke. *l'w* is the final of one of the "unknown" words; the same ending occurs in line 5 before *shyty*. At the end of the line, *l'*, with a slightly enlarged (final) Alef, is separated from *l'*. Presumably *l'w* "it is not good . . .".

(line 4) *l'w* (or *l'w* or *l'w*) Birkeland; *l'w* Altheim. The final *-w*, although marred by a fault in the stone, is nevertheless quite clear; cf. the final *-w* in line 6. That the second letter cannot be *h*, is shown by reference to line 5 where *h* is found twice. At the end of the line, *l'w* (-*t* dubious) = "there was (fam.)".

(line 5) *l'w*, for which Altheim wrongly gives *l'w* as alternative, is incomplete at the beginning. Before *h* one can still see the lower end of a down-stroke, which is too short for *t* or *n*, but exactly right for *m*. Hence, *l'w* or *l'w*. At any rate, *l'w* is a form of the Aramaic verb *h-w* "to see", preferably the infinitive. The second word was misread *nyhhyt* by Birkeland.

<sup>1</sup> [Restored], (incomplete) or (uncertain) letters.

<sup>2</sup> Birkeland may have been misled by the form of *h* found in documents of much earlier date (e.g. in the papyrus published by H. Bauer and E. Meissner, *S.P.A.W.*, 1936, 414 sq.).



*ryšhytury* by Altheim. That the third letter is the same as *lāzā* is as clear as one could wish. The confusion of *d/r*, *n*, and *w* has been pointed out above; here the letter is too small for *n* (*w* is altogether out of the question). The only alternative reading that can be admitted is *ryšhytury*.

(line 6) This line was correctly read by Birkeland, except for his overlooking the word-division (by spacing and the use of a large *s*) before *'bhysyts*; there is a fault in the stone after the final *s* of *'bhysyts*, which must not be mistaken for a destroyed letter. Only the letter before *aprys* is doubtful; it seems to be *w* (hence *jonprys*), but it cannot be regarded as certain. The reading offered by Professor Altheim, *apryd'rhytsyts shyty*, is unacceptable. By arbitrarily substituting *d* and *s* for *r* and *b* (perhaps the clearest letters in the whole inscription) he has discovered the name of Piyadasi-Asoka here, in the strange guise of *pyd'rhyty* = *Priyadārhi*. Readers are requested to refer to the accompanying photograph to convince themselves of the incorrectness of the proposed changes. Professor Altheim gives us a whole page of reasons why the letter *s* should be read as *d* here (p. 27)<sup>2</sup>; but no amount of argument can change the clear facts.

(line 7) Instead of *ryty* Birkeland read *jayty* (questioning *n*), and Altheim gave *kyty*, admitting *ryty* (or *kyty*) as alternative. It is true that *d/r* and *k* are not well distinguished here; the only certain *k* (in *lmkth* line 7) is somewhat larger than *d/r*, while the first letter in this line is rather small. Further on, after *shyty*, Birkeland read *ml mktb b'm[ud']*, while Altheim has *tymlmktb*. The first two letters, *ty*, are clearly visible in the photograph provided by Professor Altheim, but smudged in the one on which Professor Birkeland based his reading. Dr. Rosenthal pointed out to me that the first *t* was misread and the second belonged to *mktb*<sup>3</sup>; he was certainly right. I do not know how he read the word before *lmkth*, which seems to be *symr* = ܣܝܡܪ 3rd pers. pl. perf. pass. or 2nd pl. impv. act., "they were set to write on pillar(s)" or "set ye to write on pillar(s) . . .". The object of *sym* (or, if the form is passive, the grammatical subject) must have stood in the gap after "on pillar(s) . . ."; probably "these injunctions" (or the like). The construction of plain *sym* with an infinitive with *t*, apparently in the sense of ܣܝܡܪ ܕܝܬܝܢ, is perhaps slightly unusual. At least, in the admittedly very limited amount of Aramaic material known to me, it occurs in only one other passage (in an unpublished document of about 445 B.C.), which is so precisely parallel to the line under review that I cannot resist the temptation to quote it:—

ܝܬܝܢ ܥܡ ܓܝܬܐ ܕܝ ܡܢ ܝܬܪܐ ܕܡܠܐܚ

"and [it] shall come together with the treasure which was set by me to bring

<sup>2</sup> Among them is a novel explanation of the Sogdian letter *š* from Aramaic *d*, contrary to the well-founded opinion unanimously adopted by all those who have occupied themselves with the study of Sogdian.

<sup>3</sup> According to Altheim, p. 29, n. 31, Rosenthal threw doubt on the second *t* (in his book p. 34, n. 1). As the second *t* is in fact clearly visible, it seems possible that his remarks have been misinterpreted.

■ Babylon = which I ordered ■ be brought to B." Hence, "[these injunctions] were set to write = ordered to ■ written on pillar(s) . . .".

(line ■ *hwd'n* was found by Dr. Rosenthal. Instead of *'hryn* (which seems to ■ perfectly clear) both Birkeland and Altheim gave *'hryn*. It is unlikely that *'hryn* is a word for "other" (Levy, i, 58; Dalman, *Aram.-Neuhebr. Wb.*, 136; Schultess, *Lex. Syropalæstinum*, 56), which in *Reichsaramäisch* ■ *'hra* (a plural \**'hryn* "others" is possible, cf. Cowley, *Aram. Papyri*, p. 50 on 15<sup>2</sup>), or that it ■ the adverb (3) found in *Daniel* 4, 5. Probably *'hryn* is simply 𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤍 "after us", as in *Ahiqar* ■ according to some scholars. The inscription, therefore, may have ended with the words "■ we have made known [these injunctions for the benefit of those that will come] after us". If the lines were not too long, *'hryn hwd'n* may have formed the end of the sentence that began with *šmū* in line 1, whence "There were ordered to ■ written on pillar(s) of stone these injunctions which] we have made known [for the benefit of those that will come] after us".

There are thus Aramaic words in seven lines out of eight (in all except the sixth). The unknown words are restricted to groups ending with *štyt*. Parts of five such groups have been preserved in the fragment; they were separated from each other by sentences ■ Aramaic. The number ■ the unknown words before *štyt* varied; there was one only in line 5, two at least in line 6. The groups are these:—

i.	𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤍	} <i>štyt</i>
ii.	𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤅𐤍	
iii.	𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤅𐤍𐤅𐤍	
iv.	𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤅𐤍𐤅𐤍𐤅𐤍	
v.	𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤍	

Let us consider the endings of these strange words (leaving *štyt* aside for the present). We have -*s* three<sup>1</sup> times, -*ty* twice, -*tyr* once. As it has been claimed that the unknown words are Iranian, ■ should be pointed out that while -*yw* is a common ending in Iranian (-*aiw*) and -*ty* a not so common one (-*awai*, -*θwai*), -*s* is an altogether impossible one. No one acquainted with Iranian will ever mistake *'štyt* for an Iranian word. But was there not a language in the Indo-Iranian borderlands, ■ which all three endings were extremely common? Indeed, the endings, taken by themselves, are sufficient ■ prove that the "unknown" words are *Middle Indian*.

That that is so was clear to me ever since I saw the word *'štyt*, which is evidently Prakrit *abhiṣikṣa* "of the anointed" (= Skt. *abhiṣikṣā*). This is not an artificially made-up form, but one that occurs not less than three times in the inscriptions of Asoka, in which *abhiṣikṣa* is constantly used in the dating formulas. With this in mind ■ is easy to complete *𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤅𐤍𐤅𐤍* to *[d]𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤅𐤍𐤅𐤍𐤅𐤍* = *Dauḍa-prīṣa*, which in the inscriptions of Asoka serves very

<sup>1</sup> In fact, four times (as will be shown further on).

nearly as the king's name. The spelling *janpriya* has the additional value of determining the Prakrit dialect to which the words in the inscription belong: it is the North-Western Prakrit, for which Professor Bailey recently introduced the name of Gāndhārī (*BSOAS.* m, 764 sqq.). *Devanapriya-* is the spelling characteristic of the Mānsehrā Inscr., in which the genitive *Devanapriyasa* occurs thirteen times; in the Shahbazgarh Inscr. *Devanapriya-* is more common than *Devanapriya-*.

As the words of the fourth group can be traced to the inscriptions of Asoka, there is some likelihood that that will be so also in the case of the other groups. The first and fifth groups are too incomplete to be identified: they is the ending of a Future Passive Participle in *-aviyo* (*-aviyo*). *rythe* is a Locative Plural *-rye* (e.g. *bahireṣu ca nagareṣu* in the Fifth Rock Edict in the Kharyūṭhi versions); both endings are very common. The second group, *ima'artha*, can be recognized as *imasa arthasa* (*arthasa*) and should therefore be completed as [*y*]*ma'artha*. The words *imasa arthasa*, so combined, occur once (and once only) in the inscriptions, in two successive sentences at the end of the Fourth Rock Edict, immediately before the dating formula (Shahbazgarhī *imasa arthasa* and *imasa arthasa*, Mānsehrā *imasa arthasa* and *artha* (1) (*arthasa*), Girnar *imasa arthasa*). Dhauī *imasa arthasa*). They are written as a single word in the Aramaic inscription, but spelled as separate words ([*y*]*ma* = *imasa*, '*artha* = *arthasa*). The reproduction of the Indian aspirates by consonants + *h* (cf. *bhāyāḥ*) and of the Indian liquids by *r* + dentals conforms to later usage; whether '*rik*' represents *arha-* or the older form *artha-* cannot of course be seen from the Aramaic spelling.

The purpose of a formula such as *imasa-arthasa-shyṭy*, embedded in an Aramaic text, can be one only: it constitutes a reference to the Edict from which the preceding (or the following) Aramaic sentence was extracted. That one should have identified the various Edicts by a couple of words or so apparently chosen at random from the middle of a sentence may strike us as a little strange. The procedure commonly adopted for Papal Bulls would have been unsuitable for Asoka's Edicts; their opening words are far too stereotyped. No doubt the words that were to constitute such a reference were selected with great care: in fact, *Imasa-arthasa* is characteristic enough and excludes all doubt which Edict is the one meant.

The choice of *Devanapriyasa-abhisita* is decidedly a less happy one; the words that in the inscriptions immediately precede *abhisita-* (which give the regnal years) would clearly have been more characteristic! Yet even here the Edict referred to can be identified with certainty. The genitive *abhisitasa* occurs in three places. Firstly, at the end of the Fourth Rock Edict, but only in the Dhauī Inscr.; the others, including the Kharyūṭhi versions, have *abhisitena*; moreover, that particular Edict is the one for which we have the name of *Imasa-arthasa*. Secondly, in the Fifth Pillar Edict, at the beginning and close of the end; in both cases *abhisitena* is in the majority of copies; in neither is the word coupled with *Devanapriya-*. Thirdly, in the Thirteenth

Rock Edict, in its first sentence; here all copies have the genitive *abhisitasa* (*abhisitasa*) coupled with *Devanapriyasa* (etc.). It is thus clear that the Aramaic inscription refers to the Thirteenth Rock Edict, in spite of fact that the words are given in the wrong order (*Devanapriyasa abhisitasa* instead of *abhisitasa D.*).

The last group to be considered is the third, *dykhyty* (*shyty*). Here there are some difficulties. The two letters 𐤎 are no doubt meant to represent one of the Indian aspirates; we have met *b + h* and *t + h* for 𐤎 and 𐤏 above. The only suitable aspirate is *kh*, for which, however, one would have expected *k + h* in Aramaic. On the other hand, it has been assumed before that the original aspirate 𐤎 was in fact pronounced as a fricative in the North-Western Prakrit (see e.g. Konow, *Kharosthi Inscriptions*, p. xcix); this assumption can be said to find support in the Aramaic spelling, which indicates *h'* or *x'*. Thus *dykhyty* is *dekhitiya* or *-tiye*. Here the objection can be raised that the 𐤎 of Prakrit *dekh-* "to see", as it is the outcome of an original *kx*, should not be treated in the same way as an original *kh*; it can be met by referring to *aveka* = Skt. *apēkṣā* in the Kharosthi Dharmaśāstra, C v 31, with *h* from *kx* from *kx*, 𐤎, Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 496, 778. 𐤎 is, of course, possible that a distinction was made in Aramaic script, so that the ordinary *kh* may have been expressed by the simple *h*, but a 𐤎 or *kx* that corresponded to *kx* by 𐤎. It is well known that Skt. *kx* does not ordinarily become (*kx*) in "Gandhari", cf. Bailey, *loc. cit.*, 770 sqq.; yet the form with 𐤎 is the only one found of this verb even in the Kharosthi versions of Asoka's inscriptions. The one doubtful point is whether *dekh-* or *dakh-* is the appropriate form. As a matter of fact the verb occurs only once, at the beginning of the First Rock Edict; in both Shahbazgarhi and Manicha the first letters are illegible. Hultzsch gave [da]khati; the Aramaic spelling favours [da]khati.

*Dekhitiya* does not occur in the material hitherto made known, but *dakhitiya* does, in the Maski Rock Inscription, section P. Not fewer than seven more or less incomplete copies of this inscription are known, there can be no objection to the assumption that a Kharosthi version of it existed as well, in which the word may have been spelled *dekhitiya*. Alternatively one may suppose that a lost Kharosthi version of the Third Pillar Edict had *dekhitiya* in the place of *dekhitiya* in the existing copies; in that short Edict *dekh-* is met with four times, and so could suitably be chosen as the characteristic word.

We have seen above (p. 82) that the Aramaic word preceding *dekhitiya* is a form, perhaps the infinitive, of *h'-sō(h)* "to see". It is scarcely accidental that two successive words, one in Aramaic, the other in Middle Indian, are found to have the same meaning. If e.g. the edict referred to is the Third Pillar Edict, any extract or abridgment will necessarily contain a form of "to see". We may infer that the *shyty*-groups referred to the preceding, not the following, Aramaic sentences.

It becomes clear now that *shyty* must mean "the preceding Aramaic sentence is extracted from, or an abridgment of, the Edict known by the name of so-and-so". There is no need to have recourse to an Iranian explanation.

The Aramaic spelling *shyly* admits many readings; there is a sufficiency of Indian words that can be represented by these five letters. A likely (possibly the most likely) reading is *śāhite* = Skt. *śāhita* or *śamhita*; -*te* as ending of the neuter nominative is common in the Shahbargahi and Mansehra inscriptions, and regular in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions found in the districts to the west of the Indus (see Konow, loc. cit., exisq.); cf. *śāhita* in the Kharoṣṭhi Dharmapada C r 9, 10. Among the meanings of the Sanskrit word one finds "composed of, connected with, accompanied by, agreeing with, conformable to, in accordance with, relating to, concerning"; most of them will do.

All the "unknown" words having been dealt with now, it remains to say a few words about the hitherto unidentified passages. Should the restoration of the first line, "living being(s) fattened . . .", happen to be the correct one, the reference could be only to the Fifth Pillar Edict, met. G. *jīṇa jīṇa no punariya* "living beings must not be [killed] with (other) living beings". The second line, ". . . be . . . to men", is too indeterminate; one could think of e.g. the Ninth Rock Edict (*\*ndī = jana-*). The sentence concluding the inscription is not a citation from an existing inscription; in tenor it resembles the end of the Seventh Pillar Edict, "now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine), and in order that (men) may conform to it . . . this rescript on morality was caused to [be] written by me . . . this rescript on morality-must [be] engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that this may be of long duration". Abridgment of his inscriptions was expressly authorized by King Asoka in the Fourteenth Rock Edict.

The words that in the original are in Middle Indian are printed in italics in the following—

#### Translation

..... living beings fattened [! with other living beings] .....  
 (5th P.E.) ..... be ..... to men ..... In accordance with "to  
 be . . ." (9th R.E. ?). It is not good ..... In accordance with  
 "of this purpose" (4th R.E.). There was ..... to men. In  
 accordance with "to [be] men" (3rd P.E. ?) ..... In  
 accordance with "of Devānāpriya anointed" (13th R.E.) .....  
 ..... In accordance with "[be] many towns" (5th R.E. ?). There were  
 ordered to be written on pillar[s] of stone ..... these injunctions which] we  
 have made known [for the benefit of those that will come] after us.

#### ADDENDUM

Since this article went to press, I have received (1) from Professor H. Birkeland a photograph (here reproduced, plate 1), which he had obtained through the good offices of M. Aimé-Giron (Cairo); (2) from M. Raoul Curjel a fresh photograph and a squeeze (see here, plate 2) taken by him from the

original in Kabul and now in possession of Professor Dupont-Sommer. My sincere thanks are due to these scholars for their kind and generous help. I am further indebted to Professors A. Guillaume, G. Morgenstierne, and M. L. Turner, who kindly looked through my manuscript and gave me valuable advice.

Except in line 8, the new material confirms the reading given above, in particular that of the Middle Indian words; even the *u* of *ṣṣṣṣṣṣ* can now be regarded as assured. There are traces of one additional letter each at the ends of lines 5 and 6; in line 5 probably *ḥ*, in line 6 perhaps *ʿ*. Line 8 must be revised; a half-destroyed letter, probably *m*, can now be seen in front of *ʾhryn*; the last letter of the second word is not *-a* but an enlarged (final) *-w* (the squeeze leaves no doubt on that score). The correct reading is thus:—

מִן אַחֲרֵינוּ (כ) [ 8 ] (m)ʾhryn hwd'w

The first word is either "(from) after us" (מִן אַחֲרֵינוּ) with here unexpected assimilation, cf. *Jer.* 2, 11, as against e.g. מִן אַחֲרֵינוּ *Abikar* 210), or "the tardy ones" (*Ps. Pictic. Pl.*). The second word can be 2nd Pl. Imp. *Ha.*, 3rd Pl. Perf. *Ha.* or *Ho.* ("make ye known" or "they made known" or "they were made known"); as מִן אַחֲרֵינוּ and מִן אַחֲרֵינוּ are probably in the same form, we can exclude the second possibility from serious consideration.

As the squeeze shows, the greatest height of the stone fragment is 17 in.; the greatest width 8 in.; the average distance from the top of a line to the top of the next  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. approximately.





## THE NAME OF THE "TOKHARIAN" LANGUAGE

Two words have been regarded as names of the old language of Qarašahr ("I A"), which is almost universally called "Tokharian" now. One, *ārši*, found in documents written in that language, has been claimed as the indigenous name, used by the speakers of I A themselves; several scholars, however, foremost among them Professor H. W. Bailey, deny that *ārši* refers to I A at all and insist that it is a foreign word, a Prakrit of Skt. *ārya-*, so that "*ārši* language" should mean *āryabhāṣā* = Sanskrit. The other, *twryy*, known from Uigur Turkish colophons to Buddhist books, is responsible for the introduction of the name of "Tokharian"; the late Professor Sten Konow, supported by Professor Bailey and others, rejected the opinion that the language designated as *twryy* by the Uigurs was the language now named "Tokharian"; in his view, *twryy* meant an Iranian dialect, probably Khotanese Saka. It is proposed here to re-examine the colophons in which *twryy* is mentioned, without entering into the problem of *ārši* for the present.

In an article published ten years ago<sup>1</sup> I endeavoured to settle the limits of the area in which the *twryy* language was spoken by having recourse to a geographical or political term, the "Four-*Twryy*-Land", occurring in Sogdian, Uigur, and Middle Persian sources contemporary with the Uigur colophons. It became clear that this "Four-*Twryy*-Land", presumably the home-land of the *twryy* language, lay in Chinese Turkestan, and probable that it lay "near or between Biṣṭaliq and Kučā" (p. 550), i.e., precisely in the area where the speakers of I A lived; but the evidence remained inconclusive, chiefly because the one passage that in the nature of things could furnish proof, a paragraph in the inscription of Karabal-gaun, could not be treated satisfactorily owing to the absence of a competent study on its Chinese version—may I once again appeal to Sinologists to turn their attention to that monument?

Two facts that emerged from that article may conveniently be recalled here: (1) the name of the country that has a right to the name of *Tokhar* in history, i.e., the region of Balkh, was, at the time to which the Uigur colophons belong, sufficiently distinct from the name of *Twryy* to admit of

<sup>1</sup> *Argi and the "Tokharians"*, *BSOS.*, ix, 545-71.

no confusion, (2) the second consonant in *Tuyry*, which was probably pronounced *Tuyr*, was voiced (*y*). The tendency to confuse different names on the strength of mere surface resemblance and with little or no regard to time and space is as prominent in recent contributions to the "Tokharian" problem as it was in the earlier ones; in face of it it becomes ever more important to stress diversity rather than likeness, confine ourselves to facts, and resign speculations. That the *Tuyr* language was misnamed *Tokharian* was due to such confusion; the identification, across seven or eight hundred years and five hundred miles or more, of *Tuyr* with the name of the *Θάυροποι*<sup>1</sup> noticed by Maës (probably end of 1st century A.D.) is equally purely speculative<sup>2</sup>.

As neither the colophons nor the passages in which the "Four-*Tuyry*-Land" is mentioned seemed to provide any decisive argument either way (even though the weight of evidence favoured the view that *Tuyry* = I A), the problem remained undecided and the flood of ingenious hypotheses unabated<sup>3</sup>. It was with a start of surprise that a little while ago I noticed that the chief colophon, a text that has been studied and re-studied by dozens of scholars these last thirty years, did in fact contain proof beyond reasonable doubt<sup>4</sup>. This was overlooked because F. W. K. Müller, in his reading of the Uigur passage, committed a small error and all other scholars, feeling justified in taking his reading on trust, apparently omitted to check it; for the mistake is plain enough. I hasten to say that no disrespect is intended to the memory of this truly eminent scholar whose learning few, if any, can emulate. Indeed, he excelled in reading the Sogdian-Uigur cursive script, that invention of Ahriman's. Unfortunately, as all who have tried their hand at it can testify, it is impossible to transcribe a few pages in that script without going astray in some point or other. In truth, it was in a minute point that F. W. K. Müller was in error; the effect, however, on later research was considerable.

<sup>1</sup> A hypothesis to account for the resemblance was put forward in *BSOS.*, ix, 563 sq. The view now held by Professor Bailey (*Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1947, 152 sq.) approximates to it. — As *Θροάνα* = Sogdian *θρνάν* (*brwn*), the initial of *Θάυροποι*, *Θάυροποι* *ὅρος*, *Θούρα* *πύλεις* should appear as θ in Sogdian; for the four names belong to one and the same report. The resemblance is thus only partial.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be feared that adventurous spirits will soon discover the hitherto happily overlooked colony which the untiring Yüe-chi/*Θάυροποι* would appear to have founded in Eastern Balochistan: Parthian *Tuyrān* i.e. *Tuyrān* is the inscription of Shapur I. (line 2), beside *Turgitān* i.e. *Turyastān* (instead of *Turyastān*?) = *Tourghūn* = MPers. *Turistān* i.e. *Tūristān* (line 19 = MPers. line 24; also in Pers. I 3 where *turst* instead of *Turist*; Man. Parth. *Tūrān-fāk*, Armenian *Turan*, Arabic *Tūrān*). MPers. *Tūr-* is regularly developed from *Tuyr-* (by \**Taur-*, cf. *mura* from *mury*, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> For a list of relevant works see Bailey, *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1947, 138 sq.

<sup>4</sup> The point was made in a paper I read to the American Oriental Society at the meeting in New York in April 1946.

We can leave aside the colophon to the Uigur *Dala-karmapatha-avaddana-māla* (Sb. P.A.W., 1918, 583; 1931, 678), which tells that that book was translated from the language of *ʿakw Kwyʿn* (Ükü Kūsān) into the *Twyry* language, and from that into Turkish. On view of the geographical position of the regions in which those languages were spoken (Kuči<sup>1</sup>: Qarašahr?: Turfan) it may seem likely that the chain of translations was from Kuchean into I A, and from I A into Turkish, but it cannot be called impossible that the first translation was from Kuchean into some Iranian dialect<sup>2</sup>.

The chief text, of course, is the most elaborate among the colophons to the Uigur *Maitrisimit*, Sb. P.A.W., 1916, 414, No. 48, and plate opposite p. 416. Müller read:—

*Nakridil uluſta toymil Aryafintri bodirrt kfi alari*  
*Anthak tilint(in) Toxri tilinča yaralmil*  
*Il-baliqda toymil Prtanyaraklit kfi alari*  
*Toxri tilintin Türk tilinča avärmil*  
*Maitri(s)mit nom bitig*

"The sacred book Maitreya-samiti,  
 which the Bodhisattva guru ācārya Āryacandra, who was born  
 in the country of *Nagaradēśa*, had composed in the *Twyry*  
 language out of the Indian language, and  
 which the guru ācārya Prajñārakṣita, who was born in Ilbalīq,  
 translated from the *Twyry* language into the Turkish language."

The mistake is in the first word, *Nʿkrydyt*. The letters *ʿ* (Alef) and *n* are rarely distinguishable in the middle of a word, but always different from each other in initial position: here the first letter is *ʿ*. Further, while *kn*, *kʿ*, *kr* can often be confused, the three groups are neatly distinct in this manuscript (cf. *kr* in *ykrmy* line 1; *kʿ* in *rykʿr* lines 1 and 2; *ntkʿk* line 5): here the group is *kn*. The correct reading of the name of Āryacandra's birth-place, therefore, is *nʿkrydyt*.

<sup>1</sup> Provided that *ʿakw Kwyʿn* had the same value as the simple *Kwyʿn*. Identity of *ʿakw* with the Tibetan *ʿO-ku* was suggested long ago (cf. BSOS., ix, 560). I should hesitate to follow Professor Bailey in his proposal to compare *ʿakw* further with Chinese 黑 and 白 = *ʿok* (Trans. Philol. Soc., 1947, 147). The only sound that is common to *ʿakw* and *ʿok* is the *k*. For a Kuchean word underlying *ʿok* we should expect *\*pʿq* or *\*pʿq* in Uigur. Chin. *ʿok* is a monosyllable with consonantic initial; Uig. *ʿakw* is a disyllable with vocalic initial.

<sup>2</sup> We know now that translations were made from Kuchean into Sogdian, see my *Sogdica*, 59 sqq. Moreover, a fragment of the Sogdian version of this particular book could recently be identified. Its title in Sogdian was *drʿ fyrʿkryk* "The ten good deeds". The fragment ("T i a"), which is from the *pmoryk prwt*: "fifth chapter", contains part of the story of King Kāśyapaśāstra (*knsrʿr* in Sogdian). See Müller, *Uigurica*, iii, 27 sqq.; I. J. Schmidt, *hDšarj-šLun oder Der Weise und der Thor*, ch. 1, transl. 4-7.

It is obvious that *\*knydyf* is *Agnideia* "the land of Agni" = Qarašahr; the form *Agnideia* was not hitherto attested, but the equivalent *Agnivijaya* occurs, see Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, Sb. P.A.W. 1930, 29 line 5. *Agni* is the sanskritized form of the name which originally was *Argi*, later shortened to *Arg*<sup>1</sup>. Thus Āryacandra, who composed the *Maitrisimit* in the *Tuyry* language, was a native of Qarašahr, where I A was the current language.

This clinches the argument: according to the colophons ■ the I A version of the *Maitrisimit* Āryacandra composed that work: according to the Uigur colophons Āryacandra composed that work in the *Tuyry* language: Āryacandra's mother tongue was I A: hence I A ■ *Tuyry*. There is no need to recapitulate here the reasons that ■ Sieg and Müller ■ the same result: they were weighty enough, and after forty years' discussion they stand almost untouched by the laborious arguments proffered by those who wished to attach the name of *Tuyry* to some other language; their mainstay was the *argumentum e silentio* that there *might* have been in existence a third version ■ the *Maitrisimit*.

At the same time we can now finally dispose of the name "Tokharian". This misnomer has been supported by three reasons, all of them now discredited. Firstly: the vague resemblance of *Tuyry* to the name of *To-kharistān*; it would ■ waste of time ■ discuss this any further. Secondly: the proximity, in the colophons, of *Kıyır'n* to *Tuyry*, *Kıyır'n* having been identified with *Kufān*; since Haneda's much-cited article we know that *Kıyır'n* was the Turkish name of Kuča. Thirdly: the presumed fact that Āryacandra was a native of Nagara = Jalalabad on the Kabul river, a place which, though very far from lying in Tokharistan, was at least within reasonable distance from it; now we see that ■ was a native of Agni.

The discovery of Āryacandra's true country of origin throws light on other hitherto obscure points. Why, for example, is this bearer ■ the grandiloquent title of *Bodhisattva* unknown ■ the history of Buddhism? If he lived in an outlying province of India or ■ Tokharistan, why ■ his *Maitreyasamiti*, a unicum in the history of Buddhist literature, not so much as mentioned in the Chinese *Tripitaka* and the great Tibetan collections, although it was read and studied in such out-of-the-way places as Agni and Turfan? The answer ■ either question ■ clear now: Āryacandra was a highly respected teacher in an insignificant little town away from the main

<sup>1</sup> The -r- in the name is attested in sources of so different a character as the Niya documents, Khotanese Saka, Manichaean Middle Persian and Sogdian, Persian geographers, and let us add, Chinese historians; for that Yen-ch'i transcribes *Argi* (or *\*Argi*) is plain (see *BSOS.*, 15, 571). As far as I know, there is no warrant for *\*Agni* (Bailey *loc. cit.* 127). All other spellings derive from the sanskritized *Agni*; so also Kuchean *ahale* in which I now see an adaptation of *agñe*, *a(g)ñye* in the Murtuq document.

stream of Buddhist culture; his fame did not go far beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Agni; that he was given the title of Bodhisattva is nothing but a piece of local patriotism<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I regret to say that I cannot attach importance, for the study of the term *Tuyry*, to the names of *Taugara* and *Tauddagar* on which Professor Bailey puts such value. The former, Stål Holstein scroll 29, was explained as the name of a Turkish tribe, *Tau(n)gara* = *Tongra*, in *BSOS.*, ix, 553-9. Professor Bailey, who at first accepted this explanation, has now (*Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1947, 148) returned to his earlier identification with *Öyöpn* and thinks that my opinion was based on two fallacious arguments: that tribes mentioned in the Khotanese scroll should be presumed to be of Turkish origin, and that all forms of the names extant in the 8th to 10th centuries in Kansu had already been documented. I did not make the second assumption, which, as far as I can see, forms no part of the argument I put forward; I am fully alive to the defectiveness of our material. As to the first assumption, it seems to me a reasonable one. If the date I suggested for the scroll (middle of the 9th century, *BSOS.*, ix, 559n.) is accepted—I do not think Professor Bailey disputes it—it means that the scroll was written shortly after the great invasion of Kan-su by Uigur and other Turkish tribes in consequence of the destruction of the Uigur empire by the Qirgiz. The authors of the scroll aim at giving a picture of the conditions that resulted from this invasion; their interest centres on these Turkish tribes whose mere names were new to their reader in Khotan. However, while this assumption may be a reasonable one, my opinion was based not, or not chiefly, on it, but on the wording of the passage in the scroll. The text there says that the *Sihari*, *Taugara*, *Ayabiri*, *Carahiri*, *Yabūtiharī*, etc., "are called Tardu" (*BSOS.*, ix, 554; cf. Konow, *AU.*, xx, 138, 154). A previous list of tribal names ends with the words "these are Töin". Both Tardu and Töin are well-known federations of Turkish tribes. The *Sihari*, *Ayabiri*, *Carahiri*, and *Yabūtiharī* have been successfully identified as Turkish tribes (*BSOS.*, ix, 556-7). Should we not trust the authors of the scroll and accept their statement that the *Taugara*, too, were a Tardu, i.e., a Turkish, tribe? No explanation can be accepted which accounts neither for the final -a in *Taugara* (stable -a, not a -i ending), nor for the intervocalic -g- which here invariably indicates a palatal g, never a y; unemended, *Taugara* represents \**tögere* (\**toyar* would be spelt \**Tauharī*). The emended form, *Tau(n)gara* fulfils all conditions.—As to *Tauddagar* (attested as *Tauddagardn*, gen. pl., P 2741, 78, see Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xii, 321, 323), I should hesitate to follow Professor Bailey in his identification of it with *Taugara*, from which it differs in two important points: 1. the insertion of *dd*, which is not found in any other Khotanese word so far made known, 2. the ending {-gara should have -garatn or -garatdm in the gen. pl., cf. *gacipotdm* P 2741, 33, 64, *augarāt*; ibidem 66, and similar spellings). At first I thought to find here the 多龍多 *To-lan-ko* (*Td-lm-kd*), an Uigur tribe, that could suitably be mentioned in a text as crowded with Turkish names as P 2741 undoubtedly is; but this would demand a minor concession (mis-spelling of \**Tauddamgarūn*—the difference is very slight). On re-reading the passage, I see (taking into account Professor Bailey's discovery, kindly communicated to him, that *ri hā* = Skt. *ādī*) that it is not certain as yet that *Tauddagar* is a tribal name ("two thousand troops came in front of the *Tauddagar*-a etc.", *pyantā* as postposition as in lines 17 and 139 in the same document); it may be the name of a locality.



# OKTŌ(U)

THE fact that the I.-E. word "eight" is an old dual (Skt. *aṣṭā*, *aṣṭau*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octo*, Av. *ašta*, etc.) has always been regarded as an important pointer to the origin of the Indo-European system of numbers.<sup>1</sup> Its singular has been searched for assiduously, but never discovered. The bold attempt by O. Bremer (*Streitberg Festgabe*, 20 sq.), to connect *oktō(u)* with the word "four" itself, I.-E. *\*ketyōres*, has deservedly found little credit.

A form that is closely related to the lost singular (Av. *\*ašta-*) is Avestan *ašti-*, a measure of length, "four fingers' breadth, palm." It has been overlooked by etymologists, presumably because Bartholomae failed to give it a sufficiently precise meaning in his dictionary ("ein Längenmaß von unbekannter . . . Größe"). A study of the Iranian measures, which was inspired purely by considerations of metrology and untainted by etymologic bias, revealed at once that *ašti-* corresponded to *παλαιστή*, and its elative *uz-ašti-* ("super-ašti") to *διχάς*, see *JRAS.*, 1942, 235.

The value of *ašti-* for the problem of *oktō(u)* lies in the inherent quaternity. That the word "eight" had its origin in the primitive reckoning on fingers has been suspected before, see e.g. Fick \*1, 112: it is confirmed now; but the etymology that led Fick and others to their opinion (*ak-* "pointed") remains in doubt (cf. Walde-Pokorny i, 173). The derivation of "eight" from "palm" has a close parallel in the history of "five", whose descent from the words "finger" and "fist" has been stated often enough (cf. Schrader-Nehring, ii, 671). The suffix that distinguished *ašti-* (*okti-*) from the presumed singular *\*ašta-* (*okto-*) is not clear; it may be the same as in "fist" (OSl. *pęsti*, AS. *fȳst*, OHG. *fust*, etc., cf. Falk-Torp, s.v. *funhsti*).

<sup>1</sup> On the existence of a quartal system in I.-E., cf. also A. S. C. Ross, *TPS.*, 1941, 12 (with references).





## A Pahlavi Poem

THE study of the Pahlavi poetry, so spiritedly initiated by M. Benveniste<sup>1</sup> twenty years ago, seems to have come to a dead end. That certain Pahlavi texts, as the *Ayādgīr-i Zarērān* or the *Druxt-i Asūrig*<sup>2</sup> (the Dispute of the date-palm with the goat), are poems, is conceded on all sides; but the formal problems, the problems of rhythm, metre, and rhyme, remain in the dark. It seems doubtful whether the material  $\square$  hand is capable of leading us to definite conclusions. There are two main obstacles. Firstly, the notorious sloppiness of the copyists leaves too much room for conjecture; the mere addition or omission, at the editors' discretion, of the word for "and" and the *harf-i idāfet* is sufficient  $\square$  disturb the rhythmical balance. Secondly, as a rule we do not know the dates of composition, and therefore cannot tell how the words were pronounced by the authors; it makes a considerable difference to the metre (whatever it was) whether we put down *paḍak* or *paig*, *maḍdayam* or *mazdān*, *rōn* or *rōān*, *adak* or *aig*, *tikan* or *ikan*, *giyān*<sup>3</sup> or *gyān*, *yazat* or *yazd*, *awis* or *ōs*,<sup>4</sup> *drugist* or *dris* or *drust* or *durust*, *hataḍar* or *azēt*.

One thing is clear: a biased approach will not lead to convincing results. On the strength of the preconceived notion, carried forward from the study of the Avesta (where matters are equally dubious), that the metre  $\square$  a purely syllabic one, the Pahlavi poems were made to suffer a great deal of emendation; where the usual procedure of omitting inconvenient words produced lines too short to  $\square$  into the scheme, either words were added or their pronunciation distorted.<sup>5</sup> The alternative theory, namely that the metre is accentual, seems to offer better prospects.  $\square$  relieves us of the necessity of changing the texts overmuch; the number of syllables to a line can  $\square$  left  $\square$  variable as it is; and the precise pronunciation, *rōn* or *rōān*, becomes a matter almost of indifference.

Clear evidence in favour of the accentual verse can be found in the very text that formed the starting-point of M. Benveniste's investigations, the *Druxt-i Asūrig*. The whole of this poem, which is less encumbered with glosses than most other Pahlavi texts, is written in fairly long lines, of twelve syllables on an average, with a caesura in the middle. There is a recurring formula, which fills the first half of lines, *x. nā man karēd* "they make *x.* out of me". The first word can be one of one, two, or three syllables, so that the first half of a line can have five, six, or seven syllables. Does this not indicate that the metrical

<sup>1</sup> *J.A.*, 1930, ii, 193 sqq.; 1932, i, 245 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The Babylonian (not Assyrian) text.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to me a wrong form altogether.

<sup>4</sup> *J.A.*, 1932, i, 276 line 7, 278 n.

<sup>5</sup> As *esp* and *arpe*, *J.A.*, 1932, i, 280; *syōnān* and *ziyōnān*, 286; *anr*, 286; *danr*, 287; *poḍn*, 278; *watn*  $\bar{i}$  *mo*, 274, and *ōad*, 270 (for *af*); *mazdānān*, 274, but *mazdāyōnān*, *J.A.*, 1930, ii, 194 sq.

value of a word is wholly independent of its number of syllables? The second halves of the lines are not in any way affected by the greater or lesser length of the first halves:—

12	šōb aš man karēnd	kē tō grīw <sup>1</sup> māsēnd <sup>2</sup>	5 + 5 = 10
11	raṣan aš man karēnd	šō tō pāy bandend	6 + 5 = 11
42	amān aš man karēnd	wāzārgānān wamād <sup>3</sup>	6 + 6 = 12
34	kamar aš man karēnd	kē āznāyēnd <sup>4</sup> pad murwārīd <sup>5</sup>	6 + 8 = 14
6	gyāgrōb aš man karēnd	kē wirūzēnd mēhan ud mān	6 + 8 = 14
11	tabangōk aš man karēnd	dārūgdūn wamād	7 + 5 = 12
37	maškūtag <sup>6</sup> aš man karēnd	kē sūr alār wirūzēnd	7 + 7 = 14

It is not intended to give a full transcription of the *Drazt-i Asūrīg* here, a text that bristles with difficulties. A few connected passages, selected at random, will be sufficient to show that the impression produced by the few lines quoted above out of context is not misleading.

1	drazt-e rust est	tar ō šahr asūrīg	4 + 6 = 10
	bur-as hūk est	sar-as est tarr	4 + 4 = 8
	warg-as may mānēd	dar-as mānēd angūr	5 + 5 = 10
	širēn bār šwarēd	marōhmān wamād <sup>7</sup>	6 + 5 = 11

11	tābistān adyug hēm	pad sor kahrdārān	6 + 5 = 11
16	šir <sup>8</sup> hēm varzīgārān	angubēn āzdāmarīdān	6 + 7 = 13

<sup>1</sup> The old word for "neck" still persists in modern dialects, e.g. that of Sangsar (Zirkovskiy li, 314). One does not see why it should be changed to *gardan* (Unvala, *BOS.*, li, 545, followed by Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1930, li, 194).

<sup>2</sup> *māz* is apparently a dialect word, from *māz*, in the sense of Persian *māldan*, to which it belongs. <sup>3</sup> etymology: another example of the loss of *-r* in this position is Persian *māz*, *māz* "apricot", from *māzra* "the place of the variegated" (derived from Av. *māzra* "variegated", cf. *JRAs.*, 1942, 242). I do not think that there is any talk of "kissing" in this line (as Mr. Unvala suspected, loc. cit.).

<sup>4</sup> The Parthian word is common throughout the text (= *MPers. rāy*). Failure to recognize it has produced some interesting misunderstandings, cf. Benveniste, p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> Probably belongs to Persian *āzān/āzān* (the forms are not clear); cf. *du dād* *so-may* *āzān* (*āzān*) in the *Shahname*.

<sup>6</sup> Although many forms and words are Parthian (or Median), many others belong to the Southern dialect. The confusion reminds one of that familiar from the later *Pahlavānīg*; how much of it belonged already to the original text is not by any means clear. It would be easy enough to harmonize.

<sup>7</sup> "A leather cloth (a *refre*) on which they serve the dinner."

<sup>8</sup> This is cast in the form of a riddle. The reader or listener is left to guess, from the description, that the date-palm is meant. "Its leaves resemble the (leaves of) reeds"—in shape, of course, not in taste (as Bartholomae said, *Miv. Mund.*, iv, 24). That the last two words belong to this paragraph is shown by para. 28 (see below).

<sup>9</sup> Junker has two ideograms for *šahr* "sugar" in the *Frakong*, both of them due to misunderstanding. "HLY" is sometimes = *HLF* = *fr* "milk" *vū* (LBN" also occurs, see p. 67, n. 20), sometimes = *HL* (Lx. *hūlā*) = *rik* "vinegar" *v* 2 where the correct word is relegated to the variants (*rik* and *sirk*); in *Pahl. Texts* 30, 6 = *Frakong* *ud* *šahr* 11, "HLY" is *fr* "milk" "atirigant vinegar" = Arab. *ruḥ ḥammāq* ("Th'ālibi). The other series, *v* 2 = xxxi 2-3, contains the Semitic word for "beer" (or date-wine), Arab. *šīr*, etc. The Persian words are *šahr* and another that I cannot read (it occurs in the *Frakong* *vū* 11 "As they had no wine, they offered him beer").

17	<i>taðmōgō aē man karēnd</i> <i>kaṛ ō kaṛ barēnd</i>	<i>dānōgdān waznōd<sup>1</sup></i> <i>bītišk ō bītišk.</i>	$7 + 5 = 12$ $5 + 5 = 10$
18	<i>ōšyān hēm murēnāgān</i>	<i>āyag kārēdāgān.<sup>2</sup></i>	$7 + 5 = 12$
19	<i>astag<sup>3</sup> bē abganēm</i> <i>kaḍ hīrēnd mardumag</i>	<i>pad nōg būn rōyēd</i> <i>kum bē nē wīnāēnd</i>	$6 + 5 = 11$ $6 + 5 = 12$
20	<i>bašn-um<sup>4</sup> est(?) zargōn</i> <i>hawēt mardumag</i> <i>aē man hār x<sup>5</sup>arēnd</i>	<i>yad ō rōē yāwēd.<sup>6</sup></i> <i>kēt nēst may wē nān</i> <i>yad amburd ōmēnd<sup>7</sup></i>	$5 + 5 = 10$ $5 + 5 = 10$ $5 + 5 = 10$
<hr/>			
27	<i>wāšēnd-um pad ašēn</i> <i>ku wāš a'i wē wad-xrad</i>	<i>pāwīg mardōhm</i> <i>abē-sūd draxtān</i>	$6 + 4 = 10$ $7 + 5 = 12$
28	<i>pad<sup>8</sup> tā bār āwagē</i> <i>gušn-at abar hīrēnd<sup>9</sup></i>	<i>mardōhmān wazmād</i> <i>pad šwēn ā gōiōn</i>	$6 + 5 = 11$ $6 + 6 = 12$
29	<i>x<sup>10</sup>ad gumānīg ahēm<sup>11</sup></i>	<i>ku rūspīg-sādag a'i<sup>12</sup></i>	$6 + 7 = 13$
<hr/>			
30	<i>abētag Dēn Māzēlēndān</i>	<i>ēš<sup>13</sup> dākt x<sup>14</sup>ōwar Ōhrmazd</i>	$7 + 5 = 12$
31	<i>yud aē man kē buz hēm</i>	<i>yākan nē bahēd kōš<sup>15</sup></i>	$6 + 6 = 12$
32	<i>ōš fīw aē man karēnd ;</i> <i>Gōš-urwa, yad</i> <i>hawēt Hēm tagīg—</i>	<i>andar yasn̄n yōadōn—</i> <i>harwīn dahōrpāyēn,</i> <i>nērtīg aē man est.</i>	$6 + 6 = 12$ $4 + 6 = 10$ $5 + 5 = 10$

<sup>1</sup> *dānōgdān waznōd* would make better sense.

<sup>2</sup> "Migrants" or "tramps".

<sup>3</sup> "Date-stones."

<sup>4</sup> "If the people leave (the young shoot) alone, so that they refrain from hurting me, my crown will be green till the end of the days."

<sup>5</sup> The identical, wholly Parthian, phrase recurs in the *Ayānār-i Zartōst* para. 93 (p. 12, line 5). Parth. *yad* is found several times in the text under review. The explanation given in *BSOAS.* xii, 52, cannot be fully maintained in view of the ideogram *YN* = *yad* in the Parthian inscriptions, see *ibid.* 54, 56. The ideogram is *YN* = "if", which corresponds best to OIr. *yad*; several interrelated forms may have resulted in *yad*. [Cf. even in the colophon to the Book of Zartōst, P.T., 10<sup>13</sup>, *yad ō rōē frahōrd*.]

<sup>6</sup> "Until they have had their fill." Instead of *est* one could also read *awēt*, more closely conforming to Man. Parthian *awēt*.

<sup>7</sup> "If", if not simply a mistake for *yē*, is presumably the ideogram for that same word. If the Pahlavi *YT* (already in inscriptions) is an ancient mistake for *YN* = *ēn*, it may have been used in this text to represent the Parthian ideogram *YN* = *ēn* = *yad*. Cf. above. At any rate, it does not correspond to *eg* "if", to judge by para. 23, *YT* 'L' *YK* = *yad ō kē*.

<sup>8</sup> The Parthian form is preferable on account of para. 18 (see above), where *hēr* seems better than *est*. Perhaps one should replace all ideograms by strictly Parthian or Median forms; I fear I have not been sufficiently consistent.

<sup>9</sup> Here the full Parthian form is spelled out, not too correctly. In the same line the apparent *'gd* represents *ayē* or *a'i* "you are", Parthian *'gy*. So also in para. 53, *tē šwē a'i šār* "you are afflicted here" (you are stuck here).

<sup>10</sup> "Until you can bear fruit for men, they have to lead a male to you, as they do with cattle. I would even go so far as to suspect that you were born out of wedlock."

<sup>11</sup> = which.

<sup>12</sup> Uncertain. *Kyē* may be = Parthian *kyē*, which equals Persian *kay*. On the other hand, the rhythm (cf. *karēnd* at the end of line 18) may favour the explanation proposed by Bartholomae, *loc. cit.*, 26, line 5.

33	<i>hawāz<sup>1</sup> hār-yāmāg<sup>2</sup></i> <i>yūl</i> 𐭠𐭣𐭥 man ke buz hēm	<i>ēē<sup>3</sup> pad pušt dārēm</i> <i>kardān wē bahād.</i>	$5 + 5 = 10$ $𐭠 + 5 = 11$
34	<i>mōtag hēm saxtag<sup>4</sup></i> <i>angustbān kumrīgān</i>	<i>āsādān wasmād</i> <i>bāh hāmhirzān.<sup>5</sup></i>	$5 + 5 = 10$ $6 + 4 = 10$
36	<i>mašk-um karēnd ābdān</i> <i>pad garin rōš ud rabāh<sup>6</sup></i>	<i>pad dušt ud riyābān</i> <i>ward āb az man est.</i>	$6 + 6 = 12$ $0 + 5 = 11$
39	<i>nāmāg az man karēnd</i> <i>doftar ud pādaxār</i>	<i>fraxwardag dīlāwān<sup>7</sup></i> <i>abar man nibēšēnd</i>	$6 + 6 = 12$ $6 + 6 = 12$
43	<i>ambān az man karēnd</i> <i>ke nōn ud puz<sup>8</sup> ul panīr</i> <i>kāpār ud mušk syā(w)</i> <i>was yāmāg bāhūr</i> <i>pad ambān āwaxēnd</i>	<i>wāšārgānān wasmād</i> <i>harēn<sup>9</sup> (1) rōyn-xwardīg<sup>10</sup></i> <i>𐭠 ro:<sup>11</sup> tuxārig</i> <i>padmōtan kanīgān</i> <i>frūš<sup>12</sup> bahr ēē Brān</i>	$6 + 6 = 12$ $7 + 5 = 12$ $5 + 5 = 10$ $5 + 6 = 11$ $6 + 6 = 12$
49	<i>kad buz ō wāšār barēnd</i> <i>harē ke dah drahm nē dārēnd</i>	<i>ud pad wāšāg dārēnd</i> <i>frūš ō buz nē dārd<sup>13</sup>;</i>	$7 + 6 = 13$ $7 + 6 = 13$

<sup>1</sup> Doubtful. MŠ. 'Le.<sup>2</sup> "Hawāz", = Persian *hārfame*.<sup>3</sup> = which.<sup>4</sup> "Of morocco leather". *saxtag* belongs to Pers. *saxtag*; cf. also the Sogdian form mentioned in BSOAS., xl, 714, n. 6.<sup>5</sup> "The archer's thumb-stall (not 'gloves') for the illustrious companions of the king."<sup>6</sup> Cf. BSOAS., 1934, 33, n. 4 (Man. 𐭠𐭣𐭥, *ryh*).<sup>7</sup> Or *dīlāwān* (not, of course, as MS read *dabīrān*), the ancestor of Persian *dīwān*. Originally *dīpi* + *pāna*, hence "where one keeps and looks after the documents, writings, etc.". The word was early shortened to *dīrān* (by *dīrānān*). To this form it is attested (apart from Arm. *dīrān*) as the name of one of Mani's books, his Epistles. Each epistle was called a *dīb* = *dib* in Middle Persian, e.g. *āfshār dīb* "the Epistle of the Seal"; the whole collection was a *dīpi-pāna*. Surely the oldest example of the use of this word for the collection of a man's writings.<sup>8</sup> Var. *pūt*. Both pronunciations existed also in Persian.<sup>9</sup> MŠ. *HRWNN* = ? Nearly = *wāh* (Fr.P. vu 3) or *āh* (y) (*āh* = note 32). Cf. P.T., 161.<sup>10</sup> *Rōyn-xwardīg*, literally "butter-foed", means "sweetmeats" in Pahlavi. The "Southern" form *rōyn-xwardīg* in the *Harawāz* MS *Rélag*, para. 37, corresponds to *kalāq* in the Arabic version. In spite of the help afforded by Tha'alibi, Mr. Uvula misunderstood the word as "side-dish". — The Man. MPers. form is *ruyya*, see BSOAS., xi, 57, n. 56. — Possibly the line ran originally *rōyn ud rōyn-xwardīg*.<sup>11</sup> "Tokharian earthen-ware"? *hiz* = *raz* occurs in the list of fer-animals in GrBd., 96<sup>14</sup>. — Or should *ro:* read *audt* *spānc* [*āf*] *haz* *taxārig* "black mule [of] the 'Tokharian' goat" [= Mule deer?]. — Neither *ro:* nor *mašk* are articles usually associated with the name of Tokharistān; Balch.<sup>12</sup> *Frūš* is used in Man. Parthian, but in the Parthian inscriptions there is *grūš* instead, e.g. HN *grūš* "L = yod *frūš* ō. This curious form represents the ancient nominative, i.e. *frūšas* = Av. *frūš* = Skt. *prūṣa*, with loss of the nasal; it shows that Bartholomae's rule, *Ordr. Ir. Phil.*, i, 1, p. 11, § 24, is not correctly formulated.<sup>13</sup> Thus rather than *ārd*.

amrōw<sup>1</sup> pad dō pašū  
dān ud astag tā kōwē

kōdalān xwīnēnd  
frāz ō kōy mardān.<sup>2</sup>

6 + 5 = 11  
7 + 5 = 12

It is not claimed that the mere statement that this is accentual poetry relieves us of the need for further investigation. On the contrary, a great deal of work will be required in order to discover the accented syllables, their place within the lines, and other questions in detail. For example, it seems that the limits of variation in the number of syllables are precisely set. The differences between the maximum and the average, and between the minimum and the average are apparently equal. Thus, in the *Drast-i Asūrig* the average number of syllables to a line is 12; the maximum is 13, the minimum 10 (with a single exception, in para. 1, which is sufficient to render the text suspect); the variation therefore is 2. In the Manichaean Middle Persian hymn analysed in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 56, the average number is also 12, but the variation is 3 (max. 15, min. 9). There are thus subtle differences in the structure of the verses which should be further explored. In the fragment published by Schaedor, *Studien*, 390 sq. (alphabetic hymn, end of 'Ain to Tau with tailpieces) the average is 11, the variation 2:—

[	]	uđd amōtag *xwīnēnd*	$x + 6$
paricardēd au bagān		amōtag ud drazdān.	$6 + 6 = 12$
bašmag rōšnān		dāšgān āfrīdagān.	$4 + 7 = 11$
kōfān nīsāg		wyāwarāg ud bagdīkr.	$4 + 6 = 10$
rudnān ārām		xwīnēnd *wyāg.	$4 + 5 = 9$
šahrān anāšg		mān mān amōtag gāh.	$5 + 5 = 10$
Tau šahd argāwīst		šahrān mān.	$6 + 5 = 11$
namāz ud šahdān		au Mār-Mār *xwīnēnd.	$6 + 6 = 12$
āfrīd āfrīd		pad nardg *rōš xwīnēnd.	$4 + 6 = 10$
au Mār-Zagō amōtag		od hamag rām *rōšnān.	$7 + 6 = 13$
		Average	$5.1 + 5.8 = 10.9$

The following verses seem to confirm the rule; here the average number of syllables is 9.5, the variation 2.5 (max. 12, min. 7). They belong to a Parthian "alphabetic" hymn, of which the strophes B—Z and T—N are preserved in

<sup>1</sup> It is strange that all students of this text, even Bartholomae (loc. cit., 27), have stumbled over the perfectly ordinary ideogram for "date".—*amrōw* is the appropriate Parthian form (Man. 'mr'w, against Arm. *armar*); however, at the end of the text, para. 54, *xwīnēnd* is written in clear (Avestan) "hymn" ("").

<sup>2</sup> The poet predicts that the hopes which the date-palm put on its seeds (in para. 19, see above) will come to nought. Hence, "may your pipe and slopes end up in (lit. go forward to) the alley of the dead"? I feel rather uncertain of the reading of the last two words. *kōy mardān*; may one compare the Persian phrase *kāf-e-yi mardān* "cemetery"? At any rate, Mr. Unvala's version has little to commend itself, "Wounded to the life there will be destroyed exterminated by the spiritual leaders".

<sup>3</sup> The first word remains uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> "The rest-house of the Jewels in a flowery place."

<sup>5</sup> "On the great New Year's day."

<sup>6</sup> Sa, of course.

<sup>7</sup> So to be read.

full. Each strophe has two long lines; the subdivisions are not marked in the MS., but there is scarcely any uncertainty on that account. From M 763, hitherto unpublished:—

				Whole strophs.
1	<i>Brādarōn amwastōn</i> <i>wiřdagōn wērtagōn</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>ud wāhigardn</i> <i>ud āzād pūhrdn</i>	0 + 5 = 11 7 + 5 = 12	23
2	<i>Gyānōn rōšnōn</i> <i>frāhīst astūnōn</i>	<i>wiřdagīst argāw</i> <i>ud bām frazandān</i>	4 + 6 = 10 5 + 5 = 10	■
3	<i>Dārēd abrang</i> <i>ku bawēd sepurr</i>	<i>pad bag abdēa</i> <i>kolān abēnang</i>	4 + 4 = 8 5 + 5 = 10	18
4	<i>Harōin handōm</i> <i>pad astūwōin</i>	<i>padrōn dārēd</i> <i>au anjaman rūmīn</i>	4 + 4 = ■ 4 + ■ = 10	18
5	<i>Wēst ud wiřd hēd</i> <i>āw āt hazārān</i>	■ <i>madyōn wādēn</i> <i>ud dō āt bēwardn</i>	5 + 5 = 10 5 + 6 = 11	21
6	<i>Zādag hēd</i> <i>ud nazādōn</i>	<i>ēš firīst abarēn</i> ■ <i>rōē sepurrīg</i>	3 + 6 = 9 4 + 5 = 9	■
7	<i>Tābēd rūnīst</i> <i>dahtēd būwag</i>	<i>frāhīst andāg</i> <i>au warrīgar *zēst</i>	4 + 5 = 9 4 + 6 = 10	19
8	<i>Yudēd pad abrang</i> <i>rōē āfrīdag</i>	<i>pad im dūšambat</i> <i>ēš abē-āstārīst</i>	5 + 5 = 10 4 + 6 = 10	20
9	<i>Kūt ■ āt almāh</i> <i>padwāhtēd wāndēd</i>	<i>pad *zōstuwōnīst</i> <i>ud āfrīnēd</i>	5 + 4 = 9 5 + 4 = 9	18
10	<i>Lāb ud nīmasīg</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hīrēd āstōr</i>	<i>darēd ēwōidān</i> <i>andāstēd gowīndag</i> <sup>3</sup>	5 + 5 = 10 4 + 6 = 10	20
11	<i>Mēhmān rōēn</i> <i>pad rūmīn</i>	<i>mardōhm padtag</i> <i>au angūn bāmēd</i>	3 + 4 = 7 3 + 5 = 8	16
12	<i>Nīwarēd</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>ākīst</i> <i>ud andēdēd</i>	<i>pad trīst darēddēd</i> <i>pad tafr firīst</i>	5 + 5 = 10 4 + 4 = 8	18
		Average	4.5 + 5 = 9.5	19

To turn now to the thorny question of the rhyme, I will say straightway that in the whole of the Western Middle Iranian material so far recognized as poetical<sup>5</sup> there is not a single rhyme in the strict sense. There are accidental

<sup>1</sup> "Selected by sifting", Pers. *bīstān*. Cf. below str. 8. ■ MPers. *rojan* occurs (same meaning).

<sup>2</sup> This transcription of *nīmasīg* is indicated by Parth. *nymsyē* (Inscr. of Shapur, line 4, cf. also Spangberg, *AJSL*, lviii, 169 sq.), which is rendered by *νυμολησις* in the Greek version, i.e. "appeal, request". This meaning fits the Manichaean texts far better than "adoration". Both spelling and meaning are ■ variants with the derivation from OIr. *nasma*, which has to ■ abandoned.

<sup>3</sup> Here spelled *gowīdg*, but elsewhere *gowīdg*. "Feelings, offences."

<sup>4</sup> *nywryd* (ni + rry-).

<sup>5</sup> I do not regard as a poem the passage from the Great Bundahishn (p. 10) to which M. Nyberg has given such prominence (*ZDMG.*, lxxxv, 222 sqq.). The wording indicates clearly that the passage is merely a Pahlavi version of an Avestan text (quite possibly of an Avestan poem).



rhymes and assonances; but the principle of the rhymes as such, the deliberate rhyme, seems to have been unknown. The passages quoted above, from Pahlavi and Parthian,<sup>1</sup> show that sufficiently. Especially as the answer to the question has some importance for the history of Persian literature, we should be careful to confine the use of the word *rhyme* to cases in which rhyme was consciously applied as a poetic embellishment.

Yet even the most cautious will not be able to deny the presence of conscious rhyme in a Pahlavi poem that to the present has remained unnoticed. It forms part of one of the *Andarz* texts in Jamasp-Asana's *Pahlavi Texts*, the so-called Pahlavi Shahname, to which the other poetical Pahlavi books belong. The passage (p. 54) is conspicuous by its curious, plainly poetic, diction. Its text is in a sad condition: words have been left out, there are a few glosses, some lines may be missing altogether; nevertheless, its poetic character is beyond doubt. The rhyme goes through the whole poem, in the manner of a Qasida; indeed, there is interior rhyme in the *maṣṣa'*. It seems that, apart from the opening line, two lines always made up a strophe; the first line of each strophe ended in *andar gēhān* (to gain such regularity one has to assume that a whole line has been allowed to drop out). There are several uncertain points in the text printed here<sup>2</sup>:—

0	<i>Dārom andarz-ē az dānōgān</i>	<i>az guft-i pēltēnīgān</i>
1	<i>Ō amāh bē wazārom</i>	<i>pad rāstih andar gēhān</i>
	<i>agar [ēn az man] padirēd</i>	<i>baēd rōl-i dō-gēhān</i>
2	<i>Pad gēti wistār<sup>3</sup> ma bēd</i>	<i>was-ōrzōg andar gēhān</i>
	<i>ēē gēti pad kas bē nē hīk-hēnd</i>	<i>nē kūk ud [nē] xān-u-mān</i>
3		[one line missing!]
	<i>idāh-i pad dīl ēē zandēd</i>	<i>was nāzēd gētiyān</i>
4	<i>Čand mardomān dīd-hom</i>	<i>was [ōrzōg!] andar gēhān</i>
	<i>Čand xadāyān<sup>4</sup> dīd-hom</i>	<i>mīh-sardārīh abar mardomān</i>
5	<i>Awēkān mīh wēš-mēnīdār</i>	<i>waft-hēnd andar gēhān<sup>5</sup></i>
	<i>awēkān abērūh<sup>6</sup> hāt-hēnd</i>	<i>abāg dard bē waft-hēnd awēkān<sup>7</sup></i>
6	<i>Hurw kē tūn ēn dīd—ēē rāy</i>	<i>was wistār andar gēhān</i>
	<i>ka nē dārēd gēti pad spanf<sup>8</sup></i>	<i>ud [nē] tan pad dādēn</i>

<sup>1</sup> M. Benveniste quoted two passages to prove the existence of rhyme in Man. Parthian (*J.A.*, 1930, ii, 223). In the first, the words at the end of the lines should be read (a) *framānōy*, (b) *abānōy*, (c) *wistārōy*, (d) *wasnāy*. In the second, we have (a) *wasnād*, (b) *wasd*, (c) *mardomān*, (d) *padōy*; 'ad' in the place of 'ād', is wrongly restored (the next word is (*ady*)'a). There are no strophes in the second passage, which is an "alphabetical" hymn. Far better accidental rhymes can be found in ancient Parthian poems.

<sup>2</sup> The words I have added are in square brackets.

<sup>3</sup> A gloss: *spāhbedān* "generals".

<sup>4</sup> Another gloss: *ke amāh mīdār kē andar gēhān* "thinking 'we are the greatest in the world'". Presumably to explain *wēš-mēnīdār*.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. 'p' (= *spāh*) instead of 'p' (= *spāh*).

<sup>6</sup> A variant: *dārēd* (which also would make sense of a sort). I prefer the rarer word, *awēkān*, which here, in conjunction with *abērūh*, probably had the meaning of Pers. *bi-shānā*.

<sup>7</sup> Not *spāh* here. Cf. P.T., 56<sup>a</sup>-57<sup>a</sup> *gēti pad spanf dār* [i.e. *tan pad dādēn*].

- 0 I have a counsel from the Wise, from the sayings of the Ancient.  
 1 To you I will explain it, truthfully, in the world: if you accept [it from me],  
 you will have profit for both worlds:—  
 2 Do not put your trust in earthly goods, desiring much, in the world: for  
 earthly goods have never been left in anyone's hands, neither a palace,  
 [nor] house and hearth.  
 3 ..... Joy in the heart? Why laugh and be proud, worldlings!  
 4 How many men have I seen, [desiring] much, in the world! How many  
 princes have I seen, lording it over mankind!  
 5 Grandly, in overweening pride, they strode in the world—they have gone  
 where there is no way, in pain they went, poor and homeless.  
 6 Anyone, when he has seen that—what use if he remains pledged<sup>1</sup> in the  
 world? if he fails to consider the earthly existence an inn, the body a  
 facile thing?

The poem raises a number of important problems; their discussion has to be held over to another occasion. Is this an ancient poem, or merely an imitation of Persian models? Can its date be determined? The sentiment, the distrust of the world, seems appropriate to all periods of Persian and Middle Persian literature; it would have been appropriate to the time of Burzōi. The rhythm would perhaps improve, if one put more modern forms into the text, in the place of the conventional heavy-vowelled Middle Persian forms (e.g. in 25 *ē gēti pa kda be-n' Aistand*).

<sup>1</sup> Or "self-abandoned". The word had both meanings. Cf. the passages collected by M. Y. Kanga, *The Testament of Khurrah I*, p. 2, n. 4 (ed. *Publ. Trans.*, 143, 2).

<sup>2</sup> The terminus ante quem is A.D. 856 (if the *Qur*—224—in the first colophon, P.T., 83, deserves to be trusted).

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- ¶ 643, line 13: for "*rūspig-zādak*" read "*rūspig-zādag*".  
 P. 643, line 14: for "*ē ē cāst*" read "*ē ē cāst*".  
 ¶ 645, line 1: for "*kōdagān*" read "*kōdakān*".  
 P. 646, line 11 (= 4b): for "*ō*" read "*au*".  
 P. 647, note 6, line 2: for "*Pers. hīsā mār*" read "*Pers. hi-sāmār*".  
 P. 647, note 7: for "*aspranj*" read "*aspanj*".





## THE MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF TANG-I SARVAK

When Baron C. A. de Bode, then First Secretary at the Russian Embassy in Tehran, passed through Behbehân<sup>1</sup> on his tour through Fârs and Khūzistân, in January 1841, the local *de facto* governor, Mirza Kūmo,<sup>2</sup> drew his attention to the existence of sculptured stones with inscriptions in a mountain gorge a few dozen miles to the north of Behbehân. Realising that no news of these antiquities had as yet reached the learned world, de Bode duly visited (on January 29) the beautiful but desolate valley, whose name he spelt *Tengi-Saulek*, described the remains, made drawings of some of the reliefs, and copied the inscriptions he noticed, all in the course of an afternoon; see his *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, Vol. i, 351 sqq.

De Bode's report attracted little attention. It is true, the reliefs were briefly mentioned in handbooks; thus by Spiegel in *Erdbische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. iii (1878), p. 820 (the name misspelt as *Teng-i-Salek*); or by Justi in an annotation in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Vol. ii (1896-1904), p. 486, n. 5, where the astonishing assertion<sup>3</sup> is made that *Tenk-i Saulek* (sic) is *ohne Zweifel* identical with the Seleucia/Solske of Strabo, xvi, 1, 18, p. 744; but the inscriptions fell altogether into oblivion. Although the reliefs obviously belong to Parthian times, indeed constitute the principal series of Parthian rock-sculptures, even so well-informed a scholar as E. Herzfeld could write "there are no other Arsacid sculptures [than those at Mount Bisutūn] of any importance known in Iran" (*Archaeological History of Iran*, 1935, p. 57); similarly K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Berlin 1943, p. 46. R. Ghirshman, in his discussion

<sup>1</sup> The district of Behbehân (the successor of the ancient town of Arragân) was counted sometimes to Persis (Fârs), sometimes to Elymais (Khūzistân). In Muslim times it mostly belonged to Fârs, the frontier being formed by the river *Tâb Mârdān/Kurdistân/Jarrâhi*, but now it is part of Khūzistân. The valley of Tang-i Sarvak belongs naturally to Khūzistân, but sometimes even *Râm-Jurmus* was included in Fârs (see Muqaddasi, 421, 16-7; so also at the time of de Bode's visit).

<sup>2</sup> Properly *Mirzâ Qatādā* (short for *Qatādā-ed-dīn*), the uncle of the *de jure* governor, *Mirzâ Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān* (whose father's name was *Mirzâ Manjār Khān*, cf. de Bode, i, 355). See *Fârs-nâme*, i, 297; ii, 268 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Following a modest suggestion of de Bode, i, 365, footnote.

of the stele of Khwāsak (found at Susa), does not refer to the reliefs of Tang-i Sarvak, in spite of their affinity in style and their proximity in place and time; see *Monuments Piot*, xlv (1950), 97-107.

The official name of the valley is *Tang-i Sarvak*, i.e. "the gorge of the little cypresses" (*saulek* ■ merely the local dialect form). Under this name, which is evidently of recent origin, the valley is mentioned several times in the invaluable Persian geographical handbook, the *Fārs-nāme-yi Nāṣiri*, which was completed in 1886-7 and printed in Tehran ■ 1895. The second volume, p. 263, carries the following description:—

"In the county of *Hūme-yi Behbehān*<sup>1</sup> at a distance of nine leagues to the north of the town of Behbehān there is a mountain gorge, a quarter of a league long, known as *Tang-i Sarvak*. Passing through the gorge one enters a stretch of hills and hollows, extending for half a league by three-quarters of a league; they are covered with many wild-growing 'noble cypresses' (*sarv-i āzād*), which almost form forests; they subsist on rain water; their size ranges from half a cubit to fifteen cubits. The people of Behbehān use these cypresses for pillars and roof coverings. There one finds three monoliths, each seven or eight cubits long and five or six broad and high, on which pictures of many persons, in various postures, are sculptured. In beauty, these pictures compare with the reliefs of Persepolis; each is accompanied by a few lines written in an antique script. Together with His Highness Prince Ihtishām-ed-daule Sulṭān Uwais, I, the author of this *Fārs-nāme*, have visited *Tang-i Sarvak* several times. Drawings of the pictures and inscriptions, by the hand of His Highness, are reproduced on the next page."

The drawings by Ihtishām-ed-daule, which are dated November 1864, are remarkable for their impressionism rather than for accuracy; yet, the first word of the most important inscription (No. 1), which was not even noticed by de Bode, is correctly represented. The name of Ihtishām-ed-daule<sup>2</sup> (appointed governor of Fārs in 1888), the son of Farhād Mirzā (an uncle of Nāṣir-ed-dīn Shāh, twice governor of Fārs between 1840 and 1880), will be familiar ■ those who enjoyed the privilege of acquaintance

<sup>1</sup> The sub-province of *Kūh-Gilāy* was divided into halves, *Pušt-i Kūh* and *Zir-i Kūh*. At the time of the *Fārs-nāme*, the latter comprised three counties, *Hūme-yi Behbehān*, *Zaidūn*, and *Lirāwī-yi Dašt*; in earlier days there had been five counties, *Hūme-yi Arrajān* in place ■ the ■. The author of the *Fārs-nāme* prescribes *hūme* as pronunciation, not *houme* (*Hūm houme* = suburbs, environs; Arabic *ḥaumah* = quarter of a town, see Dozy; cf. G. Le Strange, *Description of the Province of Fars* (1912), p. 13, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> His full name (*Sulṭān Uwais Mirzā*) is so given in an inscription Ihtishām-ed-daule caused to ■ engraved ■ Persepolis (in the *salars* of Darius) in 1879, to commemorate excavations ordered by Farhād Mirzā on his visit to Persepolis in 1878; the name ■ Andreas is mentioned in ■ (موسى اندراس).

with F. C. Andreas, whom the prince befriended; 𐭠𐭠𐭠 mentioned more than once also in E. G. Browne's *A Year amongst the Persians*.

It will be seen from the description that the name of Tang-i Sarvak properly appertains only to the defile by which one enters on the western side of the plateau where the monuments are situated. The mountains that enclose the gorge are known as *Kūh-i Sarvak* "the mountain of the little cypresses"; at their (western) foot lies the track that leads from Behbehān northwards to the plain of Māl-Amīr, via Tāshān and Bābā-Aḥmad, see *Fārs-nāme*, ii, 263, last line. In the early part of the last century Tang-i Sarvak had belonged to the Yūsufi, one of the four divisions of the Lirāwī-yi Kūh, which belong to the Lurs of Kūh-Gilūye (the other three divisions are the Bahme'i, the Shīr-'Alī, and the Ṭayyibī, see *Fārs-nāme*, ii, 270, and cf. O. Mann, *Mundarten der Lur-stämme*, xi-xxi). The Yūsufi had their winter-quarters in "the regions of Tang-i Sarvak and Tang-i Māyar", while for the summer they retired to the much higher-lying mountains to the east of Tang-i Sarvak and had their *yailaq* in the neighbourhood of the *Barm-i Almdn* "the lake of (the ruined village of) Almdn"<sup>1</sup>. At the time of de Bode's visit the power of the Yūsufi had declined and the valley was in the territory of the Bahme'i, who were apt to render a visit a dangerous adventure; it was still in the hands of this tribe in 1936.

A book worth consulting in a matter of this kind is the Persian manual of archaeology entitled *Āthār-i 'Ajam* and composed in 1892-3 by Furqat-ed-daule (Furqat-i Širāzi), a minor poet, whose tomb-stone can be seen in the Hāfizīyye, where he rests by the side of his great countryman. It has merely a brief notice:—

"Tang-i Sarvak is among the places worth seeing near Behbehān. It lies to the north of that town at a distance of nine leagues approximately. In the gorge there are springs, many trees, and countless cypresses. At its mountains several figures of kings and others are engraved on the stone. Close to the gorge one finds a natural mountain fortress, called *Qal'c-yi Nādirī*; there are remains of ancient buildings on its summit"<sup>2</sup> (Bombay, A.H. 1354, p. 411).

It is due solely to the tireless energy of the late Sir Aurel Stein that interest in the monuments at Tang-i Sarvak has been revived. In the course of his fourth and last Persian journey he spent three days at Tang-i Sarvak

<sup>1</sup> Twelve leagues to the north-west of Behbehān, according to the *Fārs-nāme*. "The river Mogher, coming from Tang-Mogher" is crossed by the traveller on his way northwards from Bābā-Aḥmad, de Bode, i, 376. This defile must not be confused with the Tang-i Muḡhūr which, coming from the north, joins the Tang-i Sarvak near its western end (see Stein, p. 112).

<sup>2</sup> Four leagues to the east of Tang-i Sarvak, according to the *Fārs-nāme*, ii, 276. The lake is mentioned by Stein, p. 98, and shown on his map.

<sup>3</sup> Stein was told that there were no ruined structures on this peak (p. 114).



(January 7-9, 1936) and examined the site with his wonted care. His description of the remains is easily accessible now (*Old Routes in Western Iran*, pp. 103-113); little can be added to it. Unfortunately, the wintry weather was unfavourable; snow, sleet, and rain made photography and even observation difficult, and the taking of paper squeezes almost impossible. Thus it came about that the photographs published in Stein's book were not uniformly satisfactory, and that the material so laboriously collected on the inscriptions did not lead to the hoped-for decipherment. Here I can speak from experience; for I was one of the two Iranists whom Sir Aurel Stein consulted. After some hesitation I provided a statement (printed in Stein's book, p. 110); but it belonged to the type of *expertise* that is almost devoid of meaning, and could not hide the plain fact that its author was unable to read the inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

When I was at Persepolis in the spring of 1950, I thought that, as I was comparatively near to Tang-i Sarvak — the distance is a mere two hundred miles —, I ought to make an effort to secure more adequate material on the inscriptions in order to repair my earlier failure. However, the work on the Sassanian inscriptions of Fars, the object of my journey to Persia (which had been undertaken on the invitation of the Iranian Government), was not completed until the middle of June, a time of year that is not propitious for a visit to Behbehān ("in summer Arrājan is a hell" said al-Muqaddasi, 425, 10), which illness forbade in any case. But in spite of the difficulties the plan was not to be lightly abandoned; it seemed that what was needed was not so much another visit as rather a fresh set of photographs.

At the time I was allowed the services of the young, able, and energetic photographer of the Archaeological Museum (Musée Irān-i bāstān), Mr. Rustamī, who had accompanied me to Sar-Māshad and Firūzābād and had worked for me in and near Persepolis. I now proposed to the Iranian authorities that Mr. Rustamī, who happily was willing to undertake the task, should be sent to Tang-i Sarvak by himself, and this proposal was accepted in that spirit of generous helpfulness with which all my requests were met during the whole of my stay in Persia. So when I left for Isfahān, Mr. Rustamī set out on the road to Tang-i Sarvak, provided with a set of precise instructions which my friend Mr. Muṣṭafawī, the Director-General of the Archaeological Service, and I had composed, on the basis of Stein's description; Mr. Sāmī, the hospitable Director of Antiquities at Persepolis, fortunately possessed a copy of his book.

About two months later I received in London copies of the photographs Mr. Rustamī had taken. I hasten to make them public, for the benefit of those who are interested in archæology (a field in which I can claim no

<sup>1</sup> De Bode had obtained a somewhat similar statement from a French scholar, M. Eugène Baré (i, 359-60).

competence), although the study of the inscriptions is as yet not far advanced. The excellent quality of the photographs is due partly to Mr. Rustami's skill, partly to weather conditions. The perfect dryness of the stone surfaces in high summer makes it possible to see many details that remained invisible in January, the time of year when de Bode and Sir Aurel Stein visited Tang-i Sarvak. Thus the person standing to the right of the couch in ANa, of which Stein wrote "there survive the feet of ■ attendant figure", is now visible in full; or of the inscription No. 1, on which Stein reported that "only very few characters . . . are recognizable with any clearness from below", scarcely a letter remains in doubt now.

In order to facilitate reference, a list of the monuments and inscriptions is given here, with fresh numbering. It was felt unnecessary to give again a full description of the remains; but remarks are made on points which the new photographs clarify. The relief throughout is fairly low; what Herzfeld said of the Arsacid rock sculptures at Bisutūn holds good also for Tang-i Sarvak — "the ground is chiselled out, but the outlines thus produced, instead of being modelled, are simply engraved" (*Arch. Hist.* 56); it is also true of the stele of Khwāsak, and of the earliest<sup>1</sup> Sassanian rock-reliefs (the battle with Ardayān, at Firuzabad; the investiture of Ardashir, ■ Naqī-i Raḡab; and Salmas). The engraving was rich, in some cases excessively so (see Monument D); most of it has fallen off, so that mere outlines remain now. Another general feature of Tang-i Sarvak is the preference for representation full-face, which contrasts with both Achaemenian and Sassanian practice, but is characteristic also ■ the stele of Khwāsak.<sup>2</sup>

**Monument A**, large detached rock with sculptures on three sides, north, west, and north-west. De Bode, i, 353-6; Stein, 105-9. General view: plate I, showing the western and (in part) north-western faces.

**AN(orth)**. Reliefs in two registers, a above and ■ below. A drawing: de Bode, i, opposite p. 355.

**ANa**. King on throne-couch, etc.: de Bode, i, 355-6; Stein, 105-6 and Fig. 30. De Bode's drawing, although inaccurate in details, seems more useful than Stein's photograph. Our plates II and III. Stein drew attention to the feet ■ the couch, which are represented as birds (this had been seen also by Ihtishām-ed-daule), now clearly recognizable ■ eagles. There are only three, not four. The two outside

<sup>1</sup> The transition from low relief without modelling to the very high relief which characterizes early Sassanian art seems to me as good an argument as any that can be used to determine the sequence of the rock-sculptures attributable to the time of Ardashir.

<sup>2</sup> And generally of the Iranian art of the Parthian period ("strict frontality of the human figures", Rostovtzeff, *CAH*, xi, 129); excluding, however, the majority of Parthian coins. See further, H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xviii (1937), 27 sqq.

eagles look towards each other. The one in the middle is smaller; it bears an ornament on its head (?); it is not correctly centred for lack of space (the lower panel interfered). Compare the throne of Ardavān on the stele of Khwāsak (which is carried by winged griffins according to Ghirshman), and the statue published by M. Seyrig, *Syria*, xx (1939), 182 sq.

The helmet worn by the three warriors resembles a *czapha*; that of the first warrior (counting from the observer's left) has six spikes, three on each side, in addition to the square guard over the crown of the head. The two seated warriors are diademed. The king, who wears neither crown nor diadem, is distinguished by his conical helmet (with a knob at its apex) and the enormous bunches of hair (reminiscent of the Sassanian kings) that rest on his shoulders; he is holding a fillet or diadem (without ribbons) in his right hand, as if he had just received it.

The deep, rounded depressions above the knees of the king and the seated warriors are intended to indicate the edge of the tunic or the robe (cf. stele of Khwāsak, Ardavān seated). The robe is very long at the back; it trails on the ground behind the warriors' feet, which owing to the excessive length of the trousers appear ridiculously small. The fold of fabric that hangs between the warriors' legs, seemingly part of their robes, may constitute the end of the roll of cloth (?) sometimes carried over the shoulder, cf. AWa, ANW, BS, and the small bronze statue found at Shami (Stein, fig. 48; A. Godard, *Āthār-e Irān*, ii, 337, 300-1, 305). The warrior who stands behind the king wears, in addition to the loose, belted tunic (which reaches down to the calves), a mantle which hangs down the back from his shoulders and upper arms (similarly in ANW, and BS, lower figure). In his left hand he holds a curious object<sup>1</sup> with undulating edges, nine (eight?) holes set in a square, and a curved handle; his right hand is stretched forward and seems to touch the back of the king's head. All four persons wear necklaces.

**Inscription No. 1** above ANa. Plates iv (whole), v (right half), and vi (left half). Its presence was noticed by Stein, and by Ihtishām-ed-daule before him. Stein thought it had three lines, but there are four.

**Inscription No. 4** to the left of ANa (Stein inadvertently said "to the right", p. 106). Five lines, but only the first two or three letters of each line are preserved. Quite a good drawing by de Bode, folder at the end of Vol. i, No. 3. Our plate vii, see also plate ii, left-hand edge.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a banner? The Sassanian banner appears carried behind the king (cf. below p. 161); cf. also the banner shown on the reverses of the coins of the Fratarakans of Persis.

ANb. Three walking figures. Stein, 106 (in his description "right" and "left" must be interchanged). The two taller figures wear, on their left sides, a broad sheath, holding perhaps a club, cf. CN. To the left of this panel a "crude representation of a tree" (Stein 107, see his Fig. 30, bottom left-hand corner); a similar drawing is visible in the middle of ANb, over the eroded surface of the central figure; these drawings are clearly of later date, probably quite recent. Plate vii.

ANW (north-west). King worshipping before altar. De Bode, i, 353-4, with drawing opposite p. 353; Stein, 108-9 and Fig. 36. Our plates ix (king) and x (altar). The figure has been described as that of a "mobed" (de Bode) or "magus" (Stein), but almost certainly represents the king who is resting on his throne-couch in ANa and is killing a lion in AWb; his distinguishing marks (conical helmet and size of hair-bunches) have been pointed out before. Here the king apparently carries his diadem in his left hand in front of his chest; his attitude conveys that the diadem has been given him by the divinity in whose worship he is raising his right hand. The broad and ornate collar that encircles his neck and is held together by a large round cameo(?) brooch in part of the mantle or cloak mentioned above (end of ANa)<sup>1</sup>; it is shorter than the loose tunic, which has long sleeves and is girdled with a sash, the ends of which hang down in front. On the cult symbol, see below, BN.

Inscription No. 3, of five lines, on the lowest stone of the altar. Drawing by de Bode, folder at the end of Vol. i, No. 1 (the first two lines quite successful). Photograph of a squeeze (Stein, Fig. 36A). Our plate xi, supported by ix, x, and ii (bottom right-hand corner).

AW(east). Reliefs in three registers, a above, b middle, c lowest. The middle register consists of two independent parts, ba to the left side, bβ to the right. De Bode, i, 354-5, drawing opposite p. 353; Stein, 107-8.

AWa. Court assembly in the throne room. Stein, Fig. 33. Our plate xii. All nine figures (except possibly No. 9, counting from the observer's left) are bare-headed; their hairdress resembles that of the satrap on the stele of Khwāsak (except for No. 8 whose hair falls down to the shoulders). The two principal figures, Nos. 1 and 8, are seated on elaborate throne-chairs, with steps, foot-stools, arm-rests, and high backs with elliptic projections (which may be responsible for Stein's suggestion that No. 1 was diademed); they wear long, transparent (silken?) robes. Figures Nos. 1, 8, and 9 hold staves in their right hands.

<sup>1</sup> For a mantle fastened in precisely the same way see the representation of Gennasios on the stele published by H. Seyrig in *Syria*, xxvi (1949), 230 sqq. and plate xi (cf. p. 231, n. 1). The function of the long thin roll (cf. ANa above), to which a shoulder-piece (a replica of the collar in its pattern) seems to be attached, is not clear.

The dress of figure No. 9 (a long skirt touching the ground) is perhaps of the same kind as that worn by the occupants of the thrones; it differs from the common Parthian dress which we see on figures 2 to ■ and probably 7 (tunic as in ANW, wide trousers tucked into boots, plus the roll of cloth(?) carried over the shoulder). Figure No. 1 ■ best seen ■ plate ix.

**AWba.** Four ■ and two small persons. Stein, Fig. 42. Our plates xii and xiii. The four tall persons are turned towards the left (heads in profile, the bodies in front view); their right hands are lifted in supplication (the first person from the left seems ■ hold a ring); their left arms, which look as if they had been cut off, are perhaps tied(?) on their backs. As ■ the two small persons, the first (from the left) holds in his right hand, which ■ awkwardly turned ■ the observer's left, an indeterminate object (a ball ■ which a wedge is attached by its thin side — a chisel?), but his face ■ turned to the right, towards the other five persons. The second, even smaller person, who is shown full-face, wears a head-dress that resembles that of the king's consort at Sar-Mahad, and probably represents a woman (or goddess).

**AWbβ.** King on horseback slaying a lion(?). Stein, Figs. 35 and 42. Our plates xii and xiii. The weapon used by the king is not a lance (Stein) but a sword. What Stein (and de Bode before him) regarded as a curved bow (to the right of the king's head) ■ merely the irregularly cut edge of the deepened rock surface (see plate xv). The rider ■ too large in relation to the size of his horse; ■ feet touch the ground; the ends of the bands with which the boots are tied at the ankle are clearly visible. His quiver is attached by a ring to the saddle; ■ strap fastens an object on his thigh, probably a dagger (cf. below D).

**AWc.** Man strangling a lion. Cf. Stein, Fig. 42. Plate xiv. The man wears a high tiara. Under his coat (so ■ seems) he carries a sword; only the tip of ■ scabbard emerges.<sup>1</sup> The lion sits dispiritedly on its hind legs (the posture of the animal in AWbβ is not clear; de Bode hesitated between lion, bear, and wild boar).

**Inscription No. 2,** under figure No. 9 in AWA, above the "lion" in AWbβ. It has five lines. Drawing by de Bode, folder ■ end of Vol. i, No. 2. Photograph of a squeeze, Stein, Fig. 36B. Both are fairly satisfactory for the last three lines. Our plate xv (supported by plates xii and xiii).

**Inscription No. 3,** under the hind legs of the horse in AWbβ continuing in a single line towards the head of the man in AWc. As it ■ almost

<sup>1</sup> As the sword was normally worn on a hip-belt over the tunic, the coat, when added to the costume, necessarily covered it in part. On this coat or vest, a garment seldom worn (this is the only example ■ Tang-i Sarvak), see H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xviii (1937), 22-4; his plate iv shows a beautiful specimen of such a coat covering a sword (lower panel, centre figure; only the handle emerges).

entirely destroyed (perhaps it was erased by the stone-masons), it has not been noticed previously. Unmistakable letters are visible under the interstice between the fifth and the sixth figures (counting from the left) in AWba. No special photograph available. See plates xii and xiii.

**Monument B:** small detached rock a mile to the west of A. Not noticed by de Bode. Stein, 111-2. Sculptures on three sides, south, west, and north (according to Stein: north, east, and south; his directions do not accord with our photographs). All the surfaces are badly weathered. The monument bears some general resemblance to the sculptured monolith near the rock of Bisutūn (cf. L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The sculptures and inscriptions of Darius the Great*, pp. xxv-xxvi and plates x and xi).

**BS.** Two worshippers. Stein, Fig. 32. Our plate xvi (the two photographs supplement each other). The first worshipper stands on a platform before a small fire altar resting on a stepped base. His raised right hand holds a bowl or round box; the irregular lines below the hand, a little to its left, suggested to Stein incense in the process of being dropped into the fire. The object held in the left hand is indistinct; the bulge in front of the right leg is not easily accounted for (a water jar?). The second worshipper stands behind the first, on a lower level; he is much taller (the relation of his size to that of the first worshipper is 11 to 7). He wears a tiara and holds a ball-like object in his raised right hand. His tunic is a little lower at the sides than in the middle and the edges appear to be slightly pointed (so also the king's tunic in ANW and BN). Such pointed edges appear in Palmyra (where the pointing is often exaggerated) chiefly in the 3rd century; they belong to the tunic introduced in the middle of the 2nd century; see H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xviii (1937), 15. — The description given by Stein, who probably wrote from memory, is not quite accurate here. He stated that the figure on the lower level (which he described as smaller) stood "before an altar resting on a ziggurat-shaped base"; but there is no altar, and the base belongs to the fire altar in front of the first worshipper.

**Inscription No. 6** in front of the tiara of the second worshipper. Two lines, possibly more. Only a few letters are recognizable. Not previously noticed. No separate photograph available. See plate xvi. The presence of this inscription (all the others are on Monument A) proves that the Monuments A and B are approximately contemporaneous.

**BW.** Man in front view with outstretched arms, on the edge of the rock. Plate xvii. The relief is higher than elsewhere in Tang-i Sarvak. Hair in a halo around the head, cf. AWa. The right hand (palm upwards, and fingers splayed, perhaps holding a round object, cf. AWba and BS, second worshipper) can be best seen in plate xviii (right-hand side).



**BN.** This sculpture, only briefly mentioned by Stein ("two relieve figures very badly decayed"), is of great interest. Plate xviii. The right figure wears a crown, perhaps a mural crown;  $\equiv$  is taller than the person on the left, who wears a tiara. Between their heads one sees the sacred stone or *maṣṣēbā*, shaped like a sugar loaf, which stands also on the altar in ANW; here as there it is tied with a double band, the two ends of which float downwards on the left side (one end in front of the tiara, the other above it). Stein correctly described it as a *βασιλευς*; the diadem, the symbol of royalty that encircles it, signifies that the divinity residing in this *bēt-El* or "house of god"  $\equiv$  the king  $\equiv$  gods, the god who confers the kingship upon mortals.<sup>1</sup>

The hands of the two figures seem to touch; perhaps the taller hands an object (a diadem?) to the other. Two children stand below their arms, facing each other, closely together; that on the right, whose back touches the crowned figure, is clearly visible;  $\equiv$  the other only feeble traces remain. The scene immediately recalls the Sassanian representations of the divine investiture: Ahuramazdāh,<sup>2</sup> the king of the gods, wearing a mural crown, gives a diadem  $\equiv$  the king; a symbol of worship between god and king (a fire altar at Firuzabad); childlike figures in between (two: investiture of Ardashir at Naqā-i Rajab, the earliest sculpture of this kind; one: investiture of Narseh  $\equiv$  Naqā-i Rostam). We are thus entitled to the assumption that the crowned figure represents the local Ahuramazdāh; the child leaning to him may be his daughter, the local Anāhit. As, however, the cult symbol  $\equiv$  distinctly non-Iranian and in fact points straight to Syria, the homeland of the baetyls, we should use Semitic rather than Iranian names. Now the recognized Semitic "equivalent" of Ahuramazdāh was Bēl. And it so happens that Bēl is the only male divinity mentioned for Elymais during the whole of Parthian times (on the occasion of the end of Antiochus Magnus). Therefore, we may plausibly call the crowned figure *Bēl*, and, though with less assurance, the child *Nanai*, who may perhaps be recognized also in the female figure of AWbu.

**Monument C.** Detached boulder 650 yards to the east of A. Not noticed by de Bode. Stein, 104-5. Sculptures on two sides, north and east.

**CN.** Stein, Fig. 31. Our plate xix. The two soldiers (plain tunic, trousers, and sandals) carry a broad sheath on their left sides, which seems  $\equiv$  contain a club or mace with a curved top, cf. also ANb. A similar implement can be seen  $\equiv$  the investiture of Ardashir at Naqā-i Rajab;

<sup>1</sup> I owe thanks to Professor Sidney Smith for helping me with the explanation of the stone on the altar.

<sup>2</sup> Exceptionally Anāhit acts in his place (in the case of Narseh).



the attendant who holds the fly-whisk carries it there, but on his right side. Cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 249, "Keule, am Gürtel befestigt".

CE. According to Stein, a badly damaged figure reclining on a couch (cf. ANa). No photograph available.

**Monument D.** Limestone block, connected with other rocks, to the north of A. Single relief on its southern face. De Bode, i, 356-7, and drawing opposite p. 356. Stein, 110-1, and fig. 37. Our plate xx. The two photographs are neatly complementary, having been taken with the light from almost opposite directions. The fight on horseback seems to have been a favourite subject for rock-sculptures in Iran in both Parthian and Sassanian times. Before Tang-i Sarvak: the victory of Goterzes at Bisutūn; after Tang-i Sarvak: the fight with Ardashir at Firūzābād, and four similar battle scenes at Naqš-i Rostam attributable to (1) Bahrām ii, (2) his son, Bahrām iii, before his accession (recognizable by the eagle that forms the front of his helmet), (3) Hormizd ii (uncertain, only the back of the crown having been preserved), and (4) Shapur ii. Certain features are common to all of them: both parties are on horseback, the only weapon used is the long lance, the victor is on the left side. All except one (Bahrām iii) show an additional figure or group on the left side, whose introduction was designed to bring the victor into the best place in the centre: a horseman at Bisutūn, three foot soldiers at Tang-i Sarvak, a young prince<sup>1</sup> with a prisoner at Firūzābād (where the chief scene is duplicated), a horseman with the royal banner in Naqš-i Rostam (Hormizd ii and Shapur ii; whether the rider at the back of Bahrām ii carries a banner, is doubtful). Consideration of the general history of this tableau causes one to expect a second rider, in the process of being overthrown, to the right of the *clibanarius*, where the rock has broken away. Indeed, there are ample traces of the defeated enemy, but these traces can scarcely be interpreted as those of a horseman; they rather appear to indicate a walking figure in full armour (both his feet in side view, walking towards the victor; that on the left side is touched by the horse's forefeet; the right arm hanging down in front of the horse's head; the apparent fifth leg of the horse may, in fact, be the curved end of a mace dropping from the enemy's hand), but there are many doubtful points.

The "cataphract" or *clibanarius* has been described by Stein. The helmet is broad, rectangular, flat on top, projecting at the sides; under two fairly large hair-bunches emerge, which render it possible that the person here depicted is identical with the king of Monument A, in

<sup>1</sup> The same prince (identifiable by the crest on his helmet) appears in the investiture of Ardashir in Naqš-i Rostam immediately behind the king.

spite of the difference in headgear (the small conical helmet would not afford sufficient protection in war.)<sup>1</sup> The typically Parthian dagger is clearly visible on the rider's right thigh, cf. the large statue found at Shami and A. Godard's remarks, *Athân-e Irân*, ii, 297 sq. (see also H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xx (1939), 177-81). The large object behind the rider's leg was recognized by Stein as a quiver; it is very broad and probably was bowcase and quiver combined<sup>2</sup> (cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 249); it is divided lengthwise into three compartments (cf. the equally broad quiver ■ Ardavân ■ Firūzābād, which is bisected vertically). Portions of the rich surface ornamentation on the quiver and on the middle of the cuirass can still be seen. The rider wears a leather cuirass over a coat of scale armour with brassarts of annulate plate armour (cf. the Parthian warriors at Firūzābād). The horse, too, is protected by plate (scale) armour; its suit has a projection before the chest, which gives it the appearance of a funnel (or oven) and may be responsible for the origin of the term *clibanarius* (differently Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 164, n. 5); the projection was open in front ■ allow some movement to the forelegs; the whole suit bore no resemblance to the Sassanian *hargustu-vān* represented at Tāq-i Bustān.

Of the three soldiers sketched in the top left-hand corner of the panel, one is shown throwing a stone (correctly seen by de Bode), the second shooting an arrow, the third falling down backwards; their style of dress differs from that of the other figures in Tang-i Sarvak. The Bowman and the stone-thrower carry long swords, attached ■ shoulder belts in Roman fashion. Behind the stone-thrower's legs, a little above the butt of the lance, one sees an implement, which de Bode regarded as a hammer, while Stein took it for a ring and chain; perhaps ■ is a battle-axe, a *tabarzin*, with a ring for attachment ■ the belt.

**A-D.** The total number of persons represented in Tang-i Sarvak is forty; of animals: seven (two horses, two lions, three ornamental birds). The following weapons, etc., are shown: long lance, light spear, bow, arrow, quiver, quiver and bowcase combined, sword, dagger, mace, battle-axe, staff, and banner.

The theme of the rock-sculptures at Tang-i Sarvak is the investiture of a king or of several kings. We see a king receiving his diadem from the hands of a divine being, probably Bēl (BN), to whom ■ offers a sacrifice (BS). The same king, or perhaps his predecessor or successor, is shown holding the diadem in front of the altar of the same divinity, which is

<sup>1</sup> The rider wore also a diadem; one of its free ends is floating behind his head.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the stele ■ Castor-Abgal (*Syria*, xxvi, 1949, p. 236).

represented by a cult symbol reminiscent of Syria (ANW). He then seats himself on the royal throne, holding aloft the symbol of his majesty before the eyes of the leaders of his state (ANa). At a public reception the king and another person, perhaps the high priest, are seen seated on throne chairs (AWa). The sacred enclosure where the investiture takes place is guarded by the royal troops (ANb and CN). A great victory over an alien enemy has laid the foundation of the royal power (D); and the new king's prowess in hunting has been shown on more than one occasion (AWb $\beta$  and AWc).<sup>1</sup>

Such a reconstruction may well seem a little too fanciful; indeed, there are more doubtful than certain points in it; yet it is desirable that we should try to understand the meaning of the site before tackling the inscriptions, which owing to their brevity promise little information. As specimens of the stone-mason's art the inscriptions rank very low; not even the surfaces were always properly smoothed before the work began; the engraving is of the poorest, and the letters are straggling.

Reputedly, these inscriptions are written in an unknown script, but this reputation is undeserved and due chiefly to the growing departmentalization of learning. Looking back now, one sees that the drawings by de Bode or those made by Ihtishâm-ed-daule were perfectly sufficient for the purpose of determining the nature of the script. The key is unsufferably obvious; one is ashamed not to have found it at once. The writing is simply the same as that found on the coins which the kings of Elymais issued in Parthian times.

The writing on these coins, which are allocated to the first and second centuries of our era, was in part deciphered already by A. D. Mordtmann, who recognized the word for "king" (MLK) and the name of Orodes (WRWD). The decipherment was completed by the late Colonel Allotte de la Foye, the father of Elymaean numismatics; see especially his paper "*Les Monnaies de l'Élymaïde*", *Revue Numismatique*, 4<sup>me</sup> sér. t. xxii, 1919, 45-84. We owe a final and comprehensive treatment of the coins to G. F. Hill, *Cat. of the Greek coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*.

A curious and almost unaccountable feature in the appearance on the coins of two varieties of writing, which, although alike in a general way, differ from each other in the shape of quite a few letters; most striking is the employment of one and the same figure for different values (D in the one variety = B in the other). The distribution of the two varieties of writing is not by any means due to differences in date; queerly enough it seems to be

<sup>1</sup> I hesitate to make any use here of the relief AWb $\alpha$ . Its style seems to differ from that of the other sculptures; but this impression may be due to its ruined state (or to its having been left uncompleted?). Its purport is not clear. A possible interpretation (namely, four prisoners approaching a priest to offer themselves as victims to Nahai, in order to celebrate the inauguration) is not very attractive; but the presence of prisoners in this relief is suggested by the inscriptions (see below).

governed chiefly by the size of the coins. The one variety is reserved ■ *les monnaies de petit module* (small coppers), the other to *les monnaies de grand module* (copper "tetradrachms" – there is no silver); but this rule is not without exceptions; thus the writing of the larger coins is used also on the small coppers of Orodes iii (middle of the 2nd century). Allotte de la Fuÿe attributed the variation to local influence or conditions, see *Rev. Num.*, 1919, 69. However that may be, the point important for us at the moment is that the writing of Tang-i Sarvak is that of the tetradrachms. Thus, for the purpose of reading the inscriptions we should rely on the tetradrachms alone, disregarding the small coppers<sup>1</sup> which might mislead us.

It so happens that a single legend, that of the tetradrachm of Kamnaskires Orodes, contains ■ the letters that can ■ read with certitude; see Allotte, *loc. cit.*, p. ■ and plate i, No. 10; cf. Hill, plate xl, Nos. 20–23, liii, No. 15. The legend runs as follows:—

קצנחזקירורודמלכא(לסזצורודאזאז

= כבשכירורודמלכאברורודמלכא

i.e., *KBNŠKYR WRWD MLK' BR WRWD MLK'* "King Kamnaskires Orodes, son of King Orodes". This gives ■ eleven letters (p, b, d, w, y, k, l, m, n, r, t), precisely half the Aramaic alphabet. A twelfth letter, □ appears on the unique tetradrachm of the British Museum which G. F. Hill attributed to Phraates, the son of Orodes (Hill, plate xli, No. 16); it is believed to represent the last letter of the king's name (which, on his coins with Greek legends, appears as Πραατης), namely ■ t (the preceding letter is clearly Aleph; before that traces of *RD(t)*, hence [p]rd't; the p is unfortunately lost); this reading is convincing, but not certain. Other letters that have been read on Elymaean coins (such as the P in "Queen Ulfān") are too doubtful to be taken into account.

A few words are necessary to defend the new reading I have introduced into the legend of the tetradrachm, *KBNŠKYR*. Only the fourth letter is in dispute. Allotte de la Fuÿe gave his reading ■ the form of *KaBNa-HZKIR*, i.e., he divided the letter l regard as □ into two and attributed ■ the halves the values which they would have had in ancient Aramaic (□). Hill, no doubt sensing the inappropriateness of such ■ spelling, wrote כבנהכיר ■ Hebrew letters, but *KABNAH(Z)KIR* in Roman (as if Z and H were alternatives). We will show presently that the letter □ H had a different shape in the Elymaean script. Apart from that, between N and the second K of this name one would scarcely expect any letter other than either □ ■ or □ S. On the coins with Greek inscriptions we find the

<sup>1</sup> Their script differs from Parthian script, if at all, only slightly.

following forms: KAMNIZKIPOY (about 160 B.C.), KAMNAΣKIPOY (normal form, 1st century B.C.), and once KABNAΣ[KIPOY] (Allotte, *loc. cit.*, §. 62 = pl. i, No. 4). The small coppers are said to have כֹּמֶשְׁכִּיר = *KUMSKYR*, see Allotte, *ibid.*, 52-3; while this reading may seem uncertain, there is no doubt about its  $\varpi$   $\varsigma$ , which resembles the Parthian  $\varsigma$ . The small coppers compel us to read *KUMSKYR* in preference to *KBNSKYR* (which the Greek spelling would equally admit), and this is in best accord with palaeographic considerations. The truth is that  $\varpi$  was one of the letters that possessed different forms in the two varieties of Elymaean script.

Another point worth making (although it should not be allowed to intrude into the process of reading the letters) concerns the origin of this curious name, *Kamnaskires*. It has always been regarded as a personal name, and indeed it is often used as if it were a proper name, but nevertheless, it seems possible that it was an old dynastic title. The strange legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΦ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ,<sup>1</sup> and, to a higher degree, the collocation of *KUMSKYR* with *WRWD*, which alone can reasonably be said to have been the king's name, may seem to support this suggestion. The pronunciation of the word was, approximately, *kahneškir*. It strikingly resembles the Elamite title *qa-ap-nu-ik-hi-ra* "treasurer", which occurs often in the treasury tablets discovered at Persepolis and published by G. G. Cameron (*cf.* Gershevitch, *Asia Major*, ii, 144); since the sign "nu" has the phonetic value *ni* and tenues and mediae are not distinguished, the spelling represents *kapiškir*- or *kabniškir*-. In Achaemenian times it was no doubt the chief duty of the satraps of Susiana to protect the royal treasures stored at Susa; thus they may have been called *kabniškir* in the local Elamite language, and this title may have clung to those who governed that province even in later times.

There are thus altogether twelve letters (including  $\pi$ ) on which we may rely for the reading of the inscriptions. But before we can proceed, we must ask ourselves the question: in what language are the inscriptions written? Or, since the language of the inscriptions is likely to be the same as the language of the coin legends, we should ask: what is the language of the coin legends? In the present state of our knowledge, this question cannot be answered with assurance. On the face of it, of course, the language is Aramaic. Thus the legend of the tetradrachm produced above (p. 164) is in faultless Aramaic. Other coins, notably those with the legend ורוד מלכא כרי ורוד *WRWD MLK' BRY WRWD* (e.g., Hill, plate xl,

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1902, plate v, No. 3 = Hill, plate lii, No. 8; and Hill, plate xxxviii, Nos. 5 and 8. So on an unpublished coin in my possession, a silver tetradrachm, which, while resembling the Paris tetradrachm, has the characteristic bust of an old man on the obverse; the date is almost entirely rubbed off (perhaps it was BIT = 1 B.C./1 A.D.). The letters TOY EF are quite clear on this coin (as they are also on the late coin, Hill, plate lii, No. 10); thus they cannot well be regarded as a mistake.





This is probably the only line in the inscriptions that offers hope of substantial progress in the decipherment; thanks to the recurrence of parts of the phrase in other lines, the shapes of the letters are throughout assured (my drawing here is a slight improvement on nature).

Suitable as the first word is an inscription of this kind, which can reasonably be expected to describe the rock-sculpture it attends, is a word for "picture" or the like; hence, we put A=𐭠 and read 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 *šalmā* "the picture"; in any case, the first letter strongly resembles *šāde* (as in Palmyrene, Manichaean, or Parthian). Now we call to mind comparable inscriptions, such as one of Naqī-i Rūstam: *pīkr ZNH 'hwrmad 'LH'* "This is the picture of Ahuramazdāh, the god", lit. picture-this-Ahuramazdāh-god, and cannot fail to see that the self-same second word, ZNH "this", fits the letters of our inscription; hence, B=𐭠 and C=𐭡 (both again fairly close to Parthian forms). Next comes D; after some time one recognizes that it has to be dissolved into two components, viz., 𐭠, the relative particle. It is not used in the Iranian inscriptions (as at Naqī-i Rūstam) in this place, but it is used in properly Aramaic inscriptions such as those of Palmyra, many of which open with the words 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 "this is the picture of . . .". Having once found the reading 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣, we know that we are on the right way and can set doubt and hesitation aside.

The opening formula is followed by WRIVD=Orodes, necessarily the name of the man whose investiture was to be kept fresh in memory by the monuments of Tang-i Sarvak. It is well known that Orodes was the favourite name of the later kings of Elymais; the personage depicted is thus one of these kings. Turning now to the remaining group of letters, a group which recurs in four or five places, we cannot at first make progress. It consists of eleven letters, all known except one, which occurs in two places; this unknown letter resembles the Pahlavi T, but experimenting with T yields no good sense, and if we gave the value of T to the unknown letter, we should depart from our basis of twelve letters, which included T (although admittedly that was the only uncertain one among them).

It may be better to approach the problem from the meaning which may be attributed to the words after the king's name. One would expect his title. But the title of the kings of Elymais called Orodes (and our Orodes is necessarily one of them) was *king* and nothing else — on that score the coins leave no doubt; yet the word "king", 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣, occurs neither here nor anywhere else in the inscriptions. Why then does our King Orodes not call himself "king", as he should? I can think of only one answer: Orodes is not king as yet, he is only at the point of becoming king. The reliefs show him being invested with the insignia of kingship, and the inscriptions conformingly speak of him not as a king but as one being installed as a king: the words at the end of the line should convey some such meaning.



ARABIC	PARTIAN	COINS OF ELYMAIS		TANG - I SARVAK					
		SMALL CAPSULE (PNEUM)	TETRA- DRACHME (CARR)	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3		
4	4					4			
5	5	5	5	5	5	5			
6	6			6		6			6
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96	96			96	96	96			
97	97			97	97	97			
98	98			98	98	98			
99	99			99	99	99			
100	100			100	100	100			

The Elymaean Alphabet

The most striking object depicted in the relief ANa (above which Inscription No. 1 is engraved) is undoubtedly the throne-couch on which Orodes has seated himself. The correct word for it in Aramaic is כורסיא and this fits as the last word of the line. Hence we put E=ס.<sup>1</sup> The preceding letter, ב, might be the preposition, but it is better to take the remaining five letters as a single word, נאסיב = *ndsib* (*ndseß*) "taking". Then the whole line reads:

צלמא תה וי ורוד נאסיב כורסיא

=this is the image of Orodes assuming the throne.

The language of this line is pure Aramaic; nothing in it hints at ideographic writing covering a different language. There is no significant deviation from *Reicharamäisch*, except in the "Mandaean" orthography of N'SYB, which may count as a pointer to the use of Aramaic as a living language, as against a scribal convenience; the imperfect prefix is still י', see Inscription No. 3, last line. However, recognition of their language removes the inscriptions out of my competence; for my occupation with Tang-i Sarvak arose from the hope of finding a new Iranian language; this hope has been disappointed, it is proper that we should hand over to the Semitists. Accordingly, I shall refrain from too much speculation and confine myself to a transcription of the inscriptions with a minimum of explanatory remarks; for there is much that I do not understand.

To deal briefly with the remaining letters first: ש and ת occur several times, in forms resembling those found on coins; in Inscription No. 1 the crescent-shaped end of the latter has become a full circle (as in Syriac and sometimes in Nabataean) and its second shaft has acquired a brief horizontal line at its top, which is found also in the letter V in that inscription (merely an attempt at stylization, which has affected also the shape of S). 'Ain is assured in the last line of Inscription No. 3, where the reading עבד imposes itself; but whether the preceding word should read as עליה is a matter of considerable doubt.<sup>2</sup> In the same line there is one example each of H and G; as these letters are found nowhere else, their identification is uncertain. In the first line of Inscription No. 3 there is a clear P in the last word, the third letter of which I have put down as Q, partly because its shape (a longish vertical with a brief horizontal line on top) is not too much removed from the normal Aramaic type, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the forms which this letter assumed in Nabataean, Mandaean, and Samaritan Hebrew; the right side is completely closed also in Syrian and Manichaean scripts.

<sup>2</sup> A minor deviation is the spelling כרסא (=normal Aramaic form) against כרסא (Ahiqar), cf. st. ostr. נרסא Zenjirli *Hauinschrift* and Daniel, with suffix כרסא (Pap.) beside כרסא (Daniel). The once occurring spelling כרסא (Inscription No. 1, line 4) is probably due to error.

<sup>3</sup> Another instance in Inscription No. 1, line 3.

No. 1

[illegible]

No. 4

17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22

No. 5  
No. 6

No. 6

No. 3

The Elymestan Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak

partly because there is little left to choose from; another example of Q, *ibid.*, line 3; two other examples of P, *ibid.*, line 2 and Inscription No. 4 line 1(?). Now we have found all the letters of the Aramaic alphabet except one: T; a suitable shape does appear in the third line of Inscription No. 1 where, to judge by the parallel copy, no letter is called for. Hence, its identification with T is very doubtful. In view of the shortness of the inscriptions, ■ find instances of every single letter would ■ an extraordinary piece of luck.

The extent of the material is even less than ■ appears to be at first sight. The Inscriptions Nos. 4, 5, and 6 scarcely count. The text of Inscription No. 2 is embodied in No. 1. Thus we have, in effect, only two inscriptions, No. 1-2 and No. 3; between them they contain under 150 letters. Moreover, Inscription No. 3 is so badly engraved on an uneven surface that the forms of the letters cannot always be determined with assurance. We will begin with Inscription No. 1 (minus its first line) and No. 2:—

## No. 1

- (2) בר בלדושא וי רבאני  
(3) ואסירא ואטיטכא וי כתרעאבר  
(4) באסי נאסיב כורסא

## No. 2

- (1) כלדושא וי רבאני  
(2) ואסירא ואטיכא  
(3) וי כתרא כר  
(4) באסי נאסיב  
(5) כורסא

As ■ the two copies the text is broken into lines in different ways, the division into words is in part assured. The first word in No. 1, *BLDH'S*, is presumably a proper name; its final Alef ■ not certain, nor ■ the following ZY. The next word ■ clear except for its ending; No. 1 favours *RB'NY*, ■ No. 2 it may be *RB'NY* or *RB'N*. Since the latter is impossible ■ No. 1, we should give preference to *RB'NY*—a title? *Rab-ā-x?* *Rabbānē*, an east-Aramaic plural det. (with final Yōd?), would mean "teachers" and scarcely be suitable; another personal name (*Rabbānai*) ■ hardly appropriate.

The next line opens with the words "and the prisoners (captives) and . . .". They are followed by 'tyk' in No. 2, but 'tyk'(?) in No. 1, which I do not understand; even 'tyk' ■ not easily accounted for. Dalman gives *attiqā* "hart" (Germ.), which is listed neither by Buxtorf nor by J. Levy; assumption of confusion between k and q ('attiqā "ancient") is not inviting.<sup>1</sup> The tendency ■ prolong a final ascending stroke into a succeeding Yōd, which can be observed on the coins (*KY* in *KBNŠKYR*, Hill,

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew *attiq* (said to mean "gallery, porch") need scarcely ■ considered here.

plate 21, Nos. 20, 21, perhaps 22), is neatly exemplified by *TY* here in No. 2.

The remainder is comparatively easy. If one trusts to the word-division recommended by the spacing in No. 2, one has "who (are) the gate (court); Bar-Bāsi assuming the throne"; if one does not, "who (are) at the gate (court) of Abar-Bāsi assuming the throne". The second alternative seems preferable; the variant *TR* '*BR* (*TR* *BR*)' is valuable; the third possibility ("who (are) behind, or after, 'Abar-bāsi' etc.) can be discounted.<sup>1</sup> The one difficult point is the position of *BR*<sup>2</sup> (or '*BR*') at the end of a line in No. 1; for if, in fact, it constituted a name together with *B'SY*,<sup>3</sup> it should have been placed at the beginning of the next line (there was ample space).

The fact that the full meaning of such an inscription does not become clear immediately should not be allowed to discourage us. We know as good as nothing of the conditions of life in Khūzistān in the first centuries of our era; there are no sources of any description except the coins, which provide the bare names of a few kings (the latest of the Greek inscriptions of Susa is from A.D. 21); and the possibility that we have gone wrong in determining the value of the letters must not be lost sight of entirely (there is very little that can be changed). Even so, however little we understand, that little is almost enough to destroy our whole case. The word that precedes *N'SYB K'WRSY*, whatever its precise form, is certainly a proper name (henceforward as Abar-Bāsi); the first line of No. 1 contains another proper name, Orodes, also in front of *N'SYB K'WRSY*. Thus we should find two persons mentioned as being invested in one and the same inscription; that is extremely unlikely.

To meet this difficulty with a convincing explanation is not easy. It is not as if Inscription No. 1, although it does consist of two distinct parts, could be regarded as constituting two separate inscriptions, engraved below each other at different times; on the contrary, its distinctive style of writing ensures that the whole of it was incised by one craftsman at one and the same time. Perhaps the answer to the problem lies in the word *BR* (line 2, first word) which connects the two halves of the inscription. As *BLDWS*<sup>4</sup> is probably a proper name (a compound of *Ba'I/Bēl* with another word<sup>5</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> Because *bāzār* would almost certainly be spelt *b'zr*.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing can be done with *bar* "outside" here, it seems.

<sup>3</sup> If it is *bar* "son of", the separation is to some extent justified; less so if the name is a compound name (e.g. with *tan*?).

<sup>4</sup> We are entitled to assume that, as in the neighbouring Mandaeen dialect, so also in Elymaean (if that name is acceptable for the language of our inscriptions) there was some neglect of the laryngals; here, as there, it may be credited to the influence of Babylonian; as regards 'Ain, cf. *tr* (*tr'*) in the place of *tr'* (*tr''*).—Such transcriptions as *Abar-Bāsi*, *Bēl-dūtā* are intended to spare the reader the annoyance caused by the apostrophes; they are mere symbols.

*BR* will be *bar* "son of"; thus we learn from Inscription No. 1 that Orodes was the son of *Bēl-dūšā*. We may now put forward the following theory:—

Monument A belongs to two successive kings, Abar-Bāsi and Orodes. The reliefs and inscriptions on the western face (the best side of the rock, which would be used first) are due to Abar-Bāsi. The court assembly of AWA shows the installation of Abar-Bāsi; the figures seated on the thrones are Abar-Bāsi and the most powerful man in the kingdom, *Bēl-dūšā*, perhaps the high priest and grand vizier (*RB'NY?*); his name may indicate that he was a priest of *Bēl*. Inscription No. 2 describes AWA and the horseman in AWbβ to Abar-Bāsi.

After Abar-Bāsi had died or been killed, the high priest installed his own son, Orodes. To him belong the northern and north-western faces of Monument A and the whole of Monument B. The cult of *Bēl* (and perhaps Nanai) became more firmly established and more closely associated with the kingship; it was claimed that Orodes, the usurper, had been invested by *Bēl* himself. To his inscription, which ended with the words "son of *Bēl-dūšā* the high priest", the remainder of the earlier inscription, which began with "*Bēl-dūšā* the high priest", was added, half mechanically.<sup>1</sup> There was no particular objection to the addition (which merely stated truthfully that a part of the monument was due to Abar-Bāsi), perhaps because there had been no open enmity between Orodes and his predecessor; on the contrary their association in one inscription may have been intended to convey their equality of status.

In presenting this purely tentative hypothesis account has been taken of the remaining inscriptions. No. 5, it will be remembered, is under the horseman (AWbβ) whom we now regard as Abar-Bāsi.

#### No. 5

צלמא זגה ד . . . . . נאס(י)ב כו(ר)סיא

"This is the image of . . . assuming the throne." The name is destroyed. The length of the gap is too great for *WRWD*; *BRB'SY* or '*BRB'SY* would fill it (when I made the drawing I believed I could see the letter *B* after *ZY*; its existence seems to me very doubtful now). The only inscription on Monument B is No. 6:—

#### No. 6

(1) צלמא תה זני רר

(2) ורד(י) נאס(י)ב כו(ר)סיא

"This is the image of Orodes assuming the throne" (and weak traces of

<sup>1</sup> The outward appearance of the inscription supports the suggestion that the text was originally confined to the first two lines.

further lines). Here the name of Orodes is almost certain. It is certain in Inscription No. 3, which is on the altar in ANW:—

No. 3

(1) צלמא זנה פסקו

(2) מדאנאמופא

(3) בר כדאק מן באן כז'י

(4) רורד נאסיב כורסא ש'סא

חן גחן עליה יעבד

The miserable engraving is perhaps chiefly responsible for our lack of progress with this inscription; many letters are doubtful. The first line is clear, "they cut this image"; *pasag* "cut, split, divide" is not quite the right verb; we need *pasal*; but it would be foolhardy to emend the inscription. The next two lines may give the names of the artisans (we should have two at least — *MD'N'M* and *P'* the son of *BD'Q*, very unlikely), but the subject of *pasag* need not have been expressed. The reading becomes uncertain after *bd'q'* (*mab'n?* *mzh'n?* one word or two?). At the end of the line I have restored *KZ* (reasonably clear) into *KZY*. This conjunction helps to bring some sense into the remaining words, which apparently describe the relief above the inscription:—"as Orodes, assuming the throne, feeds the . . . (and) does obeisance unto it". The word that presumably defines the object of worship depicted on the altar is unfortunately illegible; the traces suggest *fyr'*, with a superscript Alef between *f* and *y*; may one think of a dissimilated form of *lailā* (*lila*) "marble, alabaster"? It is no use objecting that Orodes, in fact, does not feed anyone or anything; for *yawā* is the only reading possible and it does mean "he feeds, nourishes" (at the most "sustains"). As *ghn*, it is true that nouns are rarely formed from this root ("to bow or prostrate oneself"), although several occur in Syriac (*ghn-*); here a noun is clearly required (the verb is often construed with 'al). However, it is better to leave the explanation of the details to the Semitists; the important point at the moment is that the inscription confirms that the person worshipping before the altar is Orodes.

It remains to give the text of Inscription No. 4 which is almost wholly destroyed. The style of writing differs slightly from that of the other inscriptions; the letter *M* has an older form; the engraving is more carefully done.

<sup>1</sup> *Br bd'q* conceivably = "outside the fissure".

<sup>2</sup> This could be a proper name, cf. MAZABBANAI, *Syria*, xcvi (1949), plate xii and p. 236, n. 1 (a style of A.D. 196).





would be about A.D. 150 (accession of Abar-Bāsi), of the Inscriptions Nos. 1, 3, and 11 about A.D. 165-170 (accession of Orodes iv).

A date close to the end of the Parthian period is recommended also by the style of the reliefs,<sup>1</sup> which resembles that of the stele of Khwāsak. It may not come amiss to indicate briefly why I refer to that monument, which was discovered by Dr. R. Ghirshman at Susa in 1947 (*Monuments Piot*, xlv (1950), 97-107), as the stele of *Khwāsak*; M. Ghirshman reads the name of its owner as *Narge Hufar*. Its date, I submit, should be read in this way:—

ŠNT iii c | xx xx xx ii | YRHP |  
spndrmtly YWM<sup>1</sup> mty

"year 462, month of Spandārmāt, day of Mihr"; the era, as I pointed out on an earlier occasion,<sup>2</sup> is the Arsacid era; accordingly, the date is September 14, A.D. 215. The central inscription<sup>3</sup> reads as follows (the reading given by M. Ghirshman differs considerably):—

- |                                 |                                    |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) 'rtbntz MLKYN               | Artabānu the king of kings,        |
| (2) MLK <sup>2</sup> BRY tlgfē  | son of Walagadi                    |
| (3) MLKYN MLK <sup>2</sup> BNYt | the king of kings, built           |
| (4) hnsk ZK ZY <sup>4</sup>     | this "erection" which (is that) of |
| (5) hnsk hēf                    | Khwāsak, <sup>5</sup> the satrap   |
| (6) htrp                        | of Susa.                           |

The word that designated the monument is unfortunately not quite clear; it may have been *hnsk* = *hansāk* "erection" = "stele" (cf. Sogd. 'ns'c-, 'ns'yt-, 'ns'k-, etc., MPers. *hs'c*-); but it may have been *harr*. The monument in question was presumably a tomb stele, and the date was the date of the death of Khwāsak.

Tang-i Sarvak was a sanctuary of Bēl (and perhaps Nanai), a sacred grove where the kings of Elymais were crowned in the second century. de Bode ("I was standing perhaps on the very ground once sacred to the Goddess *Anāitis*", etc.) came closer to the truth than Sir Aurel Stein, who thought the place might have been used as a royal "hill station" or summer residence — a suggestion defeated by the climatic conditions; for, as we have seen (p. 153), Tang-i Sarvak serves as a *qāhāq* and is abandoned at the beginning of the hot season. The identification with Seleucia/Soloke

<sup>1</sup> Whether the archaeologists will be able to give a more precise date is doubtful; the story of the attempts at determining the date of the remains near-by Shami is not encouraging. Comparison with Palmyra may suggest a slightly later date, perhaps A.D. 180-200. Cf. below p. 178, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Zoroaster* — politician or witchdoctor? (1951), p. 37, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A treatment of the inscriptions on the margins of the stone (apart from the date) must be left to another occasion. The interpretation offered by M. Ghirshman, who reads such non-Parthian forms as 'BYDH'NT (recte 'BDt), YH'BT (recte YNTNt), PPN (recte pty), YWM (recte YWM'), is subject to correction.

<sup>4</sup> ZY seems to be the only possible reading here; scarcely LY.

<sup>5</sup> Vocalization uncertain; *Hnsk'ak* or *Khwšk'ak* would be equally possible.

(above, p. 151), which rested merely on the apparent resemblance of the names, has to be rejected. Soloke was a *πρυτανία πόλις*: there was no room for it in Tang-i Sarvak and there are no considerable ruins either in the valley or near it. That town lay on a river, the Hedyphon=Jarrāhi: the springs that rise in the Tang-i Sarvak cannot be called a river, and the nearest point on the Jarrāhi is about twenty miles away.

Tang-i Sarvak lay in the centre of the small kingdom of Elymais, which arose in the second century B.C. and continued in existence until the end of the Arsacid period. The districts on the left (eastern) bank of the Karun may have belonged to it; but it principally consisted of the valleys of the Jarrāhi and its headwaters and the mountainous regions adjoining to the east and north-east. At times, when its kings were strong, they dominated the neighbouring lands as far as Massabatice and Gabiane; but even if they occasionally exercised sovereignty over Susiana, that is no reason for confusing that country with Elymais. However, by the second century of our era such aspirations were a matter of the past, and the kingdom was confined to the south-eastern corner of Khūzistān; the sorry state of its coinage testifies to its insignificance at that time.

In the second century B.C., a Parthian king, believed to have been Mithradates I, invaded the kingdom of Elymais, which had just freed itself from Seleucid suzerainty, despoiled the temple of Athena and the sanctuary of Artemis Nansai, which was called τὸ Ἀγαθόν, and took the "great town" of Seleucia, previously called Soloke, clearly the capital of Elymais. It would be wrong to identify Tang-i Sarvak with Azara; for the remains at Tang-i Sarvak are later by three hundred years than that ancient Nansai temple; but we may regard Tang-i Sarvak as the successor to the destroyed Azara, which no doubt lay nearby.<sup>1</sup> The true position of the centre of Elymais is clearly shown by the route taken by Ardashir, when he set out to punish the king of Ahwāz=Elymais for his presumption. He went first to Arragān, then by way of Sambil (?) and Tāsān (both places in the immediate neighbourhood of Tang-i Sarvak) to Surak, arabicized as *Surraq*, and there the campaign ended; evidently, Surak was the capital, the ancient Soloke (in early Muslim times the name was applied to the district around the town, the later Dauraq). He went nowhere near Susa, which, as the stele of Khwāsak shows with sufficient clarity, was governed by a *satrap* (not a *king*) appointed by the Parthians.<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that, as Mithradates before taking the capital, Soloke, had destroyed

<sup>1</sup> So correctly G. Hoffmann, *Martyrologien*, 131-3. Differently W. W. Tarn, *Grecks in Bactria*, 463 sqq., who identifies the chief sanctuary of Elymais (around which "barbarians" lived, see, to Polybius) with the city-temple of the Greek polis of Susa.

<sup>2</sup> M. Ghirshman, after first quoting with approval the views of F. Cumont, who stressed the distinctness of Susiana from Elymais, surprisingly identifies the king of Ahwāz whom Ardashir attacked with the satrap of Susa (*loc. cit.*, 105 sqq.).

the temple of Azara, so Ardashir before taking the capital, Surak, destroyed the shrine which symbolized the kingship of Elymais, Tang-i Sarvak.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> At Tāšān a mere three hours' ride would have brought Ardashir to Tang-i Sarvak (time taken by de Bode). That village, which lies halfway between Arragān and Tang-i Sarvak, appears sometimes as *Tāšān*; thus in the *Fārs-nāme-yi Nāqiri* (ii, 277 with 2; on the map it is 18 with 5-aa in the text of Tabari). Sambil (first stage on one of the two roads from Arragān to Rāmshurmuz) is merely conjecture in the Tabari passage. The MSS. have *ساران*, *ساران*, and *ساران* (i, 28, 9). Marquart, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. 28c, proposed *ساران* *Baryān* instead, without giving any reasons. Several villages of that name (properly *Baryān*) exist in Fārs (the *Fārs-nāme-yi Nāqiri* lists three), but none of them is in the neighbourhood of Behbehān. Presumably the place Marquart had in view is the one mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*. 'This was a district lying between Fārs, Isfahān, and Khūzistān, but counted as part of the last; it adjoined Sardin. The position of the region called Sardin or Sardān is comfortably fixed; its capital was Lōrdagān Lōsjān (Istakhr 103, 3-4) and this town exists even now (lat. 31°30', long. 50°49'). As Yāqūt's Baryān can have lain only to the north (or north-east) of Sardin, it cannot be considered as a place touched on by Ardashir in his campaign. A possible alternative to Nöldeke's conjecture is to read *ساران* = *Bardān* (with MS. C) and identify it with the first stage on the second road from Arragān to Rāmshurmuz, which otherwise was called *Bardān* (thus *ساران* read Muqaddasi 453, 3 and note c; see *Nuzhatu-Rjulā*, transl. 129, 179; the reading is guaranteed by the spelling in the *Fārs-nāme-yi Ism-i-Balkhi*, 162, 19).

<sup>13</sup> It remains to say a few words about the name of the last king of Elymais acc. to Tabari (i, 818, 9; Nöldeke, *Tab.*, 13). Nöldeke edited it as *Nyrufr* = *Nirōfr* with a question mark; such a name does not exist. It seems to me that we should put *Nyrufr* into Tabari's text; a variant reading begins with *nyru*, another ends with *-nyru*. If now one transcribes *Nyrufr* back into the script in which Tabari's source was written (as naturally one should do in such a case) and then contemplates the resulting Pahlavi word, one can scarcely fail to read it as *Wyrōd/Wyrd* (in Pahlavi the letters *W* and *Y* are identical in shape). It so happens that *Wyrōd* = *Wērd*, later *Wyrōd* = *Wērd*, is the Pahlavi form of the name "Orodes". Thus the last king of Elymais, too, bore the name which his predecessors had preferred to all others. It may be difficult to say why Orodes appears in Pahlavi as *Wyrōd*, but that it does is a fact; in the trilingual inscription of Shapur I at the Ka'be-i Zardust, one and the same man is called *Wērd* in Parthian (line 18), *Orodes* in Greek (line 67), but *Wyrōd* in Pahlavi (line 33); and the appearance of *Wyrōd* as variant of *Orodes*, *Yōdes*, and *Orodes* is perhaps significant (see the instances collected by Justi *loc. cit.*; this may affect a much-discussed point in the history of Palmyra, cf. *ibid.* Syria, xviii, p. 1). Possibly the name was *Wērd* originally, shortened to *Wōrd* in some parts of Iran, where this form finally was pronounced *Wōrd* (by assimilation); but the original form persisted locally and alone was used in Pahlavi. The ancient and oft-repeated but wrong derivation of *Orodes* from *haurōda* should have been abandoned when the Aramaic spelling *Wērd* (Palmyra and Elymais) became known.—The name *Wōrd*/*Wērd* is a typically Parthian name. It became fashionable in the 1st century B.C. and continued in common use until the middle of the 3rd century of our era, when it suddenly disappeared (with insignificant exceptions). The prominence given to it (in its Pahlavi form, *Wērd*) in *Fr* = *Rāmshurmuz* constitutes a powerful argument in favour of the attribution of Parthian origin to that romance, which was lately so ably advocated by V. Minorsky.—It will be seen that, if indeed the name of the last king of Elymais was also Orodes (= Orodes v), a different dating of the inscriptions will become possible: "Ahar-Bōsi" = Allotte de la Fuye's "Y" (accession in about A.D. 180), Orodes = "Z" = Orodes v (accession in about A.D. 200); I see no way of deciding between the alternatives. [Irregular shortening of initial *wē-* (*wa-*) has previously been noticed in Sogdian and Pahlavi, see *BSOAS.*, xi, 717.]

## A Farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān

H'k'n ZY hwlan YD'YTNo  
Myrskydy ŠM ZNH p'diky  
PWN krpkyhy 'yw MKBLWNt

PERHAPS the most exotic among the many strange kings and rulers mentioned in the inscription of Paikuli is the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān or 'White Khazars'. This is the meaning which the late E. Herzfeld, in his edition of that inscription, attributed to a group of words in the Middle Persian version which he read as *H'k'n ZY 'kkl'n*. As the inscription dates from the last decade of the 3rd century (probably from A.D. 293), this interpretation seems to involve a double anachronism: in the title, and in the national name.

The title of Khagan (properly *Qayan* or *Xayan*)<sup>1</sup> became known in the West first in the middle of the 9th century; it was then borne by the rulers of the Avars<sup>2</sup> and their enemies, the Turks. Whether it was known in Persia at an earlier date is doubtful; for the mention of a 'Nāqān, king of the Turks' under Balrīm (Dār (A.D. 420-438) in the Pahlavi *Xuṣṭāy-nāmag*<sup>3</sup> is probably proleptic,<sup>4</sup> even though among the Zuan-zuan (Avars)<sup>5</sup> of Central Asia Khagan was the imperial title from the beginning of the 5th century. It is certain that the Zuan-zuan were responsible for giving to the title the wider currency which it enjoyed for many centuries: but, as the late Professor M. Haloun assured

<sup>1</sup> Central Asian forms. Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1929, 90. The list of 'Oriental variants' given by G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 270, under *qaydos*, is strangely incomplete; not even Arabic and Persian *qān* is mentioned; while one and the same Armenian form (*zak'an*) is quoted in two different transliterations.

<sup>2</sup> So-called Pseudo-Avars.

<sup>3</sup> Nöldeke, *Taheri*, 69; *Tafārīd al-Umm*, I, 163 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The collocation with 'Turks' suffices to discredit the *Idgān*; Marquart, *Indische*, III sqq., judged differently.

<sup>5</sup> D. Sinur, in *paper Astner d'ans migrations de peuples au v<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *J.A.*, 1946-7, 24 sqq., has thrown doubt upon the identity of the Zuan-zuan with the (true) Avars, which I continue to regard as firmly established. The determining factor, it seems to me, is the story of the defeat suffered by the true Avars at the hands of the Turks, Theophylactus Simocatta, vii, 7. According to it, the remnants of the Avars fled to *Turydor* and the *Mowepi*: we know now that these are the names of (Northern) China and Korea. This fits well with the history of the Zuan-zuan, but excludes the possibility of placing the Avars in the neighbourhood of the Ural.—On *Mowepi* = *Skt. Muktari* = Tibetan *Muglig* see Pelliot and Bagchi, *Deser Lexique*, II, 343, cf. my *Sopdica*, p. 7. It has not so far been recognized that this name is found also in the Orkhon inscriptions, in the form *Bokli* or rather *Bukli*: the list of the nations that came to mourn the passing of Bumin qayan and Istāmi qayan (I E 4 = II E 5) opens with *Bokli Lūg* II (Thomsen 'das ferne Bokli Volk') and continues with *Tubyl*; the list began in the east (*dārā k̄n koyuqda*); the *Bokli qayan* (I E 8 = II E 8) had been the easternmost of the enemies with whom the Turks had had to fight, in former times, at the behest of the Chinese (on this passage see Schaefer, *Iranica*, 39, n. 6). Thus when the Turkish report reproduced by Theophylactus declared that the Avars fled to *Turydor/Tubyl* and *Mowepi/Bokli*, we should understand 'to our eastern (mainly hostile) neighbours'.

me, it was unquestionably in use even before the rise of the *Žuan-žuan*, among the *Sien-pi* and the *T'u-yü-hun* (a branch of the *Sien-pi*).<sup>1</sup> The dominion of the *Sien-pi* (about A.D. 155-402) was confined to Mongolia and never extended to the area of Chinese Turkestan, which, however, was subjected to raids by the *T'u-yü-hun*, who on one occasion sacked Khotan; whether the Persians, by the end of the 3rd century, had ever heard of either may well be doubted. Nevertheless, as we know now that Sassanian rule, under Shapur I, reached 'to the limits of Kāš = Kashghar',<sup>2</sup> and that news of political developments was constantly transmitted from China to Samarkand at that very time,<sup>3</sup> we cannot rule out the possibility that some bearer of that title might have come to the notice of the Persians even as early as A.D. 209.

The problem posed by 'KKTL'N, the presumed national name, is more complicated; Herzfeld hesitated between *Aq-Aqutārān* and *Aq-Katirān*, between 'Ακτρίποι and White Khazars. The 'Ακτρίποι or 'Ακτρίποι, a nation known only through Priscus (Panites) and a single reference in Jordanes, are a favourite subject for scholarly comment. According to Priscus, who mentions them six times (four times in frg. 8, once each in frggs. 30 and 37, ed. C. Müller, *P.H.G.*, iv, 82<sup>b</sup>19, 83<sup>b</sup>10, 86<sup>b</sup>18, 89<sup>b</sup>17, 105<sup>a</sup>2, 107<sup>b</sup>16), they inhabited, together with other nations, τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἰόντιον Σκυθικὴν, and were compelled (except for a small portion) to submit to Attila's rule in about A.D. 448 (he deputed his eldest son); they were a Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, but are once referred to as of Ἀκτρίποι Ὀβνν (frg. 30).<sup>4</sup> Some ten years after Attila's death, in about A.D. 458, they were subdued, after a bitter fight, by the Σαρμάτσιοι, who had been driven out from their country by the Σάβιροι,<sup>5</sup> who in their turn had been expelled by the Avars (frg. 30).<sup>6</sup> Even before Attila had forced the 'Ακτρίποι to join his state, they had been in negotiation with Byzantium; there the Σαρμάτσιοι, their new masters, at once sent ambassadors, who met with a friendly reception. A few years later, in about A.D. 466, the Σαρμάτσιοι 'Ακτρίποις καὶ ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι ἐπιβήμενοι ἐπὶ Πέρας ἐστράτευον;

<sup>1</sup> See Parker, *Thousand years*, 139, 153, 161; *China Review*, 24 (1896), p. 34 (B) about A.D. 285). Cf. Marquart, *Erdenekür*, 53, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See *HSOAS*, vi, 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, 601 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The obvious but often challenged inference: that they were Huns, has rightly been defended by E. A. Thompson, *Attila and the Huns*, 10 sq. J. Harmatta, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, i, 1951, 137 sq., again attributes a loose use of the name 'Huns' to Priscus, on the ground that those writing 'immediately after Priscus', Malalas, Procopius, Agathias, etc., used the term as vaguely as he used 'Scythian'. He misses the point of Thompson's argument; which is precisely that these authors, in fact, wrote a long time, two and three generations, after Priscus.

<sup>5</sup> Re-examination of the photograph of the Sogdian *Néfrimuk* (see my *Sogdica*, p. 8) has shown that the name in line 17 ends in -pyr and that the preceding letter is -p- rather than -k-. The resulting (s)k(p)pyr can hardly be restored otherwise than as (s)k(p)pyr = *Sabir-i* (= in Sogdian ending). There were thus remnants of the Sabirs in the neighbourhood of Turfan long after the migration of the 6th century; it is scarcely accidental that it is precisely near Turfan that many scholars of rank have placed their home-country (cf. D. Smar, loc. cit., 15 sqq., who disagrees).

<sup>6</sup> This migration has recently been discussed at length by D. Smar in the article quoted above, p. 501, n. 5.



finding the Caspian Gates (at Derbend) too well defended, they crossed the Caucasus by the Alan Gates<sup>1</sup> and devastated Iberia and Armenia (frg. 37). This last passage indicates that the *Aktäripai* lived to the north of the Caucasus and, as they are also placed in the Scythian lands on the Black Sea, one would naturally localize them in the steppes between Kuban, Don, and Volga.

This conclusion, which necessarily results from the study of Priscus, is flatly contradicted by the single reference to the *Aotzirii* in Jordanes. He enumerated, *Getica*, 5, 37, a number of nations, beginning with the *Vidimarii*, who occupied the mouth of the Vistula; east of them, on the coast of the Baltic, lived the *Aesti*, a peaceful people famous as the collectors and exporters of amber. *Quibus in austrum adiacet gens Aotzirorum fortissima, frugum ignota, quae pecoribus et venationibus victitat; ultra quos distendunt supra Mare Ponticum Bulgarum sedes . . . hinc iam Hunni . . . bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt; nam alii Altiagiri, alii Saviri nuncupantur . . .* If the *Aotzirii* thus adjoined the people of the amber coast on the south,<sup>2</sup> they must have lived in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. The difficulties in which attempts at harmonizing the data of Priscus and Jordanes lead are best illustrated by the remarks Marquart made on the problem in the preface to his *Osteuropäische und asiatische Streifzüge*: on page xxii the *Aotzirii* are placed around Korosten (100 miles WNW of Kiev), which is not south, but south east of Samland, and a long way off (about 400 miles); on page xxiii we find their home in the land of the Mordvins—1,000 miles directly in the east of the starting point; and on page xxiv they have moved back *viel näher* to the 'middle Dnepr'. Such perplexity is common to all authors who are not bold enough to reject Jordanes' statement altogether.<sup>3</sup> It goes without saying that whenever in a matter touching the Huns Priscus, a first-rate historian who wrote of the events of his own lifetime from first-hand knowledge, is in conflict with Jordanes, a compiler writing about 100 years after Attila, it is the latter that must be rejected. The paragraph under review, with its enumeration of various nations prominent in different periods, bears all the marks of hasty compilation. One could say that if in Jordanes' authority it began with *quibus*, the relative pronoun no doubt referred to some nation other than the *Aesti*; but one may retain the description of the *Aotzirii* and, though with less assurance, their proximity to the Bulgars<sup>4</sup> (first mentioned for A.D. 482), which would date the information in the last years of the 5th century (or the first of the 6th). There is no reliance on this author of whom it has been said that 'even in the passages which are based on Priscus Jordanes displays his

<sup>1</sup> The names of the crossing-places are confused, here as almost always. See Marquart, *Erdbesch.* 99 sqq., who reversed the sequence of the 'Gates'.

<sup>2</sup> D. Sinner, loc. cit., p. 2, boldly asserts that Jordanes . . . *les* [= *Aotzirii*] *situe à l'est des Estoniens*.

<sup>3</sup> Outright rejection has at least been envisaged by E. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Where precisely one is to imagine their seats is not by any means clear.



genius for misunderstanding the most straightforward narrative his source could supply to him.<sup>1</sup>

If then the *Ἀκάρται*, = *gens fortissima*, occupied the area that shortly after was dominated by the *Χαζαροι*, the suspicion arises that these two nations were one and the same. The Khazars appear suddenly, in great power, in A.D. 626, when they support the Emperor Heraclius in his second campaign against Persia. As their organization at that time resembled that of the (Western) Turks, they have sometimes been regarded as an offshoot of the latter; but the coincidence in their titles (*qayan*, *yabyu*, *bad*<sup>2</sup>) may equally be due to imitation of their powerful eastern neighbours. That they were not recent arrivals in the lands on the northern side of the Caucasus is suggested by the story of their origin<sup>3</sup> (Theophanes and Nicephorus) which tells them come from *Βεργίμα*<sup>4</sup>: Marquart has fully proved<sup>5</sup> that this was a name of Daghestan; it is confirmed by a few passages that may indicate their presence in that area even before the rise to power of the Turks. The Pahlavi *Xudāy-nāmag* mentioned the Khazars not only under Hormizd iv (A.D. 578-590),<sup>6</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> This title is also mentioned by Kinsko Gabjakovi, Venice, 1863, p. 111; the translation of the passage quoted (from Brouet) by Chavannes, *Documents*, 253, n. 7, is somewhat inaccurate. '[List of the husbands of Albania] Tēr Viroz, 23 years. He had spent many years imprisoned at the court of Xosrov the king of Persia, 1111 after his death was freed and returned to his country. He redeemed the Armenians, Iberians, and Albanians made captive by Šat' the Xasr, the son of Jabu-ank'ani, who had enslaved our land: he founded five [sic] towns in the name of Šat': Šat'ar, Šarh'ar, Šak'ar, Širvan, Šamaxi, Šaporan.' That Viroz returned only after the death of Xosrov is stated also *ibidem*, p. 30, where the last Sassanid kings are enumerated in those terms: 'After Xosrov, the king of Persia, Kavat took the kingship: he released from captivity Viroz, the Catholicos of Albania, whom his father had imprisoned. After Kavat, Artakir; then Xofaras by decree of Heraclius; then Xosrov, and after him Horn and Zermenduxt—all these were short-lived; and then Yazkert.'

<sup>3</sup> The contrary passage in Nöldeke has been made to refer to the Khazars only by arbitrary emendation: by changing 'captivity' into the servitude (of the great *Xak'an*, etc.) into 'captivity' out of the servitude (Marquart, *WZM.*, xli, 1894, p. 191).

<sup>4</sup> The corresponding national name in pseudo-Zachariah (see presently), *ΒΟΥΡΣΥΟ*, has been treated as *ΒΟΥΣΥΛΟ* by Marquart. An even easier correction would be *ΒΟΥΣΥΟΟ*, directly = the Armenian Nom. *Barsilk* (*Barzilk*), which occurs both *Do(r)zilk*; Syriac (= *y* perfectly answers to Armenian *l*. If this correction is accepted, Armenian interpolation will have to be assumed; this is in any case recommended by the final -*o*, which is best explained as the ending of the Armenian nominative.—In view of the remarks made by D. Sinor, *loc. cit.*, p. 83, it must be stressed that the -*k* of such Armenian names as *Barsilk*, *Sawirk*, belongs solely to the nominative: the form in which *Barsilk* (*Barzilk*) appears most frequently in texts is in fact *Barzoc*.—The Syriac form *ΒΟΥΣΥΛΥ* (Michael and from him Barhebraeus) does not go back to John of Ephesus, as K. H. Menges, *Byzantion*, xvii, 276 claims; see below.

<sup>5</sup> *Streifzüge*, 432 sq., cf. p. 446.

<sup>6</sup> Nöldeke, *Tobari*, 270 = *Tafelr. d. Umaw.*, i, 210'. Marquart's attempt to prove that Hormizd's mother had been the daughter of a Khagan of the Khazars (*WZM.*, xli, 1894 sq.) carries little conviction.—It may not be superfluous to warn students against accepting at its face value Marquart's phrase *die Chazaren welche in den gleichzeitigen Urkunden zuerst in der Kirchengeschichte des Johannes von Ephesus a. 565/66 genannt werden* (*Streifzüge*, 46). In this form this assertion was never correct (it should have read *wurden* in the place of *worden*); it has been disproved by none other than Marquart himself. The matter stands thus: Barhebraeus, in a passage about the Avars, mentions the Khazars twice, firstly in an allusion to a 'Khāqān, king of the Khazars', secondly as having been named 'Khazars' after the eldest of three brothers

even under Khosrau I (A.D. 531-578):<sup>1</sup> yet all its undisputed references<sup>2</sup> are so vague that they may well be proleptic. Of far greater, indeed decisive, importance is the list of Hunnic nations in the appendix to the *Syriac Chronicle* ascribed to Zachariah of Mitylene<sup>3</sup>; the relevant part of this appendix, which was written in A.D. 558,<sup>4</sup> i.e. at the beginning of the Turkish expansion, well before it had any effect on the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, is based on reports of returned prisoners of war in contact with Albanian missionaries who had laboured to the north of the Caucasus 20 to 30 years earlier.<sup>5</sup> One of the names in this list is *KSR* = *Xasar* (or *Xasir*),<sup>6</sup> evidently an early form of *Xazar*; yet Marquart,<sup>7</sup> not without justification, identified the name (which he transcribed *Kas(i)r*) with *Ἀκάρζικοι*, no doubt on account of the company by which *KSR* is surrounded: *Σαράγγοι*, *Ὀνόγγοι*, *Ἰριμαί*, etc. The truth of the matter is that here, where the historical context leads us to expect the *Ἀκάρζικοι*, we find them under a new name, *Xasar* (*Xasir*); the list thus provides the sought-for link between the two national names.

(In an epilogue story). The importance of this text was recognized by Marquart, *Chronologie der altsyrischen Inschriften*, 1906, 82 sqq. On reading his book, Nöldeke informed Marquart that Barthelme's story probably derived from the last chapters of the *Ecclésiastical History* by John of Ephesus, who wrote in A.D. 555-6; the headings of the last chapters in question (3rd part, book 8, chaps. 45 sqq.) are preserved and give some indication of their contents: the name *Xazar* is not mentioned in them. Barthelme, however, used John not directly, but at second hand through Michael the Syrian (end of 12th century); the latter was not then accessible to Marquart (see *WZKM.*, xii, 1906, 198 sq.). Later Marquart secured the relevant text of Michael and discovered it fully (*Sirefstage*, 1903, *Addenda*, 479 sqq.). It now emerged that in the first passage, which he in fact had copied from John, Michael had *Ḫāḡān* 'the king of the Abāsia' (*Ḫāḡān*), as was to be expected, and that the second passage (about the three brothers, two of whom came to Alān = *HRŠLY*, the eldest being named *Xazarig*) was not derived from John at all, but from a much later source (not earlier than A.D. 678 in Marquart's judgment).

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 156, 156, 167; *Tafārīh al-Umawī*, I, 181<sup>12</sup>, 182<sup>13</sup>, 183<sup>14</sup>, 183<sup>15</sup>, 184<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Disputable are all passages that contain interesting details (*Tabari*, I, 180<sup>11</sup>, 180<sup>12</sup> = Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 157, 158): here Marquart imported the name into the text by an emendation (*WZKM.*, xii (1906), 182, n. 6 → *Chronologie der altsyrischen Inschriften*, 96, n. 2), which, since *Tafārīh al-Umawī*, I, 179<sup>10</sup> (أخبر وسير ولجى) agrees with the MSS. of *Tabari*, is only acceptable if it is referred back to the Pahlavi text, in which *\*PUL* and *\*HČYL* (= *Xasir* as in Arm.) were indistinguishable.—There is no certain occurrence of the name *Xasar* in any existing Pahlavi text; the curious *\*TWL* in *Bühman Yab. I*, 26, ed. Anklesaria, was emended by H. W. Bailey first into *\*PTL* = *Hephthalites* (*BSOS.*, vi, 1932, 949), later into *\*HČL* = *Xazars* (*BSOAS.*, xi, 1943, 1 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Translated by F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> *ibidem*, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> *ibidem*, p. 329. The story is extraordinarily confused, but nevertheless there is no reason to doubt the author's truthfulness; on the Albanian mission see Marquart, *Sirefstage*, 489. That the list was not derived from Greek sources is assured by the forms of the names (names transliterated from Greek into Syriac are invariably recognizable as such); to describe it as *eine aus griechischer Überlieferung . . . zusammengestellte syrische Völkerliste* (Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 40) does it no justice. Attention should be paid also to the names in the lines immediately preceding the list, *Gurān*, *Arān*, *Sinagā*, etc., none of which admits Greek transmission. Incidentally, Marquart was so thoroughly convinced of the independence of the passage from Greek influence that he used forms found in it to argue for Syriac transmission of a report on Turkish affairs preserved by Theophylactus Simocatta (see *WZKM.*, xii, 189 sq.).

<sup>6</sup> cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Orientalische Zeitschrift*, 8, 312.

<sup>7</sup> *Sirefstage*, 356, n. 1.

The identity of the *\*Ακatzιποι* with the Khazars was taken for granted by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna (end of 7th century ?), who wrote *quasi Chazaros . . . Iordanis . . . Chazaris vocat* (168<sup>12-14</sup>). In modern times it has been rejected as often as asserted. The case for rejection has been built chiefly on the differences between the forms of the two names<sup>1</sup>; it has been grossly overstated by Marquart.<sup>2</sup> Yet there is no sound objection to the explanation (originally put forward by M. H. Howorth) that *\*Ακatzιποι* is a compound name consisting of *aq* 'white' and the name that later appeared as *Xazar*. One naturally has to assume that *Xazar* is Khazarian<sup>3</sup> development of an earlier *Xacir* (with *c* = *z*), via *Xazir*, the stages being marked by *Ακatzιποι*,<sup>4</sup> Syriac *Xazir* (*Xazar*), and Armenian *Xozir*<sup>5</sup>; as virtually nothing is known of the language of the Khazars (presumably a Hun dialect), he would be a bold man who asserted that a sound change *z* intervocalic *-c-* to *-z-* (and further to *-z-*) was impossible in their language, or that it had not possessed the sound *-c-*. That, further, the compound name *Aq-xacir* might be pronounced as *Aqazir* (or sound like that to a foreigner) and therefore be rendered *\*Ακatzιποι*,<sup>6</sup> can hardly be denied. Since history points to the Khazars' being the heirs of the *\*Ακatzιποι*, and since the Khazars (as is well known) consisted of two distinct racial groups, White Khazars and Black Khazars,<sup>7</sup> this explanation is much to be preferred to the Turcologists' favourite derivation, *ayad-ari* 'wood-men',<sup>8</sup> which is scarcely better than a popular etymology.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. by Kaspar Zeune, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* (1837), 714 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Streifzüge*, 41, n. 2, 43.

<sup>3</sup> To meet Marquart's principal objection.

<sup>4</sup> On this form see Mevius, *op. cit.* i, 299 sq. (with references). No weight, perhaps, should be attached to the fact that in the fragments of Ptolemy the name appears as *Καζιποι* in one place (*Καζιποι* sig. 4 Müller, p. 43140 = *Excerpta de geographia* 1349<sup>a</sup> de Boer).

<sup>5</sup> Full value should be given to the Armenian form; of the nations whose historical records we possess none was so close to the Khazars as the Armenians. *Xozir* suffices to exclude *\*Qazar* (see, e.g. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xxxv, 1944, 68, n. 1) from serious consideration as the original form.

<sup>6</sup> *z* is used for *c* as often as for *z*, cf. Mevius, *op. cit.* i, 44. Marquart's assumption that Syriac *a* may have been used to reproduce *ayad-ari* (*Εἰσαγωγή*, 253, n. 3) is unacceptable.

<sup>7</sup> In the heat of arguing against Howorth's theory, Marquart, who otherwise admitted no connection between *Acatziri* and Khazars, went so far as to say that, on the contrary, *die \*Ακatzιποι entsprechen vielmehr den Schwarz-Khazaren* (*op. cit.* 41, n. 3, at the end).

<sup>8</sup> Notwithstanding the existence of such a word, both as appellative and as tribal name, 800 years and more after the time of Attila: in Constantine's *Glossar*, p. 30<sup>a</sup>, and apparently in Maïd al-Din, see Marquart, *loc. cit.* (I have not found the passage). As a tribal name it exists even nowadays, in Khirizân, where a conglomeration of Turkish, Tadjik, and Lur tribes is called *اقاجري* = *Ayaj-ari*. *Fürstentum-ga Nâsirî*, p. 270. O. Mann, *Handbuch der Völkerkunde*, p. xvii: the oldfield situated within the tribal area has recently often been mentioned in the newspapers, in the guise of *Aghâ Jari* (this is the spelling one finds also on maps). As I notice belatedly, the scholar to whom these pages are dedicated has already drawn attention to this name (*The Tribes of Western Iran. Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, lxxv, 1945, 77).

<sup>9</sup> Jordanes' description of the *Acatziri*, *prae . . . frugum ignara quae praeribus et venationibus euntibus*, lets one envisage them as typical nomads of the steppe, certainly not as 'woodmen'. Strangely enough, Marquart found support in it for his suggestion that they were ein schiffmännisches Fischer- und Jägervolk (*op. cit.*, p. 40).

Whether the Khazars (White or Black) descended from the *Acatiri*<sup>1</sup> or not, it is at any rate clear that neither figured in the records of history before the middle of the 5th century; and therefore it would be surprising to find either in the inscription of Paikuli. None the less, we are so badly informed on the northern borderlands of Iran in those centuries that we dare not talk of impossibility; but the odds become even longer when we find that we are to credit the same passage of that inscription also with the otherwise unheard-of title of *Khagan*. Yet it must be admitted that Herzfeld was right to insist that, if in fact an inscription of certain date and indubitable authenticity (such as the inscription of Paikuli) mentioned that title and that nation, all objections, however weighty or numerous, would have been relinquished without demur.<sup>2</sup>

## ii

Few scholars (if indeed any) have examined the inscription of Paikuli in proper style after it was published by the late E. Herzfeld. The reasons for this neglect of the most considerable Sassanian monument then known are not far to seek. Smallness of edition and unnecessarily lavish production led to scarcity and a high price and made the work a collector's item, generally inaccessible to scholars except in a few public libraries. Even in such a library a proper study of the inscription is barely possible; for as the inscription is broken into numerous small blocks, each of them represented on two folio plates, one has to handle a large number of these plates at one and the same time and thus needs more table space than one may reasonably demand. Moreover, from the beginning one's work is overshadowed by the knowledge that it will be profitless, because a large section of the needed material is not available: on his last visit to Paikuli in 1923 E. Herzfeld excavated the site and found 30 additional blocks, which raise the total number of surviving blocks to 133; these 30 blocks, which came into Herzfeld's hands even before *Paikuli* was published (1924), have never been made accessible to the learned world. It is, then, not surprising that attention has been confined to a more or less casual use of the printed text and particularly the glossary,<sup>3</sup> both in vol. i; few of those who use the printed text may realize to what liberal extent the text has been restored, without sufficient distinction of the existing, uncertain, and restored letters.

When, shortly before the war, I had for the first time an opportunity to

<sup>1</sup> For reasons that will become clear presently, no attempt is made here to discuss the form of the Pahlavi name, \*KKTLYN.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious to note that not one of the many scholars who have discussed the problem of the *Acatiri* since the publication of *Paikuli* (1924) ever so much as adverted to the form in the Pahlavi inscription; the times of a Marquart are indeed past.

<sup>3</sup> The glossary unfortunately refers only to the block numbers, not to the lines of the printed text, in which the blocks are not marked.

read the inscription from the photographs, I copied the passage under review (last line of blocks C 2 + C 3, = line 18) in this way<sup>1</sup> :—

C 2 [n] 'L h'd'n ZY. C 3 dkd'. L[. ] p(t)

This I read innocently, without realizing that I was in the presence of so exalted a personage. Herzfeld's reading appears in the printed text in this form :—

(18) . . . . . n 'L h'k'n ZY ('kk)t'[n]. L . . . ph

The principal difference is that Herzfeld read *K* in two places where I read *D*, and on these letters hangs the fate of both the *Khagan* and the *Aq-Aqaldūn*. Now,<sup>2</sup> the letters *K* and *D* resemble each other in a general way : both consist of two crescents (open to the left), a smaller one on top of a larger, but *K* has in addition a short horizontal stroke at the bottom. Whenever there is doubt about the presence or absence of the horizontal stroke (as is apt to happen particularly often in the last lines of blocks where the letters reach down to the edge of the stone), it becomes difficult to distinguish them ; there are other points of difference (e.g. the lower crescent of *D* is more rounded and its lower horn is continued further to the left ; the axis of *K* is vertical with a slight inclination to the left, while that of *D* is inclined to the right), but there is less reliance on them.

In the first word, *h'k'n/h'd'n*, the horizontal bottom stroke cannot be seen in either the direct photograph (plate 49) or the photograph of the squeeze (plate 48) ; if it had been present originally, it would have come to stand exactly on the edge of the stone. At any rate, it is not there ; and as the letter exhibits all the other characteristic marks of *D*, there is no good reason for adding it. The reason why Herzfeld silently added the bottom stroke, thereby changing *D* into *K*, was probably that he was not acquainted with a word *h'd'n* (which in fact was nowhere attested), while the change into *h'k'n* produced a word of familiar appearance. It is better to allow oneself to be guided by the facts and therefore to read *h'd'n*, whether such a word is known or not.

In the second word, *kkd'* or *kk't'*, the difference between the first two letters is well marked, especially in the photograph of the squeeze (plate 50), so clearly indeed that one can assert that *kk't'* is without doubt the correct reading. Herzfeld himself, in his drawing of the block (plate 51 ; also plates 203-5), drew *kk't'*(y),<sup>3</sup> but changed this in the printed text to *kkd'*(n). The change is an arbitrary one ; there is no allusion to it in Herzfeld's long

<sup>1</sup> Here, as always, I am using square brackets for (restored letters), round for (uncertain or damaged letters), a dot within square brackets for a missing letter, an unbracketed dot for a letter of which a small part is visible, but too little to determine its nature with reasonable certainty. Where Herzfeld's readings are quoted, his over-dotted letters are replaced by letters in round brackets.

<sup>2</sup> The observations made here are valid for the style of Pahlavi writing employed in the inscription of Paikuli, but not necessarily for the script of other inscriptions, even those from the same period.

<sup>3</sup> Or *kkd'*(p).

note on 'kkt' in the *Glossary*, p. 133 sq. : its reason appears to be again the difficulty of explaining the form which the inscription offers. As regards the first letter or letters of the word, which stood at the end of the preceding block (C 2), only a small fragment of a letter is visible ; in restoring <sup>1</sup> Herzfeld chose between several possible restorations (\*, ay, aw, etc.), each of which has equal claim to consideration.

There is thus no Khagan in the inscription, and there are no Aq-Aqatārān.

### iii

The Khagan is not the only one among the kings and rulers of the Paikuli inscription who will have to be deposed. There are the persons, chiefly at the end of the inscription, whom Herzfeld regarded as 'Saka *kyatrapas*' from the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Outstanding among them is the *Lord of Avanti* (the country around Ujjain). I discussed him and a few of his colleagues in an article on the inscription of Shapur I in the *Ka'bo-yi Zardūst* which I contributed to the *Volume in Memory of A. V. W. Jackson*. That article, which was sent to Bombay in March, 1939, at a time when of the inscription of Shapur the defective Pahlavi version alone was known to exist, has never been published <sup>2</sup> ; it may not come amiss to quote the relevant paragraph here in full (with annotations), in the form in which it was written thirteen years ago :—

'We had seen that in the second and third lists an *Avantīkān Xwātāy* (*\*wadykn MRWHY*) is enumerated between the Sōrēn and the Kāren. This title is already known from the Paikuli inscription, Parthian version, line 22' (p. 106) : *\*wadykn krtury*. Probably it is to be restored also in the Pahlavi version of Paikuli, line 8, B 2 : [*\*wadykn MRWHY*].<sup>a</sup> Herzfeld's explanation of the title as "Lord of Avanti" cannot be maintained any longer. It was perhaps never very likely that a king of Avanti, in the heart of India, should have acknowledged the Sassanian king as his suzerain ; that he should have appeared as one of the highest officers of state under Ardašir it is impossible to credit. At the end of the Paikuli inscription a great number of *MRWHY*'s is mentioned, most of whom Professor Herzfeld has attempted to identify with Indian or Saka rulers. For instance, he takes the *zwl'dēyn MRWHY* (line 11 = II 7) as King of Surāstra, assuming *zwl'd-* to be an imperfect rendering of a Prakrit form of Surāstra ; but according to the rules of Pahlavi orthography, *zwl'd-* indicates the ending *-dy*, not *-ā* + dental.<sup>b</sup> We may perhaps get a clue to the right direction where we should look for rulers such as the *zwl'dēyn MRWHY* from the legend of a seal which, as far as I know, has not been utilized for the solution of the

<sup>a</sup> Herzfeld's restoration of the passage (*Wānānākn Xwātāy*) has not convinced me.

<sup>b</sup> cf. also Herzfeld, *ANL.*, vii, p. 61. The equation Pahlavi *zwl'dēyn* = Parthian *zrdōn* is rather doubtful.—For *zwl'd-* one might consider Armenian *Jor(y)*, *zwl'd-* region around Bilitia, see Hübschmann, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, vol. xvi, p. 447.

<sup>1</sup> I have been assured by Hinde that it has been set up in print ; efforts to obtain a proof or a specimen copy have proved unavailing.



problem: Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, xviii, pp. 15 sq., nr. 25, plate ii: *gwlky ZY muck'dēyn MRWHY* = "Gōšak,<sup>2</sup> the Lord (*šāpān*) of Moksūy", i.e. obviously Syriac (*Beθ*) *Moksūy*, Armenian *Mokk*,<sup>3</sup> the south of the Van lake.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Scythian *Gōšak* (Justi, p. 118; W. Müller, *Orientalia*, p. 6); Arto. *gwlky* 'informer', etc. (cf. also Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 5).

<sup>3</sup> *šmrpn MRWHY* (Paikuli, line 46 = H 31) is probably 'the Lord of Lāšm' in Garmanza. I should much prefer to identify *mok's* (*MRWHY*, *ibid.*, H 3) with Mūqān, Armenian Muhan (cf. Marquart, *Eréndak*, p. 125).

The lists referred to at the beginning of this paragraph are those of the inscription of Shapur I, the end of which enumerates those who served meritoriously under Pāpāk (first list), Ardašīr (second), and Shapur himself (third). Under both Ardašīr and Shapur the heads of the 'Great Families' (who dominated Sasanian history much as they had dominated Arsacid times) are listed, naturally in strict order of precedence, immediately after the members of the royal house. The order is this:—

Warāz — Sūrēn — 'wadykn MRWHY — Kāren.

By the time of the Paikuli inscription it had changed, and the Sūrēn occupied the first place, the Warāz the second<sup>1</sup>; the place of the 'wadykn MRWHY is uncertain, and there is no Kāren.<sup>2</sup> A member of the family Spāhpet is mentioned under Ardašīr, in the second place after Kāren, and again under Narseh (placing uncertain), but not under Shapur. Of great interest is the absence of the family *Mihrdn*, allegedly of Arsacid origin, but actually never mentioned before Sassanid times<sup>3</sup>; its first representative occurs under Shapur I, not among the 'Great Families' but in a modest position close to the end of the long list: *Atrihāt*,<sup>4</sup> the secretary, the *Mihrdn* from *Hay*.<sup>5</sup>

The Greek and Parthian versions of the inscription of Shapur, which came to light in 1939, indicate that the tentative transcription of 'wadykn, *Awandikān*, has to be modified. Pahlavi has 'wadykn and 'wadykn, Parthian 'wadykn (Shapur) and 'wadykn (Paikuli), Greek *Avōnyas* and *Irōnyas*. Hence, *Undikān* developing to *Andikān* (in accord with a general rule) and further *Andiḡn*. No doubt *Andikān* *Xwātōy* was originally a territorial title<sup>6</sup>; but it was often abbreviated to *Andikān* and then misunderstood as a personal name: Armenian *Andikan*, Greek 'Avōnyas (Menander Protector frg. 60, *FHG.*, iv, 260-2, C. Müller), Persian *Andiḡn* (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 286; Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 18).

<sup>1</sup> It is essential for the understanding of the lists to realize that Warāz is a family name, and that all persons preceding the Warāz are members of the royal house.

<sup>2</sup> Ohmstedt the Warāz: line 7' = A? *šr w'z*; cf. line 10 = C 11. Herzfeld had a different explanation.

<sup>3</sup> His absence may well be due to a gap in our material.

<sup>4</sup> The name itself is old enough (see Justi *s.v.*), but the 'Great Family' of that name came to prominence only under the Sasanians; cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 139 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Known as a name in use among the *Mihrdn*, cf. Justi *s.v.*

<sup>6</sup> *ZY MN dy*, only in the Pahlavi version (line 34). *Hay* is often mentioned as the seat of this family.

<sup>7</sup> The seat of the family is not known; perhaps *Hindiyān*/*Hindiyān* (and *Hindusān* by popular etymology) at the head of the Persian Gulf.



To come now to the other *Sahn kšatrapas*, the explanation of *mrPdēyn MRWHY* as 'the Lord (*tāzon*) of Jor(ay)'. *MR* P'awstos, nā 12 (p. 29, Venice, 1832) *z-Gorut' ikron-n Jorot' akarhi-n*, iv, 50 (p. 159) *Joray gawān-n lēr-n*, although recommended by the strikingly similar form *muck'dēyn* (above, p. 510), remains doubtful on account of the Parthian transcription,<sup>1</sup> which suggests interior *-l-*. That Parthian *mrPdān*, as Herzfeld demanded, corresponds to *mrPdēyn*<sup>2</sup> is made certain by the preceding personal names: Parthian *b'ty* = Pahlavi *bōdt*; *Bāt* from *Ba'ā* is simply a *Schnellsprechform* of *Bagdāt*<sup>3</sup>; I failed to realize it when I discussed Coptic *Boaz*, Manichaean Parthian *Bāt* (*BSOS.*, x, 814 sq.); in Armenian both forms exist side by side, *Bat* and *Bagarat* (*Bagrat*).<sup>4</sup>

There is scarcely any doubt that the *lāwēn MRWHY* is the 'Lord of Lāwōn' (above, p. 510, n. d). Close by (H 8 = line 46) we find the *Borsēpēyn MRWHY*, whom I now regard as the 'Lord of Borsippa': that ancient town, which lay a little to the south of Babylon, is still mentioned several times in the Babylonian Talmud (spelt *בורסיפא*).<sup>5</sup> His name, incidentally, was misread by Herzfeld; it is *Murkūt* = *Mihrcūst*. Herzfeld himself (*AML.*, vii, 60) recognized the king of Elirah in Parth. *'mrw lmyān MLK'* = Pahl. *'mrw lmyēyn MLK'* 'Amru, the Lahmid king'; his name occurs in the unpublished part of the inscription. As there is a small gap (with some feeble traces) in front of the first letter of (*lmyēyn MRWHY* (Herzfeld: *Tērahēin*), one wonders whether one may read (*l*)(*lmyēyn* 'the Lord of Antiochia', in spite of the unusual spelling (normally with *k* for *χ*): which of the towns of that name may have been meant (Antioch in Sittakene? Antioch = Spasius Charax I), is a matter of conjecture. A name hitherto overlooked is in G'3 = line 43, where Herzfeld read *s'trp gwnk gwn[k]* and translated 'satrap of all kind[s]'; the correct reading is *s'trp dwnb'w[n]* 'Satrap of Dunbāwnt (Dornawend)', cf. now in the inscription of Shapur, Parthian version, *s'trp* line 23, *dwnb'wnt*, lines 24 and 26.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unless it is to be dismissed as mechanical transcription of a name whose true pronunciation was unknown to the translator (*-rd* = *-l*, but why *-l* for *-d*?).

<sup>2</sup> The ending *-dy* may be due to an intervening Syriac form (*\*Bōd Zōndy*), as it clearly was in the case of *muck'dēyn*.

<sup>3</sup> *mrPdēyn* has disappeared, though not without trace, also in MPers. *mdd(y)ān* (Arm. *mōdēan*) from *mdāpān* (originally *māmdān*).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Inscr. of Shapur Greek G7 *Babou* = Parth. (29) and Pahl. (30) *bōdt*. An interesting case of an inverse spelling is found in the inscr. of Kartir at the Ka'ba, line 7, *<L bōd'n g'ey <PLWN* against lines 3/4 and 5 *<L 'RHY'n g'ey <ZLW'n* 'we depart to the throne of the Gods' = 'to die'; here *bōd'n* = actual *bōd'n* or *bō'dn* (< *bōd'n*). The forms have been misread and misunderstood.

<sup>5</sup> A. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, 327, 346 sq.

<sup>6</sup> There are quite a few names and titles in the final list of Paikuli that require further consideration. Instead of *\*Bhryā G'11* (line 43) I read *\*Bhryā*; in *Alipera, Inscr.*, 77, Herzfeld quoted *\*Bhryā*, which appears to be intended as a new reading of this name. *G'11* (line 43), Herzfeld's *yyp* may have to be replaced by *yyp[ay]* = *nd/apati* (Arm. *nshapat*). In H 5 (line 46), *lāwēyn* is probably 'of Holwān', but the reading of the title is uncertain; the name ends in *lāwēyn*, which calls to mind such names as *Pāwē* (*[p]awēy* ? one would expect *[p]awēy*).



name is always coupled with that of the 'Ηνίοχοι, inhabited a district near Colchis. Dio Cassius, lxxviii, 19, mentioned 'Αγχιπλὸν τὸν 'Ηνιόχων καὶ Μαχελόνων βασιλέα under Trajan, and Arrian placed his capital 40 σταδία to the east of 'Αθῆραι, which is probably the modern Antina (*Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 8 = *G.G.M.*, i, 374\*). According to the same authority, the Μαχέλωνες καὶ 'Ηνίοχοι bordered on the Ζυδρεῖται, whose eastern neighbours were the Λαζοί (*ibidem*, III = p. 378<sup>22</sup> sq.). The *Anonymous Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 42, confirms Arrian: ἀπὸ οὖν Ἀρχάβρωτος ποταμοῦ εἰς Ὀφιοῦντα ποταμὸν πρῶτον ὤκουσ' ἔθνος οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἐκχειρεῖς, τῶν δὲ οἰκοῦσι Μαχέλωνες καὶ 'Ηνίοχοι (*G.G.M.*, i, 412<sup>23-24</sup> = § 1, *F.H.G.*, v, 174); that is precisely the coastal district of which Antina is the centre. However, the anonymous author, whose work is mainly a compilation of Arrian and Menippus, also stated that these twin nations, together with many others, had originally inhabited the north-eastern coast of the Black Sea, on either side of Tanais, where τῶν οἰκοῦσι Ζυχοί (§ 18, *F.H.G.*, v, 180). In any case, at the only time when the Machelonians appeared in history,<sup>1</sup> i.e. the second century of our era, they lived roughly half-way between the Acampsis (Cörur) and Trobizond; which region can scarcely be described as 'Mingrelia', although it was reasonably close to it.

Even though we readily concede that the Greek translator of the inscription saw in Syka some insignificant little district on the Black Sea coast, we are far from submitting to his judgement. To interpret this Persian inscription, an official document of the first rank, from the Greek version that accompanies it is a capital mistake. In claiming that Syka is Mingrelia, que le nom iranien désigne comme un pays de Scythes (Saka) the gifted young scholar runs into difficulties; for neither the Mingrelians nor the Machelonians have ever been, or could ever have been, described as 'Sakas', which name, needless to say, is never spelt otherwise than as Sk- in Parthian and, in any case, was used exclusively for the people of Sakastān in Sassanid times. Most of what has been written on the trilingual inscription of Shapur I, by Orientalists and classical scholars alike, suffers from insufficient consideration of the relationship that exists between the three versions: several authors appear to have given no thought at all to the question. Yet, the work on any document should begin with the problem of its genesis.

As a working hypothesis I should like to put forward the following: the original version of the inscription is that written in the official language of the Sassanid state, in Pahlavi (Middle Persian). A written copy<sup>2</sup> of the Pahlavi

<sup>1</sup> viz. under this name; whether certain other names (Μαχελωνί, Μάκρωνες, etc.) appertain to this nation is a question that does not concern us here.

<sup>2</sup> This is shown, e.g., by the case of Anazarbos. In *B.S.O.S.*, ix (1938), 840, having only a small photograph of the defective Pahlavi version at my disposal, I rejected Sprengling's reading 'ka . . . sy and substituted 'n . . . sy, which I then restored as 'n[il]bu[ry] = Anazarbos, because in the region indicated by the context that is the only town whose name fits the legible letters, 'n . . . sy. Now, having inspected the original inscription, I can confidently say that the stone actually shows 'n[il]bu[ry]. It is thus certain that Anazarbos was correct: the fact that the other



This list is as well arranged as one may reasonably demand. The absurd *Campania* reveals itself as a foolish mistake; to have put *Eupia* both for *Isauria* and for *Syria* is even worse.<sup>1</sup> In the Pahlavi text the following only are preserved:—

(6) Galatia; (7) Lycia; (8) Cilicia; (9) Cappadocia; (10) *Plinkydy*; (11 and 12 lost); (13) Judaea.

These names were read and correctly understood in *BSOS.*, ix, 830 ff., except for *Plinkydy* which I then regarded as a corruption of *Phrygia*; now we know that the latter province was mentioned two places further on, and with better material at hand one can still read (12) (*plinky'y*). It would be unmethodical to set aside Pahl. *Plinkydy* (and its offshoot, Parth. *Prnk'y*)<sup>2</sup> in order to give preference to *Phrygia*, a facile replacement of a name not understood by the translator; *Phrygia* was probably intended, as the representative of *Pontus Cappadocius*, which has as good a claim to being mentioned in the list as *Lycaonia* (or *Isauria*).

To return now to the list of 'Saka *kpatrapas*' at the end of the inscription of Paikuli, we have seen that the princes named in it belong mostly to the western fringes of Persia<sup>3</sup>; as it contains also some rulers from the North (such as the prince of Dunbāwand and the king of Khwārezm) and the East (such as the king of Makurān and the two kings recognized by Marquart, *Gründrhr.*, 31), it may be said to have covered the whole of the frontier regions of Iran. We cannot well leave the list without adverting to a figure that is hardly less strange than the Khagan or the 'Lord of Avanti', I mean the king of *Zand-Afrīk* = 'Zand in Africa', i.e. Zanzibar. In introducing him, Herzfeld wrote 'astonishing as the following interpretation may sound, it seems to be almost certain'; one would agree with the first rather than the second half of the sentence. The explanation is based on Parthian *šndp[lyk]* (l. 9 (line 42)), but the reading is doubtful. The traces rather suggest *šndp[lyk]*, which is easily restored as *[w]šndp[lyk]* = *Windafarnak*; the Pahlavi version, which is badly damaged, appears to have \**šndp[lyk]*, H 8 (line 45); thus there is here no territorial title at all, but a personal name, 'Gundofarrak the king'.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The other repetitions were caused by similar misunderstandings; 'Amastris' is merely another blunder of the translator's.

<sup>2</sup> In both cases the letter *y* is as clear as it can well be.

<sup>3</sup> Some further titles were mentioned by Herzfeld, *A.M.I.*, vii, 60, from the unpublished blocks.

<sup>4</sup> *Paikuli*, i, 244.

<sup>5</sup> Herzfeld *šndp[lyk]* in the text, *šndaf[rīk]* in the transcription and the glossary; later *šndp[lyk]*, *A.M.I.*, vii, 60.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly a descendant of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. The name does not occur elsewhere with final -ak (-ag). A Gondophar is mentioned also in the text. Cf. Shapur, line 32, *šndp[lyk]* *ZY* 'dāk'ta = Parth. *šndp[lyk]* 'dā = *Γονδοφάρ Αβγας*. Cf. the seal inscriptions Nordmann, *ZDMG.*, xxi, p. 207, No. 17 *šndp[lyk]* *ZY* *špyar* *ZY* *šdary* *BRH*, *ibid.*, p. 210, No. 83, *šndp[lyk]* *ZY* *špyar* *ZY* *šdary* *BRH* (cf. Horn *opud* Justi, 389; Justi, 248, No. 23, and additions *opp.* p. xxvi); probably both *šdary* and *šdary* are misreadings of 'daky, so that the seals belonged to the man mentioned in the inscr. of Shapur.

It is a good deal easier to remove the Khagan than to replace him. The correct reading, as we have seen, is *h'd'n ZY .dkil'*; we will begin with *h'd'n*. In the Pahlavi inscriptions postvocalic -d- invariably indicates the sound -y-, which may or may not have arisen from an original -d-; at any rate, *h'd'n* was pronounced *hāyān*. Such a word actually occurs in Manichaean Middle Persian, for certain in one passage and probably in another. The former is a line from a hitherto unpublished hymn, M 570, very likely a part of the *Gōwān īg Urūc-zindag*. The text is fragmentary, there are no complete lines. The Soul is speaking:—

- (2) 'w'm 'h'n'z'd p'd 'h'n'ryd[n]  
'yg 'c h'rynt h[?]  
(3) 'w'm 'h'n'm'd p'd 'yg  
'wd 'w h'g'n'n 'yg  
(4) 'w'm p'd g'nz 'g pydr n[gyr'd]  
kw ggy'n p[rygyr] n[?]  
(2) [?]: shall wash<sup>1</sup> me with a laving . . .  
that is from the land on high . . .  
(3) He shall raise me on wings of . . .  
upwards to the *hāyān*-a of . . .  
(4) And shall [set] me in the treasure-house of the Father . . .  
where [no] thieves shall loiter . . .

The second passage is in a fragment of Mani's *Sābuhragān*, M 482, which was published by F. W. M. Müller long ago (*Handschriftentexte*, ii, 1904, p. 16). It is so badly damaged that it is difficult to find out its contents. Some help is afforded by a comparable passage in the Coptic 'Sermon on the Great War' (Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, 32<sup>3-11</sup>). Close to the end of the world, after the horrors of the Great War have been endured, the Parousia shall take place and peace shall reign on earth. When at that time the survivors of the Great War pass by a cemetery (482 R 1-3), they will mourn the fate of their relatives (482 R 3 *zuryk* [wkm[g'n], *Homilies*, 32<sup>3-4</sup>), who had had to die before happiness descended on the world, and:—

- (5) g(w)'nd kw w[?y] 'wryk'n [ky p'd]  
[?] 'w'm ['y] k[?] m[?] 'wd ['wryd]  
(7) (h)ym[d] <sup>2</sup> k[y]byw[?]n sr '(z) <sup>3</sup> h'y[?n]  
(8) ['w](l) [h'n]'ryk 'w[?]n 'yn t'dy[h]  
(9) ncyhgh [ky] num 'm[?] 'ndr p[rygyr]m) <sup>4</sup> [oo]

' they will say: woe unto them that died and [went out (of the world)] in the

<sup>1</sup> See *Sophtica*, 34, and cf. Parthian 22<sup>3c</sup>. (M. Boyce, above, p. 441, n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> W. Müller used Salemann *Man. Stud.*, 27 n.

<sup>3</sup> Müller's: the lower part of the letter *z* is destroyed.

<sup>4</sup> Müller wrongly *p[rygyr]m[d]*.



evil time<sup>1</sup>; but who would lift their heads up from<sup>2</sup> their *hāy[ān]* and let them see this joy in which we live to-day!<sup>3</sup>

In the second passage, *hāyān* (half restored) is evidently poetic substitute for 'grave', while in the first it designates some kind of place associated with the Realm of Light: a meaning such as 'couch', or 'resting-place', or 'mansion', might fit either. *hāyān* derives from *\*hādān* (as the spelling in the inscription wants us to believe), an easy etymology is *hād*: from *\*hādān* or *\*hādāna* 'seat', cf. Skt. *śādana*, OPers. *Av. hādā*, *śāda*, etc. From a *Grundbedeutung* 'seat' a wide variety of meanings opens out; it certainly includes 'mansion', 'dwelling', 'home', and 'residence'. Nevertheless, in view of the multiplicity of original forms that would produce *hāyān* in Middle Persian, it would be rash to adopt any particular etymology too wholeheartedly.

## V

The second word, *dkd*<sup>4</sup>, is evidently a proper name; there is no appellative that would fit the letters. The *hāyān*, mansion, residence, seat, etc., of So-and-so<sup>5</sup> can scarcely be anything but the name of a place. That this group of words is in fact a place-name emerges clearly from a proper analysis of the context in the inscription. It is impossible to give such an analysis within the confines of this article; it would involve a re-edition of almost the whole inscription. Here only the broad lines of the argument can be indicated; the details, of reading and interpretation, have to be put aside for the present.

The inscription of Paikuli is a monument to a mean spirit. Its object is to tell us why, and how, Narseh ousted his great-nephew, Bahrām III, from the kingship; that is all. On the death of Bahrām II, his son Bahrām III, long before designated as crown prince, was still a minor. A strong party, to which most of the great nobles and officers of state belonged, preferred a stronger personality and put their hope in Narseh, the youngest and last-surviving son of Shapur I, who had brought glory to Persia. Protracted negotiations and civil war resulted. Narseh was in Armenia, where he held the office of *Vazurg Armēnān Sāh* 'king of Great Armenia'<sup>6</sup>; from the party that supported his claims:-

*phs*[t](*ky*) 'L LNH Y'TWN 'YK MLK' MLK' PWN *kyph* MN '(bny)  
'(w)(to)ny ('L) 'yr'n Hry 'yr' wlyēy ' (G)DH W Hry W NPŠH 'LS'  
[phly] ZY nyd'k' MN yd' MKB[LWNr] (line 11)

'an ambassador came [Us (to say:) may the king of kings graciously set out']

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Homilies*, 32<sup>b</sup>-1, *Wäre euch, dass ihr gestorben und himmelsgegangen wäret* . . .

<sup>2</sup> *hāyān* 'to lift (up)', which I have restored from *Pr.*, is ordinarily construed with *ʾw* 'to' ('up to'); it would probably be unjustified to change *ʾw* 'a' ('up from') here.

<sup>3</sup> cf. *Homilies*, 32<sup>b</sup>-6, *Wer wird euch auferstehen, dass ihr das Ansehen der Freude sehet, in der wir heute sind*.

<sup>4</sup> Not 'Great king of Armenia' (as has often been translated); the title equals Arm. *haganor Hayk* 'Hegh' . . . Similarly, 'king of Great Kūšān' is preferable to 'Great king of K.'.

<sup>5</sup> *wlyēy*, past stem *wlyēy* (D 2/3, line 19); *ʾablay* *wlyēy*, Man. MPers. *wlyēy*; Parth. past stem *wlyēy*, Shapur, line 4 = *ēpāpāy*; not, therefore, 'move upwards'; *ʾwlyēy* simply = 'movable'.



from Armenia hither to Erān-šahr and accept the majesty, the realm, his throne, and the honours of his ancestors from the gods'. Narseh was ready to come:—

(W) LNH 'YK ZK *prctly* HZY(TNm) [P](W)N 'wəhmzdy ■ 'scp'n yd'n W  
'nhyt ZY MRT' ŠM M[N] [']m[n]y 'L 'yr'n šry hwy wəhywmy (line 10)  
'and when We saw' that letter, we set' out from Armenia towards Erān-šahr  
in the name of Ohrmizd, of All-the-Gods,<sup>1</sup> and of Anāhit the Lady'.<sup>2</sup> As is well  
known, especially by the Armenian historians, when one travelled from Persia  
to Armenia in Sassanian times, one set out from Ganzaca (Arm. *Ganjak*) in  
Atropatene; Narseh, coming in the reverse direction, no doubt went first to  
Ganzaca.<sup>3</sup> From there he hastened to Asdrīstān/Babylonia, where the capitals  
lay, and where ■ supporters were concentrated. The shortest road from  
Ganzaca to Seleucia/Ctesiphon passed through the plain of Siarzūr (Šbahrzūr),  
where one reached the half-way mark; on that account, the chief town in that  
plain had been named Nīm-as-rēš<sup>4</sup> ('half of the way'). To the west and south-  
west the plain is closed by a double mountain range; the pass of Paikuli,  
where Narseh's monument is situated, affords a passage over the southern spur  
of the second range (now called Qaradag), which is also the last of the many  
chains the traveller from Atropatene has to cross before reaching the great  
plains of Euphrates and Tigris. That Narseh took the road through Siarzūr  
to Paikuli is clear from his own words:—

MPers. (18) ]ZNN pky

Parth. (14') ]L ZN(H) ['](T)RH YMT'Hm 'YK ZNH |

MPers. lry YK[Y]MWNt 'DYN š(p)[w]kry (ZY) hgyrpt

'(when) We had reached this place, where this monument<sup>5</sup> has been made,  
thereupon Shapur the Hargupet, etc.' With these words begins an excessively

<sup>1</sup> I assume now that the imperfect still existed in the earlier forms of Western Middle Iranian; there are many cases of it in the inscriptions; note *šgydy* (with augment) = 'was made'.

<sup>2</sup> → *šdr dard*.

<sup>3</sup> *pa* . . . *šm* has often been misunderstood.

<sup>4</sup> On the position of the town see Minorsky, *BSOAS.*, xi, 243 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus (who may well have been responsible for the destruction of the monument of Paikuli) covered the distance from Siarzūr to Ganzaca in ten days (not counting days of rest), see Minorsky, loc. cit., 231.

<sup>6</sup> Hiersfeld failed to recognize that this word, Paḥl, *gity* = Parth. *pā*, is an appellative descriptive of the type of monument of which Paikuli is a specimen. We cannot translate it properly until we know the precise shape which the monument of Paikuli once possessed. Hiersfeld reconstructed it as almost a cube on a square base, adorned with buttresses; the reconstruction may have to be reconsidered in the light of the excavations carried out by him in 1923.—*PIH* is no doubt the same word as Men. MPers. and Parth. *py*, on which see *BSOAS.*, xi, 725 n., where I hesitated between 'altar' and 'steps, staircase' (Pers. *piḥ*). Professor G. Morgenstierne kindly suggested to me that *py* might be a loan-word from a Middle Indian form of Skt. *pīṭha*; one of its meanings, 'pedestal of an idol,' would fit excellently several of the passages in which *py* occurs. All these meanings, 'altar' or 'pedestal', 'a monument of the type of Paikuli', and 'steps, staircase', do not necessarily exclude each other; a 'stepped altar' (as e.g. at Tang-i Sarvak, see *Asia Major*, ii, 159) may have been meant, and the monument of Paikuli, even if it was not in the shape of a *ziggurat*, may have possessed a great staircase.

long sentence, in which all the principal supporters of Narseh were enumerated; the critical passage comes near its end:—

Parth. (16') . . . W 'p'ryk p'ss W p'rw MNW 'nrv( (gap)

MPers. (18) ]n 'L h'd'n ZY

Parth. (16') ]r HWHnd hmy'bdyn [ (gap)

MPers. (18) .dtd', L[NH] p(n)[y]ky Y'T[WN (gap)

Parth. (16') ]TNH hndynn YHWH[n] 'YK ZNH plk 'BD'

Here, for once, the two versions supplement each other with almost no gap; '(thereupon Shapur the Hargupet, etc.) . . . and the other Persians and Parthians that were [powerful in'] Asūristān, they all' came to Hāyān of .DKTL', to meet (and receive)' Us [and] presented themselves [before Us] here' where this monument is made.'

This is perhaps the most important passage in the whole inscription: it tells us the *raison d'être* of the Monument at Paikuli, which, at first sight, seems to have been erected in a singularly ill-chosen place. Here Narseh met the leaders of his party: here he was proclaimed king of kings; he found the event worth recording on stone. While his supporters came into the royal presence (*handēmdn bādan*) at the spot marked by the monument, they had first gone to 'Hāyān of .DKTL', where they assembled from all parts of the lowlands in order to receive the new king. Consequently, the place named in the inscription should be looked for in the west or south-west of Paikuli, at a moderate distance from the pass; it would be reasonable to expect that it lay on the very road along which Narseh was travelling, on the Sasanian road from Seleucia/Ctesiphon to Sierrūr over the pass of Paikuli.<sup>4</sup>

When one knows how defective our historical records are for the area thus defined, one will approach the task of searching for the place-name in other sources with diffidence and little hope; the gap at the beginning of the characteristic part of the name, .DKTL', enhances the difficulty. Nevertheless, the name happily does occur elsewhere, and by careful restoration the form in the inscription can be completed with certainty. Herzfeld, it will be recalled, put *dief* (?) as first letter; but only about a quarter of such a letter is visible, namely two-thirds of its initial up-stroke: the remnant may equally well have formed part of *N*.<sup>5</sup> If one restores *N*, one has to supply a further narrow letter (such as *y*, *w*, *n*, *d*, *k*) in order to fill the gap. When one bears in mind all possible restorations and at the same time considers all place-names ever mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Or similarly.

<sup>2</sup> Parth. *hmy'bdyn* (so to be read) = Arm. *hamewn*; Pahlavi *h'mēdyā*, Pahl. *Paikuli* *h'mēdyā*.

<sup>3</sup> *pylky* = Pers. *paikire*; = *paikidā*.

<sup>4</sup> *TNE* 'here' is certain; not *PNH* 'hither'.

<sup>5</sup> Which was no doubt followed by Heraklius in February, A.D. 628, on his march from Dastagord to Sierrūr.

<sup>6</sup> cf. above, p. 509.

for the region in question, one will inevitably restore (N)[Y]DKTL[Y] or (N)[Y]DKTL[N]<sup>1</sup> and identify *Hāyōn īg N.* with *Niqātōr-Āwānā* (Syriac *Niqātūr-ʿawnā*), a place of unknown situation within the confines of the Nestorian metropolis of *Bēṯ Garmai*, to which Paikuli and its neighbourhood belonged, see G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Perischer Märtyrer*, pp. 48 (n. 417), 277.

Foreign long *i* or *ē* was regularly rendered by *-yd-* (originally = *īy*)<sup>2</sup> in the quaint orthography affected by the Pahlavi scribes; so *Nydktl* may be regarded as normal spelling of *Nikātōr*. The identity of *Hāyōn īg N.* with *N.-Āwānā* is sufficiently evident to compel us to reconsider the etymology of MPers. *hāyōn*, for which we had provisionally assumed a basic meaning 'seat'.<sup>3</sup> Actually, there is no reason why *hāyōn* should not be the very same word as Syriac *āwānā* (*āwānā*), which of old 'has been regarded as a loanword from Iranian: Old Persian *āwānā* 'settlement, village', shortened to *āwān*, which was borrowed by neighbours in East (*awānā* 'village' in Kharoṣṭhi Documents<sup>4</sup>) and West (Arm. *awān* 'small market town, village', Talmudic *אָוּנָא*,<sup>5</sup> Mandaeen *אָוּנָא*,<sup>6</sup> in addition to Syriac), but seemed to have been lost to the Iranian languages themselves. Here it appears for the first time in Middle Iranian; in MPers., *āwān* would necessarily become *\*āyān* and facultatively *hāyān* (with a prothetic *h-* often found before *ā-*). In support of this explanation one could point out that *āwān* occurs everywhere often in place-names<sup>7</sup>; as does *h'd'n* in the inscription. Moreover, in the Aramaic tongues the word is mostly employed for 'a settlement on a high-road where travellers may spend the night'<sup>8</sup>; and as we have seen that *Hāyōn īg N.* probably lay on the high-road from Seleucia to *Šīrzuṛ*, we shall adopt this particular meaning for

<sup>1</sup> The last letter—which does not affect our argument—is doubtful. The apparent traces favour *Y*, but may be a hole in the shape of *Y*. Final *-ō* (as *-ē* is to be pronounced) would be unexpected in this name, which in any case appears without it in Syriac; though foreign names are sometimes adorned with it in Pahlavi without good reason. If Herzfeld's restoration, (N), is accepted, we shall regard *Nydktl* as an adjective of reference (commonly formed with *-n* from proper names); hence 'the Nestorian mansion (etc.)'.

<sup>2</sup> So also in Persian words, chiefly at the end of words (cf. *RSOS.*, vii, 94 sq.), but sometimes even in their interior, cf. e.g. Pahl. *Paštēr nāydm* = *nādm* according to K. Barr (inside *nāydm*, *Katib Kartir*, line 10).

<sup>3</sup> The ending *-n*, in place of the expected *-ān*, made that explanation not too attractive; it was merely in the nature of a working hypothesis.

<sup>4</sup> de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1888), 148 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See T. Barrow, *RSOS.*, vii, 77B.

<sup>6</sup> J. Levy, i, 41n.

<sup>7</sup> Noldke, *Mand. Gram.*, 134, with n. 1. Noldke rejected the derivation from Iranian, which has now been placed beyond doubt thanks to the appearance of the word *āwān* on the eastern fringe of the Iranian language territory.

<sup>8</sup> So always in Kharoṣṭhi documents (see Barrow, *loc. cit.*), often in Armenian, sometimes in Syriac, and once in the Talmud (Levy's passage, *אָוּנָא*, invites emendation to *אָוּנָא* = *ʾUṭānā* and *ʾAwānā* [cf. recently Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, 331 sq.; the MS. he used had *אָוּנָא* = *ʾUṭānā*]; these two towns lay on the Tigris, very close by each other).

<sup>9</sup> Brockelmann *hospitium ubi quis accipit*; Hoffmann (occasionally) *Post-station*; Noldke (for Mand.) *Quartier*; Levy *Station*, *Wachherberge*.

the Middle Persian word; which, incidentally, fits the Manichaean passages, too, better than any other.<sup>1</sup>

No scholar has ever examined the historical topography of the Zagros lands so thoroughly as H. Hoffmann examined it. As he resigned himself and listed Nīqātōr-Āwānā among the places *gänzlich unbekannter Lage* (op. cit., 277), one is inclined to abandon further search as useless; for it is rarely indeed that one can add even a minor point to his incomparable work. However, in this case the inscription of Paikuli has given us a hint to the direction where this 'station' lay; we can now take a further step forward. The only reason that Nīqātōr-Āwānā was mentioned at all in our sources was that it was the place where a bishop of *Karzā d-Bēθ Sār* (Kirkuk), one Ishāq, died a martyr's death. Elsewhere, the scene of his martyrdom is called *Bēθ-Nīqātōr*.<sup>2</sup> As a rule, Syriac place-names compounded with *bēθ* 'house of' refer not to towns but to districts or provinces; therefore, we may safely infer that Nīqātōr-Āwānā was the centre of a district named *Bēθ-Nīqātōr*. Under the latter name, this district is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Arbela*<sup>3</sup> (which, of course, was not available to Hoffmann), as one of the Christian bishoprics, over 20 in number, which were established even at the end of the Arsacid period (spring of A.D. 224, acc. to the *Chronicle*). This bishopric was due to disappear soon; one does not find its name in any of the later lists, of which the earliest is from A.D. 410.

Thanks to a singularly fortunate circumstance we can place *Bēθ-Nīqātōr* with certitude.<sup>4</sup> On his first visit to Paikuli, in 1911, Herzfeld, after leaving Khaniqin, was compelled (by the turbulent state of the Turco-Persian frontier) to make a detour and so travelled by way of *Binkudrah*, which he defined as *der Ort der Mündung des Hulecān-Flusses in die Diyālā*.<sup>5</sup> There can be no doubt that *Binkudrah* continues the ancient name, *Bēθ-Nīqātōr*.<sup>6</sup> The district lies on the direct line from Seleucia/Ctesiphon to Paikuli: the Sassanian road to

<sup>1</sup> Especially the otherwise troublesome text in which *šōyōn* refers to the grave; a word denoting temporariness well accords with Manichaean ideas about it.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages collected in the *Thesaurus*, col. 491.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. E. Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., 1915), p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, p. 31, identified *Bēθ Nīqātōr* with Qetrabbul. This is inadmissible. He relied on O. Hoffmann's etymology of *Qetrabbul*: \**Νεκροπόλις* (*Martyrerakten*, 41, n. 343). The acceptance of Hoffmann's etymology (which in itself is attractive enough) almost suffices to exclude Sachau's identification; for if the Greek name persisted up to Muslim times, one would expect to find it being used in earlier centuries, and not a Syriac translation of it. The principal objection, however, is that *Bēθ Nīqātōr* lay in *Bēθ Garmā*, while *Qetrabbul* (the district immediately to the NW of Baghdad, on the western bank of the Tigris) is solidly placed in the heart of *Bēθ Armāyē*.—Sachau did not refer to this erroneous identification in his later work *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., 1919), in which he listed all known bishoprics of *Bēθ Armāyē*, pp. 26-29.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Aufnahme der assyrischen Denkmale von Paikuli* (Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., 1914), p. 6. The name is marked on the map attached to that paper.

<sup>6</sup> The consonantism is exceptionally well preserved; the ending, *-ā* (ā), may hardly be used to defend the reading *Nīqātōr* [y], cf. above, p. 520, n. 1. Herzfeld justly recognized that *Binkudrah* represented an old name compounded with *Bēθ*; however, the original form he posed ('*Bā-Nūhadā*') is unsupported and leaves it unaccounted for.—The form developed probably in this way: *Bēθ Nīqātōr*—*Bīnāhīr*—*Bīnāhīr*—*Bīnāhīr*—*Bīnāhīr*.

Paikuli will have passed through it (after branching off near Jalālā<sup>1</sup> from the road Selencia—Holwān) and continued along the course of the Diyālah. It is scarcely an accident that the only reference I have seen<sup>2</sup> to this district, *Binkudrah*, is contained in the description of a journey which a scholar, coming from the direction of the ancient capitals, undertook for the purpose of investigating the remains of the Monument of Paikuli.

<sup>1</sup> cf. *BSOAS.* x, 941 sq.

<sup>2</sup> [Further inquiry, in which Mr. C. J. Edmonds kindly lent me his help, has shown that the name of *Binkudrah* now chiefly appertains to the village that forms the centre of the district. It lies on the left bank of the Diyālah (Sirwān), at a distance of about half a mile from the river; measured on the excellent map in Herzfeld's *Paikuli* its position is 34° 31' 30" N., 46° 31' E., its air distance from Paikuli 4½ miles. James Felix Jones, *Memoirs. Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. 43, 1857, map opp. p. 136, showed the plain of B. as running several miles along the left bank of the Sirwān, almost down to the confluence with the Holwān. C. J. Rich, who visited the village, spell its name *Biakudrah*, *Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan*, ii, 271 sqq., 373-390. However, Mr. Edmonds points out that according to his recollection the name is pronounced with *q*, and this agrees with the spelling adopted by H. Rawlinson, *Bis-fudrah* (i.e. *Biqqudrah*), *Notes on a March from Zohāb*, *JRGS.* ix, 1832, 29, and, incidentally, with the original form posited here. There are many Sassanian ruins in the neighbourhood of the village; those now named *Kassas Tepesi* (Rich, *l.c.* 274) may well conceal the old *Station of Nicator*.]

## A new Parthian Inscription

(PLATE V)

THE scantiness of Parthian inscribed material enhances the importance of any new find. The existence of inscriptions and drawings on the rock-walls of a gorge near Birjand (Southern Khorasan) had been known for some time; but their antiquity was not recognized until Mr. Jamal Rezai, a Persian student from Birjand, visited the gorge and took photographs, which he submitted to Dr. Sadiq Kiya, of the University of Tehran. Dr. Kiya at once correctly identified the writing as Parthian and, in company with Mr. Rezai, published the whole material, together with a preliminary reading of the inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Richard N. Frye also paid a visit to the site and reported on it briefly in the Persian literary monthly *Mihr*.<sup>2</sup> Later some uninformed criticism, claiming modern origin of the remains, appeared in the same periodical<sup>3</sup>; it was justly refuted by Dr. Kiya.<sup>4</sup>

The name of the gorge is *Kāl-i Jāngāl*. It is situated among the western spurs of the *Kūh-i Rīd*, itself the westernmost part of the *Kūh-i Bāgrān*, the considerable mountain-range stretching to the south of Birjand.<sup>5</sup> Its distance from *Khusf*<sup>6</sup> (which lies to the west) is 11 kilometres, from the village of *Rīd* (which lies to the north-east) 1 kilometre. The remains noted by Mr. Rezai consist of the following:—

<sup>1</sup> J. Rezai and S. Kiya, *Gazā'id-i avārištā va peikarhāyi Kāl-i Jāngāl* (= *Inn. Kāde* No. 14). Tehran, Isfandārmudh-māh 1320 Yezd. [= Feb.-March, 1952]. Here quoted as *Report*.

<sup>2</sup> *Year* 8, No. 4, Tic, 1331 [= Jan.-July, 1952], p. 220. Only the principal drawing and inscription had attracted Dr. Frye's notice.

<sup>3</sup> *Year* III No. 6, Šahrīzār, 1331 [= Aug.-Sept., 1952], p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> *Mihr*, year 8, No. 9, Ādhar, 1331 [= Nov.-Dec., 1952], pp. 5—9.

<sup>5</sup> Acc. to *Report*, p. 6, n. 3, *kāl* is a local word, in *Khusf* and Birjand, with the meaning of *darre* "valley". Cf. Ivanow, "Rustic Poetry in the Dialect of Khorasan" (*J. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, N.S. xxi, 1925, No. 3), p. 257, *kāl* "a river-bed, wādī, nullah"; see Vulliamy s.v. *kāl* 6.—As the brief vowels of place-names are not given in the *Report*, the correct pronunciation of *Jāngāl* is necessarily uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> Useful information on the geography and history of this region is contained in W. Ivanow's article, "Persian as spoken in Birjand" (*J. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, N.S. xxiv, 1928, No. 4), pp. 236-246.

<sup>7</sup> On the origin of this name (*Xasf*/b from *Xwasp*) see Markwart, *Wörter und Aberg.*, p. 20, n. 2. The forms with final -st are due to dissimilation, cf. the reverse change from -st to -sp (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, 60, n. 2).

(a) A rock-drawing of a man and a lion, accompanied by a Parthian inscription (No. 1). See Plate V.

(b) A rock-drawing of a male bust (bearded head, with helmet and diadem, in profile turned to the left),<sup>1</sup> with a damaged Parthian inscription (No. 5).<sup>2</sup>

(c) Fragments of seven further inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> apparently in Parthian. They belong to different periods. Some may constitute parts of a larger inscription<sup>4</sup> (Nos. 6 and 7, in a formal type of script); some are written in a cursive style reminiscent of Sogdian (Nos. 2 and 3).

It is evident that further investigation on the spot is required (as well as some measure of excavation) before the remains can be satisfactorily interpreted.<sup>5</sup> For the present we have to confine ourselves to an examination of the inscription No. 1, for which alone sufficient material is at hand.<sup>6</sup>

All the letters in this inscription, which comprises two lines, are clearly legible:—

נרירארתחשחר	<i>gry'rthštr</i>
נחדר ו חשחרף	<i>nhdr W' šštrp</i>

The reading offered by Dr. Kiya was almost correct; he gave it in Persian letters in this form:—

ری ارتخسر نخوری خسرپ

The *indid* indicates that he read the first word in the second line as *nšhrr-y*; but, as the photographs show, -d- is clearly distinguished

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, pp. 10 sq., figs. 4 and 5.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably giving the name and title (or office) of the man represented in the drawing. A purely tentative reading: *Wyl'tny K'thryck*! It is impossible to say how much (if anything) is missing at the end. The writing, compared with that of Inscr. No. 1, tends to the cursive; the letter *K* deviates from the norm. *Wyl'tny* probably = *Hystanes* | *Histanes* | *Methanes*.

<sup>3</sup> One of them on a slab found among the debris on the floor of the gorge (*Report*, p. 13). There are, in addition, several isolated letters, belonging perhaps to Nos. 6 and 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Report*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> "It would be advisable to take squeezes rather than direct photographs. For the purposes of photography, the *Report* states, "the letters and lines of the inscriptions and drawings were whitened with plaster to make them show up better" (p. 7). We thus entirely depend on Mr. Rezaï's powers of observation; he seems to have done his work with commendable care.

<sup>6</sup> I owe thanks to Mr. J. Rezaï for sending me, through the good offices of Dr. E. Yarabater, a copy of the photograph he had taken (which was published before in *Report*, p. 7); it accompanies this article. I am further indebted to Dr. H. N. Frye for giving me a print of his own photograph.



from -r- in the usual way by a diacritical mark. As the first word of the inscription Dr. Kiya assumed *BRY* "son"; this gives an easy, but doubtless wrong, reading; for the first letter is a very determined *G*; also there is no word-division in the first line.

*Nhadr* = *Naxwadr* means (as will be shown presently) "prefect" or the like; it is approximately equivalent to *hštrp* "satrap". In the first centuries of our era "satrap" was not so much a rank as an office; the word is invariably accompanied by the name of the district which was governed by the "satrap". Thus in the Parthian inscription found at Susa, *hšck Ščt hštrp* "Khwāsak the satrap of Susa"<sup>1</sup>; and so often in the inscription of Shapur I. The status of a satrap in those centuries cannot be compared with that enjoyed by his Achaemenian namesake; the area he now governed was small, scarcely more than a town with its surroundings; the inscription of Shapur names satraps of e.g. Hamadan, Gay, Weh-Ardašīr, Gundēšābūr, Nīriz. On these grounds one would assume that the long word which occupies the first line of our inscription was the name of a town or smallish district; so that the inscription means "the prefect and satrap of *Gry'rthštr*". This entails the further assumption that the inscription is incomplete; its first line is close to the present edge of the rock: a piece that carried a further line, with the satrap's name, may have broken away.



Next to nothing is known about the history, in the early centuries of our era, of the wider neighbourhood of Birjand, the sub-province called *Qūhistān* "mountain-land" in Muslim times; the inscriptions of Kū-i Jangāl are indeed the first inscribed monuments ever discovered in Eastern Persia. It is thus not surprising that such a place-name, *Gari-Artaxšādr* or *Gar-Ardašīr*, cannot be traced in other sources.<sup>2</sup> Certainly it has all the appearance of a name given by the first Sassanian King of Kings, Ardašīr,<sup>3</sup> or given in his honour (there are many such names). One may even suggest that *Gar-Ardašīr*, which perhaps meant "the mountains of Ardašīr", was the name of the very district of which Birjand formed a part, a forerunner of the later *Qūhistān*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Asia Major*, ii, 178.

<sup>2</sup> There is, however, a personal name of somewhat similar aspect (but uncertain reading), see Justi, p. 168a, *Karerdasir* (which could be *Gar-* instead).

<sup>3</sup> The *Kermān-Šāh Ardašīr* need not be considered here.


<sup>4</sup> Alternatively (but less likely), the name could be a recast of *Γαρι πόλις* (*Isidorus Characenus*, § 18), which lay in the neighbourhood of Farah-Neh.


If this interpretation is correct, it follows that the inscription belongs not to Parthian times (as its Parthian language *prima facie* suggests), but to the Sassanian period, probably its early years. We do not know how long the distinctive Parthian script continued in use; as the letters of our inscription are substantially the same in form as those familiar from the monuments of the third century,<sup>1</sup> we should claim it for that century, the heyday of Middle-Iranian epigraphy. This is in consonance with the date which one would be inclined to attribute to the rock-drawing beside the inscription.<sup>2</sup> It is true that rock-drawings (very differently from rock-reliefs) are altogether unusual in ancient Iran; there is thus no strictly comparable material. Nevertheless, the style of this drawing<sup>3</sup> has all the traits characteristic of the art of the early Sassanian period (man in profile, except for his chest and his eye; absurd misrepresentation of  right arm and hand).<sup>4</sup> From the scene depicted<sup>5</sup> one may infer that Kāl-i Jangāl served as a hunting-camp for the local chieftains  Qubistān, who probably retired to the Kūh-i Bāqārān in summer.<sup>6</sup> The chief importance of the inscriptions lies in the proof they afford that the language now generally described as Parthian was in fact used in (at least a part of) Parthia.<sup>7</sup>

It remains to discuss the new title, *Nādr*, which etymologically means "he who holds the beginning, the first (place)". Such a word has often been postulated; but this is the first time that it actually occurs in an Iranian document. The following forms have been noted previously:—


(1) *Nohodares*, the name (rightly, probably, the title) of a Persian

<sup>1</sup> The only significant deviation is in the letter *h*, which has developed a loop at the bottom of the first vertical.

<sup>2</sup> The other drawing, above p. 141, under (b), may be somewhat older; it is reminiscent of the representations  the Parthian kings on their coins.

<sup>3</sup> The photograph, having been taken  an angle from the left, is somewhat deceptive; there is increasing distortion as the right side, causing the man to appear over-slim (except for his right leg and hand): in fact, as Dr. Frye's photograph shows, his chest and shoulders are abnormally broad.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Intended to show the man strangling a lion (in the outcome,  seems to be tickling its ear).

<sup>6</sup> As the village  Kāl near-by is now used as a village by the people of Khunf.

<sup>7</sup> As yet we cannot take into account the documents, believed to be Parthian, which were recently discovered by the Russians at the site of Nisā. No copy, as far as I know, of the book in which they were published (D'akonov, *Parf'anskii dokumenty iz drevnei Nisi*) has reached this country. See provisionally M. E. Masamun, *Vestnik Drevney Istori*, 1950, No. 3, p. 54.

general under Shapur II, Ammianus Marcellinus xiv, 3: 1, 2; xviii, 6: 16; 8: 3; xxv, 3: 13.

(2) *Nchdr* in Syriac, as a title in a pre-Christian Syriac inscription, where ܢܚܕܪ precedes a place-name (Pognon, *Inscr. arm.*, No. 5), in the local name ܢܚܕܪ ܕܥܡܝܢ (Hoffmann, *Martyrakten*, 209 sq.), and glossed by ܐܬܝܢ and as "army-chief" by Bar Bahlûl. See Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxi (1908), 153 sq.

(3) *Nazarar* in Armenian, "feudal chief, prefect." The actual existence of *Nchdr* as a title in Parthia itself, in a sense closely corresponding with that of *nazarar*, makes it necessary to return to the explanation advanced long ago by F. C. Andreas (see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, 514 sq.).<sup>1</sup> *Nazarar*, which agrees with *naxwōdār* exactly,<sup>2</sup> should be regarded as a loanword from Parthian.<sup>3</sup> The older derivation is preferable to that proposed by Meillet<sup>4</sup> (Sogdian *nāfδār*), which required the assumption of an exception from the sound-laws,<sup>5</sup> see *Rev. Ét. Arm.*, ii, 2.

(4) *Nwγδ'r*, in Sogdian-Uigur writing, = *Noxδār*, the name of a Manichaean presbyter, in *Türkische Manichaica*, iii, p. 35, No. 16.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Differently W. Marr, *Etymologiya dnu terminov Armanskogo Feodal'nogo stroia (napukh and nazarar)*, *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Akad. Nauk*, xi, 1899, 165-174.

<sup>2</sup> -azn- from -azant- as in *band*.

<sup>3</sup> This was rightly seen by Meillet (differently Hübschmann).

<sup>4</sup> Who compared *nakapel* = *nāfapali*, which may occur in the inscription of Paikuli, see *BSOAS.*, xiv, 511, n. 6. Of the other words mentioned by Meillet, *nabak* and *nakang*, the latter, which means "province" (*ἐπαρχία*), does not belong to *nāfu*. ܢܐܦܐ reflects *Mfr. nak* from *nad*. It is met with several times in the inscriptions of Kartli, spelt *nawgy* (which has been oddly explained as meaning "few").

<sup>5</sup> An assumption made also by Marr, loc. cit., p. 171.

<sup>6</sup> The Manichaean *naxwōdār* (cf. Andreas apud F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenstudien*, ii, 111) does not belong to this group, see *Mittelalt. Manichaica*, i, 197, n. 2.



## NOTES ON THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF ŠĀPŪR I

In an article in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IX, pp. 823-849, I have given an analysis of the contents of the recently discovered inscription of Šāpūr I (set up about A. D. 263), which had been published by Professor Sprengling in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. LIII, pp. 126-144, cf. ZDMG., Vol. 91, pp. 652-672. I have tried to show that the first half of the inscription contains an account of the war between the Persians and the Roman empire, A. D. 256-281, whilst the second half constitutes a deed of settlement, by which Sacred Fires and funds for their maintenance were established in honour of several members of the royal family.

Such a deed of settlement was called *pātixšādr* (*p'thštr*) in Pahlavi. This word occurs in line 23: ... 'dšyn .. YKTYBWN ZNH KL' QDM *p'thštr* YKTYBWN BI' MN ZK 'kbyl LP' ZY MN t... *pyšyn* 'L LNH 'dwyn YHWWN WLNH LZNHšn 'twr'n YHBWN "custom ... has been written. All this has been written on a deed of settlement, apart from those one thousand lambs (?) which since former [...] was our custom to give to these Fires". The word *pātixšādr* occurs several times in the inscriptions of the founder of Sassanid Zoroastrianism, Kartir, who boasts of the great number of documents he had signed and sealed in his function as Magapat and Ehrpat. It is well known, not only from the great number of seals of priests we possess, but also from literary tradition (e. g., *Mātiyān-i*

1. Professor Sprengling offers a different reading.

2. The proper transcription, of course, would be : šlp; in this way the word for "1000" is spelt already in Old Aramaic Papyri.

3. A typical Pahlavi construction; lit., "it was our custom and we gave".

Hazār Dātistān, p. 78, lines 3 sqq., p. 93, lines 4 sqq., p. 100, lines 5 sqq., ed. J. J. Modi), that the sealing of documents constituted an important duty of the Magupats. The correct meaning of the word<sup>1</sup> has been found by the late Professor Markwart (Ung. Jbb., VII, p. 103), who quoted the later Pahlavi form *pātšīr* (Pahlavi Texts, II, p. 112, line 1, ed. Jamasp Asana) and the Armenian Loan-word *patšir* = *dašn* "treaty, agreement". Typical passages are Naqš-i Rujab 24 sq. 'Pm KBYR NPŠH ŠM ... QDM. gty p'thātly W m'tyā'n<sup>2</sup> YKTYBWN YK'YMWnt "And I have often written my name on testaments<sup>3</sup>, agreements ('deeds of settlement')<sup>4</sup> and memoirs", or Naqš-i Rujab 28

1. A re-examination of the meaning of the Mandæan LW *pātšār* (see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, p. xxxi. WZKM, vol. xvi, p. 4) seems advisable. In *Mēnā i Khrat*, xlv, 5. 16, I prefer Nēryōmang's reading *pātšāktar*.

2. Text: m'tn (error of the copyist). The correct reading m'tp'n = Armenian *muten* = Pahlavi *mtr-g* has already been found by Nyberg, *Mazdayasn. Kal*, p. 88. Herzfeld's reading m'tā'n or m'tp'n (cf. *Altper. Inschr.*, p. 214) is hardly correct. The original meaning of this word seems to have been "memory", as is suggested by a Sogdian gloss (see Henning, *Manich. Bet. und Schriftbuch*, p. 128).

3. *gty* = *gell*, borrowed from Syriac *gellā* "testament". Syriac, *gellā*. This (or a similar) derivation seems to have been in the mind of Professor Herzfeld (*Altper. Inschr.*, pp. 213 s. 19.) whose comparison with *qahūmah*, "book of the ranks" (from *qahūmah*, cf. Armenian *qah* "place", "rank", etc.) and Arabic *qahdā* (Mafatih al-'Ulum, p. 30, line 9, p. 31, line 18) can hardly be accepted. The *qahdā* (*qahdā*) was neither a "mint-master" (thus Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, s. v. *gty*), nor (and still less) a "magistralis", but a tax-minister, who was chosen by the population of a province, and who was responsible towards the government for the punctual payment of the taxes (particularly the *Zarj*), whilst the tax-payers in their turn pledged themselves towards him. He naturally had to keep books carefully and to present closing accounts at the end of each month (*zāmah*) and of each year (*zāmah al-yāmīyah*). He also had to be an expert in money-matters, etc.; thence later the derived meaning "expert". It belonged to his major duties to give valid receipts (*zāmah*) to those tax-payers who had fulfilled their duties. A detailed and interesting account of the office of *qahdā* is contained in the *Tir'z-i Qamā*, pp. 149 sqq. (S. H. Taqizadeh has kindly drawn my attention to this passage). The Persian form, *qahdā*, is used by Firdausi (see Wolff's Dictionary, p. 674) and mentioned by Asadi (p. 23, cf. Horn), cf. also Šams-i Fayrī, p. 55.

4. Cf. also Herzfeld, *Altper. Inschr.*, p. 214 sqq. Against Herzfeld, I do not believe that *pātšār* could be connected with Pahlavi *inscr.* *pātšār* (*pātšār*), *Man. MPer.* *pātšār*, *pātšār*. The meaning of the latter word: "honour, respect, veneration" (against Herzfeld) is well established from innumerable passages. We also have a Sogdian gloss: *pār* (M 172, later *pār*, Buddh. Sogd. *pār* "honour, veneration"; see Müller-Lant, S. T. II, p. 514, n. 1). Further, the Parthian

MNW ... *p'thstly mtyd'n 'yncp gty' 'yncp 'HRN n'mky*  
 HZYTNT "who will see an agreement, memoir or testament  
 or any other writing".

Unfortunately the passage which determined the capital sum (= *xiwāstak* in the juridical language) to be given to the church in respect of the new foundation is too much broken to permit of a satisfactory interpretation. As we are told, however, that Šāpūr was in the habit of giving one thousand *'kblyt* (annually) before his new decree, we may safely conclude that the new *xiwāstak* also was defined in terms of *'kblyt*. That *'kblyt*, which tentatively I have translated "lamb" in the above passage, denotes some kind of animal, has been proved by Professor Bailey, BSOs., ix, p. 232. It is clear from our inscription that the *'kblyt* was used also in sacrificial ceremonies; passages like Videvdāt 18, 70 *hazawrem anumayanam frārinuyāt* "he shall sacrifice one thousand sheep" (cf. Yt. viii, 33, *pasūm hē pačayon*) seem to suggest that the word was employed for sheep rather than for goats (as Sprengling assumes, ZDMG., 91, pp. 663 sqq.). Passages referring to animal sacrifice in the Pahlavi literature have been collected by Tavandia, Šār Saxxan, pp. 14 sqq.

After the sentence in the *'kblyt*-capital presented by the king, we find a series of well-defined orders for its administration. The first two orders are unconditional, while a condition is attached to the third. All three of them stipulate the daily offering of certain gifts "for the soul" of a great

equivalent, *pašōšr* (frequent; also *pašōšr'and* = MPers. *pašōšr'and* = *pašōšr* should be considered, Bartholomae, ZAIR. Wh., p. 85, correctly derived *pašōšr* from *pašōšr'and* and compared Skt. *abhisar* "praise". From Old Pers. *pašōšr'and* we have not only MPers. *pašōšr*, but also OPers. *pašōšr'and* = Πασωσοεις, name of a Persian clan ("the honoured ones").

1. Text: *gity* (perhaps error of the copyist)

2. Fr. Müller's theory that the group of words *akbarit*, *dī-larit*, etc. is nothing but an invention of the authors of the 'Frabang' (cf. Geiger, WZKM., 29, p. 311) should be considered seriously. A compound form *'k* "one" is not known in Pahlavi, that it should stand for *ē* (from *ē*) is hardly possible. *dipt*, of course, might be *-drit* "shorn", cf. e. g. Wakhi *corin*: *corit* "to shear" (Morgenstierne, Indo-Iran. Front. Lang., iii, p. 547), NPers. *mān šaridan*; therefore "once-shorn", "twice-shorn", etc.

3. See BSOs., ix, p. 647; cf. also Bartholomae, WIr. Mund., ii, pp. 10 sqq.



number of members of the royal family (past and present) and certain other persons. The amount of the daily gifts is equal<sup>1</sup> for all the persons mentioned. The gifts consist of: 'klyt 1, LHM' g I h V<sup>2</sup>, HS p IV, i e., one lamb and a quantity of bread (i. e., drōn cakes) and wine (HS = Pahl. -u-)<sup>3</sup>.

The first order (end of line 23 to beginning of line 24) concerns the king himself: ZK prn'yomy 'YK 'yio klyty' PWN LNH lob'n YWM' 'L YWM' 'klyt i LHM' g i h v HS p iv 'This I order that there shall be made<sup>4</sup> day by day for our soul one lamb, etc."

The second order refers to members of the royal family (lines 24-26): PWN s' s' n ZY MRWHY..... W 'whrmzd-mhky ZY sk'n MLK' BRTHk<sup>5</sup> [lob'n' 'klyt i] LHM' g i h v HS p iv "(this I order that there shall be made day by day") for the soul of Šāsao, the Lord..... and of Ohrmizduxtak, the daughter of the Šakānšab (Nurse), one lamb, etc." The list opens with the predecessors of Šāpūr,

1. The alternative that the second and third amounts are to be devoted to the whole group of people mentioned under those headings collectively should also be considered.

2. The measurements are not yet known.

3. Wine, of course, was an indispensable ingredient in a ceremony of this kind; cf. e. g. Tavadia, *op. cit.*, on the "drōn-ceremony" and the "myzard-ceremony". Sprengling's interpretation of HS as "lettuce" (ZDMG., 91, p. 666) is wide of the mark. The clear spelling HS (= *moš*) dispenses with the old explanation of this ideogram (proposed by Haug, accepted by Geiger, WZKM., xvi, p. 801, and Nyberg, MO, xvii, p. 229) from Hebrew *šole' 'moš*, explanations, however, should start from that form alone which is used in Pahlavi texts (only HSM, not from a corrupt Fāhang spelling; moreover, HS always is "wine", not "must"). *moš* measure, one should expect *h' kynk* after HS, see Hansen, *Mittelpers. Papyri*, Berlin, pp. 54 sq. Three kinds of wine are mentioned in the Pahlavi Papyri: HS i spī "white wine", HS i sužr "red wine" (Hansen: *qake*) and HS i virštak "vinum conditum" (cf. *airšy*-Pahl. Texts, I, p. 81, line 8, "to favour, or spice (wine)").

4. On the reading see BSOS, ix, p. 215, n. 4.

5. For the expression cf. e. g. Pahl. Riv. Dā, p. 90, line 9 (Dhatfar): drōn-iō i pat varšū i šō nā kunēnd.

6. The preceding passage seems to exclude the reading BRTHr.

7. This restoration is required by the meaning as well as the available space.

8. The words: ūn frumšyom lu ūn kīrāt...rōc ū rōc are meant also for the second order.

namely (1) Šāsān, the Lord (*zwaŋay*), (2) Pāpak, the King, (3) Šāpūr, the King, the son of Pāpak<sup>1</sup>, (4) Ardašīr, the first King of Kings. After them three queens are mentioned: (5) a *šahr bānbīšn*, (6) the Queen of Queens Aturanāhit, Šāpūr's chief wife, and (7) the Queen Dēnak. The latter is also mentioned in line 28; (1) Dēnak<sup>2</sup>, the mother of King Pāpak, (2) Rōtak, the mother of Ardašīr, King of Kings, (3) Dēnak, the Queen. It seems possible that this Dēnak was the mother of Šāpūr I; she would have lost the title *bānbīšnān bānbīšn* after the death of Ardašīr<sup>3</sup>. It is difficult to say what position was held by the *šahr bānbīšn* who ranks before even the ruling Queen of Queens; she might have been the (late) predecessor of Aturanāhit, possibly the mother of Ohrmizd I<sup>4</sup>.

The four sons<sup>5</sup> of Šāpūr I follow: (8) Vurhrān, Gēlānāšah, the eldest<sup>6</sup> son who apparently did not enjoy the confidence of Šāpūr. He came to the throne only after the death of his younger brother Ohrmizd. It is noteworthy that his son, Vurhrān II, is not mentioned in the inscription. The title, Gēlānāšah, is explained through the well-known passage in an oration of Claudius Mamertinus (A. D. 270): *adscitis Saccis ■ Cusis et Gollis* (restored by Marquart, *Erbsahr*, p. 36). For the territories of these three nations

1. Cf. Hasefeld, *Paikuli*, p. 26.

2. Wrongly called Rūnbīšn by Talmi's source (*Kolduke*, p. 4).

3. If this assumption should prove correct, the famous seal ■ "Dēnak, Queen of Queens" (cf. e. g. Hasefeld, *Paikuli*, p. 14) may have belonged to her; usually it is ascribed to Dēnak, wife of Yazdagird II. The name Dēnak was fairly frequent in early Sassanian times; besides the mother of Pāpak and the mother of Šāpūr, the wife of the Mōdānāh Šāpūr bears this name; a Manichaean: *Polotaky*, *Man. Hom.*, p. 59.

4. According to Hamzah (see Justi, *NB.*, s.v.), the name of the mother of Ohrmizd was Gurdādd; possibly a corruption of the name of the *šahr bānbīšn* which unfortunately is nearly illegible (Springling, *Iranica*; might be *par-*). Pirdausi's Gulnār (daughter or slave of Ardawān married by Ardašīr, called Actaduzi by Agathangelos) need not be considered.

5. See BSOI., 12, pp. 246 sqq.

6. I am now convinced that the second list ■ the sons (line 24) represents the order of the sons according to age.

were appointed the *Salānsāh*, the *Kusānsāh*, and the *Gālānsāh*. (9) Šāpūr. Mēsānsāh. He must have disappeared between the date of our inscription and the accession of Ohrmizd. It is only with considerable hesitation that I mention a possible reference to him: in the last chapter of the Persian *Jāmāspnāma* one Šāpūr, son of Šāpūr, is listed as having ruled for one year (i. e., a few days) between Šāpūr I and Ohrmizd I; if any value could be attached to this curious statement which contradicts all other sources, one might consider an unsuccessful and quickly suppressed rising on the side of Šāpūr against his brother. (10) Ohrmizd-Ardašīr = Ohrmizd I. (11) Narseh, Sakānsāh. = Narseh, King of Kings. In discussing<sup>2</sup> the fuller title given to him in line 23 I had assumed that *tīwrsšn* referred to Tokhāristān. It is, however, unlikely that Tokhāristān ever belonged to the domain of a Sakānsāh. I should, therefore, prefer to regard *tīwrsšn* as an unusual form of the name *Tūrān* (*Tōrān*, i. e., the country of the Tūrānsāh, around Quzdār)<sup>3</sup>. For *Tūrān*: *Tūristān* one might compare *Makurān*: Pahl. *Makuristān*<sup>4</sup>.

Various members of the royal family conclude this list. We may mention: (A) the chief wife of Narseh, Šāpuhrduxtak, the Sakānsāhbišn; his second (in rank) wife, Narsehduxt<sup>5</sup>, the Sakānsāhok; his daughter, Ohrmizduxtak<sup>6</sup>.

1. I have been privileged to see the forthcoming edition by Professor Muscarello in galley-proofs.

2. BSOS., ix, p. 946, n. 6.

3. Cf. ZDMG., 92, p. 7.

4. Kārnāmnak 4, 14 (not accepted by Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 32), Bundahishn, p. 26, line 9, ed. Anklesaria (read Moynist in by Christensen, *Kayankhos*, p. 32, n. 8).

5. It is, I believe, useless to attempt a determination of the exact relation of these persons merely from their names: names such as Šāpūr, Narseh, etc., were too frequently employed by the Sassanians; see also the following note.

6. I do not think that there can be any doubt that "Ohrmizduxtak, the daughter of the Sakānsāh", was the daughter of the man who throughout the inscription is referred to as Sakānsāh, i. e., Narseh. If it is established that Narseh's daughter was called Ohrmizduxtak, we can no longer conclude that the name of the father of one, e. g., Šāpūrdūxtak was Šāpūr (theophoric names such as Mithradāt constitute a different case; Ohrmizd-, it is true, is an *āgādom*).

(B) the son of Ohrmizd I, Hormizdak; if we were not told that the prince *Ormiaz*, who revolted against Varhrān II, was a brother of the then ruling king, we had to consider his identity with Hormizdak, who as the only son of Ohrmizd I had every right to the throne. (C) six sons of Šāpūr. Mēšānšāh, namely Hormizd, Hormizdak, Artābaxt, Varhrān, Šāpūr and Pērōz (*pryozy*<sup>1</sup>); his daughter, Šāpōhrduxtak. In line 29 his wife, Dēnak, the Mēšānbānbiān, is mentioned; (1) Pērōz, the Prince (BRBYT'), the brother of Šāpūr I, protector of Mani, Great Kušānšāh during the first period of Šāpūr's reign. It is clear from our inscription that the title BRBYT' = *vispuhr* was reserved for members of the royal house. A son of Pērōz, Narseh, occurs in line 30 (*nrshy ZY BRBYT' ZY pryozykn*<sup>2</sup>). According to Herzfeld, Pērōz is still mentioned in the Paikuli inscription (Parthian version line 14', C'13); however, the reading of the name (*prws* [sic])<sup>3</sup> cannot be regarded as certain. (E) Narseh, the Prince (*nrshy ZY BRBYT'*)<sup>4</sup>; brother of Šāpūr I whose daughter *Duxtnōš* (Dinawari) or *Anōšak* (Firdausi: *Nōša*) was abducted by "Daizan", the king of Hatra (see Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 36, n. 1). Immediately after Narseh the inscription names: ?*hōdixty* ZY *dixšy* ZY *'nwšky* BRTH = "Pōduxt, the virgin", the daughter of Anōšak". It seems clear that this princess was the grand-daughter of Narseh, the daughter of Anōšak and the king of Hatra<sup>5</sup>. It is noteworthy that the name of her father (who had been

1. An antiquated spelling 𐭥𐭥 Pērōz, in accord with the etymology.

2. Sprengling: *pyozšn*.

3. Cf. AMI., vii, pp. 89 sqq.

4. Sprengling's reading: 'xrmudz MLK'NMLK' W *mršrshy* ZY BRBYT' cannot, of course, be accepted. Before *mrshy* probably we have MLK'NMLK' 'MY; that suggests the restoration: [*mrshy* ZY *mrshy*], MLK'NMLK' 'MY, cf. line 28. It is true that one would not expect a person whose name is included in the first or second order to be re-mentioned in the third order; some exceptions in this rule, however, can be observed.

5. The first letter is uncertain.

6. Cf. *dixšy*, Mordtmann, ZDMG., 18, p. 29 nr. 75; Man. MPers. *šuxš*.

7. Perhaps even "Daizan's" treacherous daughter?

kiled by Šāpūr) has been suppressed. In the Paikuli inscription (line 7) one [B 9] *nrshy* [B 10] ZY BRBYT' ZY [S is mentioned; should Professor Herzfeld's restitution of the last word as *s'sukn* prove correct, this Narseh could not be the same person as Narseh, son of Ardašir I. For after BRBYT' a patronymic should be expected, so that BRBYT' ZY *s'sukn* would mean: "the Prince, the son of Sāsān"; "the Susanian BRBYT'" would be a tautology.

To the third order for the administration of Šāpūr's gift a condition is attached: (line 26) *'kblyt* ZY *p'tyk* ZK 'D *ptw'd't* 'ndrom' PWN 'LH'n *twb'n* MNW MLK'NMLK' *prmt'y* *twb'n* YDBHWNto W *nimēsty* PWN *npity* QDM *atny* YKTYBWN YK'YMWNT YWM' 'L YWM' *'kblyt* i LHM' *g i h v* HS *p i v* "The remaining *'kblyt*, as long as there is enough left', for the souls of those persons whose souls the King of Kings has ordered to worship and who are mentioned by name in writing in (this) place, viz., day by day one *'kblyt*, bread, etc.". It is clear that secondary importance only is attached to the persons mentioned after those words. There are three lists: (I) MNW QDM *p'pky* MLK' YHWWN (26/27), (II) MNW QDM *'rthstr* MLK'NMLK' YHWWN (27), (III) MNW QDM *šhpwhry* MLK'NMLK' YHWWN (29), i. e., "the persons who were before (= served under) (I) Pāpak, (II) Ardašir I. (III) Šāpūr I."

Eight persons only are mentioned as assistants of Pāpak; the last two are *šhpwhry* Zy *wyenyk'n* and *šhpwhry*

1. The Pæthian version is incomplete (line 6: A'11 nearly illegible; line 14'15': C'14 illegible, C'1 a lacuna before *s'sukn*).

2. A curious explanation of these words (*pātar-dāt-andar-im*, "those who to me are within the father-law") has been offered by Sprengling (I, pp. 141 sq.).

3. For the correct interpretation of the last three words, see Nyberg, ZDMG, III, p. 669.

4. *ptw'd* = *patu-* "to suffice"; cf. *patūian*: *patūy* and *patūik*. 'ndrom "no long (as)" was known from Manichaean texts, see Andreas-Hauninger, *Mit. Mus.*, p. 837, cf. *Mit. Mus.*, I, p. 202: *d' ... 'ndrom*.

5. Sprengling: *wyēkyk'n*.

*Zy mlhwn'n* "Šāpūr, of the family Vēžan"<sup>1</sup>, and "Šāpūr, the son of Mihrōžan"<sup>2</sup>. Whilst we can fairly assume that the assistants of Pāpak belonged to the aristocracy of the province of Pārs, we find a much more varied list given for the officers who served under Ardašīr and Šāpūr. The members of the great Parthian families (Sūren, etc.) appear for the first time under Ardašīr; they are listed in strict order, after members of the royal family, and before a number of governors of provinces, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Amongst the members of the royal family enumerated in List II (Ardašīr) we find three sons<sup>4</sup> of Ardašīr I, all of them also named Ardašīr, as rulers of Marv<sup>5</sup>, Kirmān and Sakastān (Marvšāh, Kirmānšāh, Sakānšāh); the last Sasanian mentioned is Pāpak, the Hazārūpat (Chiliarch). This Pāpak held the important office of Hazārūpat still under Šāpūr I (at the time of the Paikuli inscription one Ardašīr has this rank, line 16 = C 9): he occurs again at the end of the enumeration of Sasanians in List III, followed only by the Aspapet<sup>7</sup> Pūšai<sup>8</sup>. Under Šāpūr we still find Ardašīr son of Ardašīr I as Kirmānšāh, whilst Šāpūr's son Narseh had become Sakānšāh, and the modest *Marršāh*

1. Sprengling: *mlhwn'n*.

2. Justi, NE, p. 867; cf. also the Parthian spelling *wayn*, ZDMG., 60, p. 6; originally *Vālan* is a Parthian name.

3 = Armenian *Mchrujan*, s. Kabischmann, Arm. Gram., pp. 52 sq.

4. It is not possible to give a full discussion of all the names and titles here; a few points only shall be made. In the following the abbreviation "List II" is used for the list of persons serving under Ardašīr, and "List III" for the list of persons under Šāpūr.

5. Probably; we know only of Kirmānšāh Ardašīr that he was a son of Ardašīr I (Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 10; cf. Sprengling ZDMG., 91, p. 670).

6. See Sprengling, *ibid.*, p. 672.

7. Corrected by Sprengling from *mapet* = *aspapet* (= Armenian *azpet*, Hübnermann, *ibid.*, p. 109) was the title of the Bagratids; one might consider whether Pūšai was not a Bagratid rather than a Sasanian; however, a Bagratid of this name is not known (see the genealogical tree, Justi p. 417). One might be inclined to regard *šhpēkry ZY šnylkn*, "špār, the son of Šambir" as an Armenian nobleman (cf. Justi, p. 814).

8. Sprengling *pr(š)ard(y)*. The name Pūšai, *prady*, borne by a Kāran, occurs in line 28 (Sprengling: *ʾr(š)ard(y)*). See Justi, p. 256.

had been replaced by the *Great Kušānšāh*. It is, however, curious that no Kušānšāh or holder of an equivalent office is mentioned under Šāpūr; we have to assume either that Varhrān combined the office of Gēlānšāh with that of Kušānšāh and that his title in line 24 was abbreviated, or (less likely) that the hold of the Sasanian rule over the north-eastern provinces was so precarious at the time of the inscription that no Kušānšāh had been appointed<sup>1</sup>. Two otherwise unknown brothers of Ardašīr I are enumerated in List III: Vardāxš (?), the Prince, the son of Pāpak, and Sāsān, the Prince, the son of Pāpak<sup>2</sup>. Further on, Narseh, the Prince, the son of Zāmasp<sup>3</sup>, and Šāpūr, the Bitaxš.

The first place amongst the princes in List III is taken by 'rthštr ZY mthštrkn MLK', 'Ardašīr, the King of Nwthštrkn, or Nrthštrkn'. This name is apparently an abbreviation of *Nwtrthštrkn* = *Nūt-Artaxšādrakān* = *Nūt-Artaxširakan* in the Armenian Geography (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. III, nr. 10 + 11, note g) = Armenian *Norširakan* = *Nūt-Ardašīrān* (Arab. Hist.), i. e., the Sasanian name of Adiabene. The combination and restoration of the last-mentioned three forms of the name is due to Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, pp. 81 sq., 105. This Ardašīr, King of Adiabene, may have been another of Ardašīr I's innumerable sons; it is also possible that the town Hazzu took its new name *Nūt-Ardašīr*<sup>4</sup> (from which the name of the province of Adiabene is derived) from him, not from Ardašīr I. A British Museum seal (Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, 31, pp. 583

1. It will be necessary to introduce several modifications into the chronological scheme proposed by Herzfeld for the Kushano-Sasanian coins.

2. Reading (p'p'kn) uncertain.

3. - Sprengling: *Ṛd'štrpāq'nykn*; the first five letters are probably *r'masp* (cf. Justi, p. 109; Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 179: III, 1, p. 57).

4. For *Nūt* cf. *Nūt-Frnbāg* = *Nūt-Fornbāg* and *Nūt-štrpāq'nykn* = *Nūt-štrpāq'nykn*, Horn, *ZDMG.*, 44, p. 655, nr. 493 and 676, plate III. Possibly connected with Bogdian 'nūt- "refuge" (cf. Henning, *Beichtbuch*, p. 96). Cf. also Justi, p. 277, s. v. *Nawdāgān*?



sqq., nr. 1; Horn, ZDMG., 44, p. 663, nr. 567, plate Ib; Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 80, nr. 11; Herzfeld, AMI., VII, p. 20, with the correct reading except for one minor point) bears the inscription: *glmykn W mērtbštrkn hm'ltly* "The Hamārukār (finance minister) of Garamaea and Nōrsirakan". At this opportunity I should like to mention the seal of another *Hamārukār* which apparently has been overlooked so far. It is one of those very rare Sasanian seals with a Parthian legend<sup>1</sup>, now in the possession of the British Museum. Mordtmann (ZDMG., 18, p. 50, nr. v, plate vi) correctly recognised the characters as Parthian, whilst Horn (ZDMG., 44, p. 658, nr. 559, plate Ia, an excellent photograph) read them as Pahlavi. The second word of the legend is clearly *'hm'rkr*, the first might be *twryš*<sup>2</sup> = *Tawrēs* (= Tabriz; Armenian *T'avrēš*, *T'avrēž*).

The following order is maintained for the heads of the "Great Families", (etc.), who were the most important officers of State after the royal clan: Warāz — Sūrēn — Awandikān Xwatāy — Kāren. We have under Ardašīr: Dihēn, the Warāz; Sāsān, the Sūrēn; Sāsān, the Awandikān<sup>3</sup> Xwatāy. Pōsai and Gōk<sup>4</sup>, Kāren. Under Šāpūr we have: Ardašīr, the Warāz; Ardašīr, the Sūrēn; Narseh, the Awandikān<sup>5</sup> Xwatāy; Ardašīr, the Kāren. That Warāz was the name of a (Parthian) family (or clan) is quite clear from our inscription. Ardašīr, the Sūrēn, is also mentioned in the Paikuli inscription, line 16 = 15'

1. According to Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 77, only two Sasanian seals with Parthian inscriptions were known; the *Šmāzkar* seal is not included in this number. Two further seals with Parthian legend: Mordtmann, ZDMG., 18, p. 49, nr. 11 (certain) and p. 50, nr. iv (most likely), both on pl. vi.

2. Only *trš* is certain. The reading *twryš* is, of course, not very likely; one would rather expect a personal name on a seal of this type.

3. Sprengling: 'r(w)šr(w)r'n (line 28). *'wrdykn* can represent: Awand'kdu, Awand-, Ond-, Und-, Ond-, Und-; connexion with Andikān (personal name, cf. Hübnermann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 18) is not very probable; a suitable geographical term is not known to me. Andikān is out of the question.

4. Also line 24; hypocoristic form of a name containing *gō*.

5. Sprengling: 'w(r)šdykn, "possibly: 'w(r)šdykn" (line 30)

(C' 4); we find also one Ohrmizd, the Warāz<sup>1</sup>, in Paikuli (line 7' [= A' 3] ■ wr'z; cf. line 16 = C 11), but he has lost the first place which now is in the hands of Šūrēn. Of other families we have one Spāhpet under Ardašīr (none, however, under Šāpūr): Raxš, the Spāhpet; he occurs soon after the second Kāren. The same person, or rather a descendant of this Raxš with the same name, is mentioned in Paikuli, line 7' (= A' 1) and line 17 (C 2/3) = 15' (C' 9)<sup>2</sup>. Also one Mihrān occurs, under Šāpūr, but still in a very modest position: Arštāt<sup>3</sup>, the secretary, the Mihrān from Ray<sup>4</sup> (line 33). That the seat of the family Mihrān was in Ray, was known before; A(r)štāt was a current name amongst the Mihrān, cf. Aštāt, father of Yazdgušnasp (under Pērōz, cf. Justi, p. 47). Furthermore, it seems that one Zik, too, is mentioned (line 29, under Ardašīr): ... ZY blwsk'n' ZY sk ■ zy nplk'n = "... the son of BLWŠK, the Zik, the NPLK'N". The spelling *sky* = *Zik* (with short *i*) is not excluded by other sources (cf. Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., p. 41; Justi, p. 385). A Zik as ambassador of Ardašīr to Ardawān: Greek Agathangelos, p. 6, lines 75 and ult.,

1. A different explanation is given by Hiersfeld.

2. Under Ardašīr one person only is mentioned between the second Kāren and the Spāhpet, his name 'parr'n (cf. also line 32) reminds one of *Apurāṣṣa*, one of the highest officers of State under Ardašīr (see Nöldeke, Tabari, pp. 9, 21; cf. Christensen, 'L' Iran sous les Sassanides', p. 101, n. 2), who could hardly have been left out from the list in our inscription. Although the form of the name *Apurāṣṣa* is well attested (Arm. *šprows*, Man. *šperr*, etc.), one could assume a fluctuation of final *n* and *r* after long *a* (as in several other cases); the homonym word for "balm" may have influenced the name.

3. 'ršt't; Sprengling: 'šrt.

4. Sprengling: "the secretary ■ Mihran who is ■ the Raxš" (I, p. 142).

■ Sprengling: *plw(r)sk'n*. The same patronymic occurs a few words before: *Mtrhst ZY blwsk'n* (18) = *Mitršwāt*, son of BLWŠK (Barwask ?); *Mitršwāt* also in line 33, ■. *Nāmg wāt*, Arm. *Yastāyast* (Markwart, Ung. Jbh., vii, p. 112) etc.; cf. also Justi, p. 305.

6. NPLK'N cannot be regarded as patronymical name, because BLWŠK'N already indicates the father's name. Arm. *Zik arwāh(a)pet* cannot be compared. NPLK'N, ■ = *nifārolān*, could perhaps represent the Parthian form of *šperr* *nifārolān*, Arm. *nifārolān*, etc. (Nöldeke, Tabari, pp. 152 sq.; Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., pp. 57 sq.) ?

Act. Greg. Arm., p. 91, line 44 (ed. Lagarde). It seems possible that we have the name of a Persian family in 'duyh (Ainik?): under Pāpak (line 27), under Ardašīr (line 28) and under Šāpūr (line 31). Members of the Sasanian clan who are too distantly related to be regarded as belonging to the royal family have *s'nykn* = Sāsānīkān after their name (lines 33, 34; for *s'pātū*, cf. Justi, p. 287), cf. *Σασανιαν*, Gr. Agathangelos, p. 5, line 37. Beside Sāsānīkān, we have Sāsānukān in Parthian (Paikuli, line 37', F' 8) and in Armenian (Hübischmann, Arm. Gr., p. 72).

We had seen that both in the second and third lists an Awandīkān Xwatāy ('*wndykn MRWHY*') is enumerated between the Sūrēn and the Karen. This title already is known from the Paikuli inscription, Parthian version, line 22 (p. 106): '*wndykn lctcy*'. Probably it is to be restored also in the Pahlavi version of Paikuli, line 8, B 2: [*wnd*] *ykn MRWHY*?. Herzfeld's explanation of the title as "Lord of Avanti" cannot be maintained any longer. It was, perhaps, not very likely that a king of Avanti, in the heart of India, ever should have acknowledged the Sasanian king as his suzerain; that he should appear as one of the highest officers of the Sasanian State under Ardašīr I, is quite impossible. At the end of the Paikuli inscription a great number of MRWHY's is mentioned, most of whom Professor Herzfeld has attempted to identify with Indian or Saka rulers. For instance, he takes the *xw'dcyn MRWHY* (line 46 = H 7) as King of Surāstra, assuming *xw'd-* to be an imperfect rendering of a Prakrit form of Surāstra. But according to the rules of Pahlavi orthography, *xw'd-* indicates the ending *-āy* not *-ā* + dental. We may, perhaps, get a clue to the right direction where we should look for

1. Might also be title, etc.

2. Herzfeld's restoration of the passage (Wahrānīkān Xwatāy) has not convinced me.

3. Cf. also Herzfeld, AMI., vii, p. 81. The equation Pahlavi *xw'dcyn* = Parthian *surdān* is rather doubtful. For *xw'd-* one might consider Armenian *Dro(gh)* the region around Bitlis, see Hübischmann, Indogerm. Forsch., vol. xvi, p. 447.

rulers such as the *zwl'dcyn* MRWHY from the legend of a seal which, as far as I know, has not been utilized for the solution of this problem: Mordtmann, ZDMG., 18, pp. 15 sq., nr. 25, plate ii: *gwsky ZY mwks'dcyn MRWHY* = "Gēsak<sup>1</sup>, the Lord (šāxan) of Moqsāy", i. e., obviously Syriac (*Bēth*) Moqsāyē, Armenian *Mokk'*, to the south of the Van lake<sup>2</sup>.

Amongst the numerous persons, who are mentioned as faithful servants of Šāpūr, Kartēr<sup>3</sup>, the Ēhrpat (*krtyr ZY 'yhrpt*, line 38) merits attention. This, of course, is the man to whom we owe such a great number of Pahlavi inscriptions (Naqš-i Rājab, Naqš-i Rostam, etc.). He occurs also in the Paikuli inscription, Parthian version, line 15' (= C' 6): *krtyr 'hrmzd mgy [pty]*. These words should not be translated: "The Kartēr Ohrmizd, the Magupat" (as if Ohrmizd were his name), but "Kartēr, the Magupat of Ohrmizd", i. e., of King Ohrmizd I. We know from his own inscriptions (particularly Naqš-i Rājab, lines 27-30), that Kartēr received from Šāpūr I the title "Kartēr, the Magupat and Ēhrpat"<sup>4</sup>, from Ohrmizd I and Varhrān I the title "Kartēr, the Magupat of Ohrmizd"<sup>5</sup>, and from Varhrān II the title "Kartēr, the Magupat of the late Varhrān and (?) Ohrmizd"<sup>6</sup>. In our inscription at least, Kartēr is clearly used as a personal name; still it is possible that originally was an honorary title.

1. Scythian *Gōsakes* (Jushi, p. 118; W. Miller, *Osnestich*, p. 6); Arm. *gēsak* "informer", etc. (cf. also Schneider *Iranica*, p. 5).

2. *Lšwm'n MRWHY* (Paikuli, line 46 = H 11) probably "the Lord of Lšāom" in Garamaea. I should much prefer to identify *mwk'n* (MRWHY, *ibid.*, line 6) with Māqān, Armenian Mukan (cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 125).

3. On the original meaning of this word, see BSOS., ix, p. 84; cf. *krtyr* in our inscription, line 38: *krtyr šyghrpt* on a seal, Mordtmann, ZDMG., 18, p. 27, nr. 154, plate I, cf. Jushi, p. 168. See also Polotsky's suggestion, *Man. Hamit.*, p. 45, n. 2. I withdraw my explanation of C' 6: *Kardel* now and accept Polotsky's identification with Kartēr.

4. *krtyr ZY mgypt W'yhrpt*. 5. *krtyr ZY 'whrmzdy mgypt* (= Paikuli).

6. *krtyr ZY wghthd'n wdr'n Zy 'whrmzdy mgypt*, *ibid.* "K of the late V., the M. of Q." (possibly by mistake?): this passage might favour the interpretation "Magupat of (God) Ohrmizd".

The Dapirpet Ohrmizd (line 33), whose son Ohrmizd is enumerated immediately before himself, was known from a Manichaean fragment, see ZDMG., 90, p. 9. In *wyriod* (line 34) we have a good example of the proper Pahlavi spelling of the ending *-ōy*, *-ōi* to which Nöldeke had devoted a careful study (Pers. Stud., I, pp. 4 sqq.); we had seen that the ending *-ai* (Nöldeke, *ibid.*, pp. 29 sqq.) is spelt *-dy* (e. g., *pwedy* = *Pūsai*, see above); for *wyriod* = *Wērōy* cf. *wyriod* ZY *whun'm* BRH = "Wērōy, the son of Wahunām" (seal: Mordtmann, ZDMG., 29, p. 206, nr. 18; see Justi, p. 366), Persian *Vārōy*, Arm. *Viroy* (Justi, p. 371).

At the end of these notes I should like to draw attention to a person of whom, I believe, we possess *two* seals. His name is *gundply* ZY *'diok'n* "Gundafarr, the son of 'DWK" (line 31). In his second article on Sasanian seals (ZDMG., 29) Mordtmann published a seal with the legend *gundply* ZY *dpwyr* ZY HDYWY BRH = Gundafarr, the secretary, the son of HDYW (p. 207, nr. 17); the correct reading and arrangement of the legend has been found by Horn (see Justi, p. 369; rejected by Justi, additions opp. p. xxvi). It has, however, not been recognised that on the same plate Mordtmann has published another seal of the same man, p. 210, nr. 33, *gundply* ZY *dpwyr* ZY HDWNY BRH = Gundafarr, the secretary, the son of HDWN (Mordtmann's drawing is not satisfactory; an erroneous reading is given by Justi, p. 248, nr. 23, and additions opp. p. xxvi)<sup>1</sup>. There can be little doubt that HDYWY and HDWNY are both misreadings of the same name, viz., 'DWKY.

1. I do not know the present whereabouts of these two seals. I regret to have overlooked that the proposal to connect MPers. *hapōr* etc. with Arm. *habyr'* (BSOS., ix, p. 244, n. 2) had been made before by Professor Hasefeld, AML., vii, p. 61 n.; for *apōr*, etc., see Beichtbuch, p. 106, and compare the spelling *hdy't* (seal: Mordtmann, ZDMG., 21, p. 508, nr. 9). I accept Salerni's combination of MPers. *hamys* with OPers. *hamišt'ya*-now (against my former proposal: Skt. *sepmiśa*). OPers. should be read *hamišt'ya*: MPers. *hammīs*, later *hāmīs* (cf. *pāwuy*), still later *hāmīst* (*hāmīst*) with unsystematical *t*; Parthian *hmyr* = *hammīr* from *hammīkr*, Sogdian *hmyr* (see Beichtbuch, p. 111; BSOS., ix, p. 235, n. 1).



## THE INSCRIPTION OF FIRUZABAD

### I

The<sup>1</sup> Pahlavi inscription at the ruins of the Sassanian bridge near Firuzabad was discovered by the late Professor Herzfeld in 1924. The bridge and the inscription are quite close to the relief of the divine investiture of Ardashir, on the right bank of the river in the mountain-gorge leading into the plain of Firuzabad. A mile or so below, on the same bank, there is the famous relief of Ardashir which depicts his victory over Ardavan; a mile or so upstream, on the opposite bank, there are the ruins of Qal'eh-i Dukhtar, the great fortress which Ardashir built to cover the entry into the plain of Firuzabad, where he had his capital and where the ruins of his palace can still be admired to-day. In short, the whole neighbourhood is a gigantic memorial to the founder of the Sassanian state; Herzfeld's announcement<sup>2</sup> that the inscription on the bridge was by Abursām, the Vuzurgframadār or chief minister of Ardashir, thus caused no surprise.

Herzfeld never published the text of the inscription. We owe its publication to the enterprise of Dr. Ghirshman, who, a few years ago, gave a full report on Firuzabad and included in it his reading of the inscription as well as a photograph of it.<sup>3</sup> In his reading, Dr. Ghirshman gave the name of Abursām in the place where one would expect to find it, that is to say in the middle of the first line after the words "this bridge"; the inscription thus began "This bridge was ordered to be built by Abursām, the Vuzurgframadār . . .". Dr. Ghirshman did not indicate that the reading of the name of Abursām, which had already been claimed by Herzfeld, was in any way subject to doubt.

As mentioned above, Dr. Ghirshman's report carried a photograph of the inscription. This photograph, however good in the circumstances, was not entirely satisfactory in every respect. Far be it from me to blame Dr. Ghirshman for its quality: on the contrary, as one who has inspected the inscription *in situ*, I have nothing but admiration for anyone capable of taking a photograph at all in a situation where one risks breaking one's neck, or being drowned, in equal measure. However, it is a fact that the name of the man who

<sup>1</sup> The first part of this article is a paper (unchanged except for trifles) presented to the Twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists (Istanbul, September, 1951).

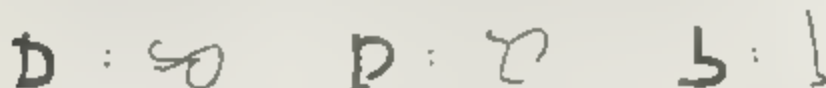
<sup>2</sup> *ZDMG*, 80 (1926), p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Firūzābād*. Extrait du *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. xlv, Cairo, 1947.



built the bridge is invisible in Dr. Ghirshman's photograph; owing to a slight overhang in the rock, the place where the name stands is partially in shade.

The photograph, of which Dr. Ghirshman kindly sent me an improved copy, was thus incapable of confirming the presence of the name of Ardashir's chief minister. In studying it, I was able to improve the reading in several points; but most of all was I struck by the shapes of the letters, and gradually it was borne in on me that the attribution of the inscription to Abursām was, for reasons of palaeography, impossible, in spite of appearances and in spite of the assurances of two scholars, among them one of the eminence Herzfeld could rightfully claim. The heavy, almost uncouth letters of the inscription bear little resemblance indeed to the elegant and spirited forms familiar from the inscriptions of the third century. Comparison with the legends of the Sassanian coins compels us to attribute the inscription to the fifth century, or to the end of the fourth century at the earliest. Three characteristic letters (*m*, *t*, and *l*) are shown here, together with their earlier counterparts:—



When, thanks to a generous invitation by the Iranian Government, I was granted the opportunity of a prolonged stay in Southern Persia in 1950, I was determined to do all I could to find out to whom the inscription in fact belonged. At the beginning of my stay I had paid a rapid visit to Firuzabad, chiefly for social purposes, but the second visit, which was to be devoted to serious work, refused to materialize for a long time. In the end I sent a trained man from Persepolis to Firuzabad with instructions to take a latex impression of the inscription, which he duly did. Those who have had experience with latex need not be told that in almost all cases the study of an impression is that material is a great deal more fruitful than even a prolonged inspection of the actual inscription.

It now emerged that owing to weathering only feeble traces remained of the personal name in the first line. The only letters which the impression showed reasonably clearly were two, *Wāw* and *Kāf*, near the middle of the name, and these two, representing something like *-ūk-*, were preceded by a partially preserved letter which was either *Nūn* or *Tāw*. The name thus should have contained either *-nūk-* or *-tūk-*; but, however hard I tried, I could not think of a name that fulfilled this condition and at the same time fitted the weak traces of the remaining letters. The one certain point was that the name was not that of Abursām.

The failure to read the correct name vexed me, and, although the season was too far advanced to permit work in reasonably comfortable conditions, I made up my mind to go again to Firuzabad to see whether face to face the inscription could be persuaded to yield its secret. There is no need for des-

cribing my experiences and the various efforts I made to read the letters of the name; Dr. Ghirshman has alluded, in his report, to the physical discomfort which an inspection of the inscription involves. Suffice it to say that I retired from the scene defeated. It is true, I had now acquired a second latex impression, which was even better than the first, and a truly admirable photograph taken by Mr. Rustami, the photographer of the Archaeological Museum in Tehran; but, beyond confirming the results previously reached, the reading of the inscription had not been advanced in even the slightest way.

It was only long after my return to London that one day, looking again at the impressions, I suddenly realized the mistake I had made all through, and suddenly saw the true name as a whole. My mistake lay in taking the letter *Kaf* for granted, without considering that it might in fact be a *Nūn*, as indeed it was; for these two letters are often indistinguishable when their upper parts are not clearly visible. And the whole name was that of Mihr-Narseh, *MTRNRSHY*,<sup>1</sup> that one ought to have expected from the beginning, as soon as one attributed the inscription to the fifth century; for Mihr-Narseh was the Vuzurgframadār of the fifth century. The traces in the first line fit perfectly with this reading.

Some time later I noticed, with feelings of consternation mixed with pleasure, that the name *Mihr-Narseh* occurred a second time in this brief inscription, at the end of the fourth line, in a passage that previously had not been clear. The sentence in which it is found is this: "Whoever has come on this road, let him give a blessing to Mihr-Narseh and his sons, for that *■* thus bridged this crossing". Here the reading of the name is absolutely certain, so that no doubt remains that the bridge and the inscription are the work of Mihr-Narseh.

Mihr-Narseh was among the leading statesmen of Sassanian history. As the chief minister to three successive kings, Yazdegerd I, Bahrām Gōr, and Yazdegerd II, he dominated the history of the first half of the fifth century. Abroad he was hated and feared as the arch-enemy of Christendom, but in his own country he was praised as a great benefactor. And nowhere were his public works more numerous and noteworthy than in the district of Firuzabad, where he had been born and where he made his home. The famous fire-temples he built for his own memory and for the memory of his sons,<sup>2</sup> re-discovered and identified by Herzfeld<sup>3</sup> and M. Godard,<sup>4</sup> can still be seen in near-by Gire. Thanks to this inscription, incidentally the only known Sassanian inscription of the fifth century, we can now give him due credit for the bridge, of which *■* was so proud.

<sup>1</sup> The clearly visible letters, therefore, are *-TRN-* (= *-TWN-*, *W* and *R* being identical in shape).

<sup>2</sup> Who, characteristically, are referred to also in our inscription.

<sup>3</sup> *ZDMG.* 80 (1926), p. 256; *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 111 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Āthār-e Irān*, III (1938), pp. 169-173.

## II

The inscription has suffered by erosion, especially in the first, sixth, and seventh lines. The whole surface is pitted, which makes it often difficult to recognize the letters. It may be largely due to this circumstance that Dr. Ghirshman's readings<sup>1</sup> differ so considerably from ours.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- (1) ZNH pichly (m)trn(rshy) (ZY) (L)B'
- (2) plm't' hōb'n ZY NPŠH fdy
- (3) MN ŠBW ZY NPŠH plm't' bshy
- (4) MN(W) PWN ZNH f'ry Y'TWN mt(r)nrsh(y)
- (5) 'Pi plēndyn 'plyny '(y)no 'BYDWN
- (6) '(Y)K(f) [ZNH] (w)tyl KN bty 'Pi
- (7) '(D) (y)s(d')n hō(yb')l mshy W KDB' BYN L'YTY

TRANSLATION<sup>3</sup>

This bridge was built by the order of Mihr-Narseh, the Vuzurgframadār, for the benefit of his soul, at his own expense. Whoever has come on this road, let him give a blessing to Mihr-Narseh and his sons for that 𐭠 thus bridged this crossing. And while God gives help, wrong and deceit there shall be none therein.

## NOTES

Line 3.—The phrase MN ŠBW ZY NPŠH equals the earlier MN NPŠH BYT' (inscr. of Bih-Shabur, see BSOS. ix, 825 n.4) or PWN NPŠH BYT' (Kartir Ka'beh 15 and 16), which continue Achaemenian usage (cf. *mn byt'ay* by Artān Documents, vi 𐭠).

Line 5.—*plēndyn* resembles Manich.-Parth. *frayndyn* in its ending, Pahl. Psalter *plēndun* in 𐭠 spelling.

Line 6.—KN "thus" may have been corrected into K'N "now", by the insertion of a small 'Ain.

<sup>1</sup> These are probably—for owing to Dr. Ghirshman's method of transcription no certainty is possible—as follows:—

- (1) ZNH pichly MINW 'pr'm LB'
- (2) plm't' hōb'n ZY NPŠH fdy
- (3) MN ŠBW ZY NPŠH plm't' b'f ZY
- (4) MN 'p 'L ZNH f'ry Y'TWN mō (YHMTWN)
- (5) 'Pi plē dē spl . . . 'BYDWN
- (6) 'Pi . . . . . (b'ly) 'Pi
- (7) . . .

<sup>2</sup> (Uncertain or damaged letters), [restored letters].

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Ghirshman gave the following version: ceci est le pont qu' Abharsām vuzurg-framādār, pour son âme (et) avec sa propre fortune ordoons (de construire). (Le rocher) de la rive qui de l'eau sortait (?) sur cette route il atteignit (?) 𐭠 après avoir réalisé son oeuvre rendit le voyage . . . Puis il . . . 𐭠 rive (?) 𐭠 après . . .

Line 7.—This line presented serious difficulties. From the beginning, 'P' . . . W KDB' BYN L'YTY was clear, *im.* "and in it (or: in him) there is not . . . and falsehood". The intervening words seemed to read:—

'D ZK 'nhdmrty,

with dubious word-division and with a doubt about K, which, as is always the case *im.* a bad patch, might *im.* D in fact.<sup>1</sup> No such words as 'nhdmrty, 'nhd, or hdmrty are known. Now *mrty* by itself would make an excellent pair with KDB' "lie, falsehood, deceit"; for that word, originally "complained of" = "object of complaint", normally means "a deed of violence, an act of tyranny or iniquity"; but this leaves us with 'nhd, which *im.* unaccountable. Only after repeated efforts, extending over several years, did I notice that some letters had been inserted above the line, over hdmr. There is a fairly clear l, which stands between *mr* and the right-hand loop of the t in *mrty* (line 6); and this is preceded by b' (feeble traces) or probably yb' (y immediately above the beginning of h). The whole group, yb'l, doubtless forms a word with hd, *viz.* hdyb'l "helper".<sup>2</sup> The remaining group 'n must then *im.* read together with the apparent ZK, recte zd, as zd'n, which is readily completed as yad'n.<sup>3</sup> The resulting phrase:—

'D yad'n hdyb'l,

which is idiomatic Pahlavi, means "until so long as God (is) the helper". The principal "act *im.* iniquity and falsehood" apprehended by Mihr-Narsch *im.* presumably the unlawful levying of a toll. The whole concluding sentence, although formally a statement, is nevertheless a wish or hope *im.* meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BSODS. xiv, 508.

<sup>2</sup> This insertion accounts for the blotchy appearance of the letters beneath it.

<sup>3</sup> Spelt as in the Pahl. Psalter and in Book Pahlavi; cf. hdb'l, cf. hdb'r, BSOS. ix, 844 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> A trace of y- can still be seen.



## EIN UNBEACHTETES WORT IM AWESTA

Es ist erstaunlich, wie viele dunkle Awestastellen sich durch reine Interpretation des Textes aus sich selbst erhellen lassen. Die ersten Paragraphen des Farvardīn-Yasht (Yt. 13, 2—4) bieten ein hübsches Beispiel:

*āyham raya xʰarənahkača vīdāraēm, Zərəθuštra, dom asmanəm:  
yō wəta rauxānō frūdərəsrō  
yō imām tām dēa pairiēa vūda mənaym ahe yaša vī aēm  
yō hištūte mainyu.šū tō . . .  
yim mazdā vate vaḡhanəm . . .  
yāhmāi nōiṣ zahmāi naēmanəm karəna pairi.vəšnōiθe.*

In H. Lommels Übersetzung<sup>1</sup> wird diese Stelle folgendermaßen wiedergegeben:

„Durch deren Pracht und Glanz habe ich, o Zarathuštra,  
jenen Himmel ausgebreitet,  
der oben leuchtend strahlt,  
der bis zu dieser Erde hin und um sie herum reicht gerade wie ein Haus;  
er, der von guten Geistern aufgestellt dasteht . . .  
Den der Weise . . . angelegt hat als einen . . . Mantel,  
an dem von niemand die beiden Enden der Hälften gesehen werden.“

Schon beim Lesen dieser Übersetzung muß einem die im dem Auftauchen eines die Serie der Relativsätze unterbrechenden Demonstrativa liegende Unstimmigkeit auffallen („ . . . er, der . . . dasteht“). In der letzten mir bekannt gewordenen Behandlung der Stelle, der von H. W. Bailey<sup>2</sup>, ist sie noch besonders unterstrichen:

“By reason of their wealth and good things, I held apart<sup>3</sup>,  
O Zoroaster, that sky,  
which is aloft, bright, conspicuous,  
which surrounds this earth, as if it were a castle,  
this sky<sup>4</sup>, which exists placed in the invisible world . . . .”.

Die angenommene Abfolge, *dom asmanəm yō . . . aēm yō . . .*, ist in der Tat aus mehreren Gründen unerträglich. Zunächst kommt es, wie oben angedeutet, bei den für

<sup>1</sup> Die Yāst's des Awesta (1927), p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books (1943), p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Für das Verständnis von *vīdāra-ya-* sollte das daraus abgeleitete soghdische *vīdēr-* „ordnen, berichten, anpassen“ (vgl. F. Weller, Monumenta Serica, 11, 1937, pp. 370 sq.; meine „Soghdica“, p. 62; Gershevitch, Gramm. Manich. Sogd., § 219) herangezogen werden.

<sup>4</sup> Von mir gesperrt.

die Yashta so charakteristischen Häufungen von sich  $\text{am}$  ein vorausgehendes Hauptwort anschließenden Relativsätzen niemals vor, daß inmitten der Serie einem der Relativpronomina ein korrelatives Demonstrativ voranstünde. Ferner müßte die Form von  $\text{aem}$ , das doch ein Nominativ wäre, während das Satzgefüge sinngemäß nur einen Akkusativ zuließe, grammatischer Nachlässigkeit zugeschrieben werden. Und schließlich wäre  $\text{aem}$  durchaus das falsche Pronomen; denn im awestischen (und ebenso im altpersischen) Sprachgebrauch entspricht dem Gegensatz zwischen dem Himmel dort oben und der Erde hienieden eben der Gegensatz zwischen den Pronominibus  $\text{ava-}$  und  $\text{aem/ima-}$ , und gerade an dieser Stelle ist eine Verletzung des Usus um so weniger annehmbar, als die übliche Wendung:  $\text{aom asmanam} \dots \text{imam} \text{zam}$  unmittelbar vorausgeht.

Man ist daher gezwungen, die ursprünglich von Geldner in Vorschlag\* und später in seiner Ausgabe in Anwendung gebrachte Abteilung der Sätze aufzugeben und  $\text{aem}$  mit den voranstehenden Wörtern zusammenzulassen; also  $\text{mānayan ahe yatha vīš aem}$ . Dies ist um so nötiger als die üblichen Übersetzungen keinen zufriedenstellenden Sinn ergeben. Bei den von Bartholomae im Altiranischen Wörterbuch col. 1123 aufgezählten mit  $\text{mānayan ahe yatha}$  oder  $\text{mānayan bā yatha}$  eingeführten Vergleichen brauchen Subjekt und Prädikat nicht wiederholt zu werden, vorausgesetzt, daß sie dem Vergleichenen und dem Vergleichenden gemeinsam zugehören; sonst aber ist ein Vergleich in allen seinen Gliedern vollständig. Man müßte daher bei unserer Stelle den Vergleichssatz auf folgende Weise auffüllen:  $\text{mānayan ahe yatha vīš (imam} \text{zam} \text{āša pairīša bōva)}$ , das wäre, auf der Basis von Lommels Übersetzung<sup>†</sup>, „gerade wie ein Haus (bis zu dieser Erde hin und um sie herum reicht)“; und das ist doch offensichtlich nicht möglich.

Wenn wir jedoch  $\text{aem}$  in den Vergleichssatz einbeziehen,  $\text{am}$  erhalten wir damit ein mögliches Ersatzwort für  $\text{imam} \text{zam}$ , so daß der vervollständigte Satz so lauten würde:  $\text{mānayan ahe yatha vīš aem (āša pairīša bōva)}$ . Hier würde also  $\text{vīš}$ , gewiß ein Nominativ, dem Himmel entsprechen, und  $\text{aem}$ , wahrscheinlich ein Akkusativ, der Erde. Die Beziehung im Bilde, zwischen  $\text{vīš}$  und  $\text{aem}$ , muß der Beziehung ähneln, die zwischen Himmel und Erde statt hat und hier durch  $\text{āša pairīša bōva}$  ausgedrückt ist; die Bedeutung eines jeden der beiden Wörter kann nur im Hinblick auf das andre festgestellt werden.

Schon lange ist man sich darüber einig, daß  $\text{vīš}$  der sonst nicht belegte Nominativ<sup>‡</sup> von  $\text{vis-}$  „königliches Haus, Clan“ sein soll; wie wir aber gesehen haben, kommt man damit nicht  $\text{am}$  Rande, ohne  $\text{aem}$  in den nächsten Paragraphen abzuschleifen und  $\text{am}$  dem Text Gewalt anzutun. Wir tun gut, uns daran  $\text{am}$  erinnern, daß in der Frühzeit der Awestaphilologie gerade die Bedeutung von  $\text{vīš}$  heiß umstritten war. Just i. z. B. nahm ein sonst nicht bekanntes Wort für „Kleid“ an<sup>§</sup>, und kein Geringerer als Geldner<sup>¶</sup> folgte ihm darin<sup>||</sup>. Das Richtige aber war schon vorher von Windisch-

\* Baxenberger Beiträge, XII (1887), p. 97 n. 2.

† Für die von H. W. Bailey angenommene Konstruktion (*as if it were a castle*) kenne ich  $\text{am}$  Awesta keine Parallele.

‡ Der allerdings in einigen Ableitungen (*vīš.šauras* etc.) erscheinen soll; siehe jedoch Duchesne-Guillemin, *Composés*, pp. 14 sq.

§ Handbuch der Zendsprache, 1864, p. 277 (2. v. u.).

¶ J. c.

|| Ursprünglich auch Bartholomae (Vorgeschichte § 175b, p. 96).



man n<sup>11</sup> gefunden worden, dem Spiegel<sup>12</sup> sich anschloß: *oīs* = „Vogel“. Diese Erklärung hat von vornherein viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich, indem *oīs* als Nominativ von *mi-* „Vogel“ auch sonst im Avesta belegt ist; und sie trifft das Richtige, weil sich eine geeignete Bedeutung für *aēm* mühelos und wie von selbst ergibt: *aēm* ist das „Ei“, auf dem der Vogel brütet, *āta pairita brāva*, das er von oben her und seitwärts liebevoll umfängt, = wie der Himmel die Erde umfängt und über ihr sozusagen brütet.

Wir dürfen uns an diesem Verständnis der Stelle nicht dadurch beirren lassen, daß für Himmel und Erde in der späteren zoroastriischen Literatur gewissermaßen das umgekehrte Bild gebraucht wird: dort wird die Welt als einem Ei ähnlich (*zāyag-dēs*) beschrieben, der Himmel gleicht dann der Schale und die Erde dem Eigelb (*zardag*) oder dem sich entwickelnden Vögelchen (*murvizag*<sup>13</sup>). Diese Darstellung, deren älteste Form auf iranischem Gebiet una bekanntlich Plutarch<sup>14</sup> bewahrt hat, ist eben nur ein anderes, wenn auch ähnliches und denselben Begriffskreis entnommenes Bild, neben dem das avestische selbständig bestehen kann: damit soll aber die Möglichkeit, daß das Bild des Farvardin Yasht<sup>15</sup> bei dem später geläufigen Pato gestanden hat, keineswegs in Abrede gestellt werden.

Zum Schluß müssen wir noch *aēm* vom sprachgeschichtlichen Standpunkte aus betrachten. *Aēm* setzt \**ayam* voraus, Nom.-Akk. von neutralem \**aya-*, der normalen avestischen Kürzung<sup>16</sup> von älterem \**āya-*<sup>17</sup>. Dies letztere ist in der Tat die Form, die H. R. Schachman als die gemein-iranische anspricht; er schrieb<sup>18</sup>: „Np. *xāya* „Ei“ = phi. *xāyak* = idg. \**dayom* hat *o* schon im Iranischen verloren, da es in keinem iranischen Dialekt erhalten ist, vgl. Horn's Neupers. Etym. Nr. 468“. ■ dieser Verallgemeinerung läßt sich ein Satz freilich nicht aufrechterhalten; denn wir wissen jetzt, daß sich in einigen wenigen Dialekten im äußersten Osten und äußersten Westen das ursprüngliche *-m-* erhalten hat (Waziri *yōmya*<sup>19</sup>; Tuliachi *ūva*<sup>20</sup>; Hār-zāndi von Gālinqaya *joa*<sup>21</sup>; für das Zentrum des iranischen Sprachgebietes hat er

<sup>11</sup> Zoroastriische Studien, 1863, p. 313.

<sup>12</sup> Kommentar über das Avesta, II, 1863, pp. 592 sq.

<sup>13</sup> S. die Stellen bei Halm, l. c., pp. 323 sq.

<sup>14</sup> „De Isido et Osiride“ III. Die Stelle (die keinesfalls Theopomp zuzuschreiben ist) läßt sich zeitlich nicht festlegen und ist auch dem Sinne nach nicht ganz klar; sie ist m. E. kaum älter als Plutarch selber. Vgl. Havenshte, The Persian Religion etc. in the chief Greek texts, 1929, pp. 100 sqq.; Bidez-Cumont, Les Mages Hellénisés, II, 1938, p. 72 n. 7, p. 76 n. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Dieses braucht nicht dahingehend verstanden zu werden, daß der Himmel (wie die spätere Kosmologie voraussetzt) die Erde auf allen Seiten (also auch von unten her) umschloß; *pairi* bedeutet hier kaum mehr als bloß seitliche Umfassung.

<sup>16</sup> Daß es sich hier um eine lautgesetzliche Kürzung handelt, steht mir seit langem fest (vgl. Trans. Phil. Soc., 1913, p. 30). Sie zeigt sich z. B. bei den Endungen *-ayd*, *-ayai* der *a*-Stämme, für die J. Kurylowicz, Indoeuropa, pp. 10 sqq. (= Comptes rendus de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Wrocław, III, 1913, Wrocław 1931) eine komplizierte Erklärung gegeben hat, der jedoch die Übereinstimmung der sanskritischen und altpersischen Formen im Wege steht.

<sup>17</sup> Ich brauche wohl kaum zu betonen, daß ich die von Darmesteter und Justi in Vorschlag gebrachte Ableitung von *opōrya* (vgl. Bartholomae, Zum air. Wb., p. 104) nicht für richtig halte.

<sup>18</sup> Persische Studien, 1893, p. 166.

<sup>19</sup> Murgessliarne, Acta Orientalia, I, 265.

<sup>20</sup> V. Müller, Tafsikie Tekst, 1930, p. 237.

<sup>21</sup> Unveröffentlicht.

sich aber durchaus bewährt<sup>22</sup>. Zudem gibt es im Awestischen selber zumindest ein anderes Wort, in dem *-aya-* ursprüngliches *-āwya-* variiert<sup>23</sup>: *ōikaya-* „Zeuge“. Seit Schaefer hier das sogdische *wiāw-* in den Gesichtskreis gezogen hat<sup>24</sup>, kann keiner Frage unterliegen, daß die ursprüngliche Form *\*wikāwya-* gewesen ist; denn sie allein vermag all die vielen Beispiele des Wortes restlos zu erklären.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. z. B. *ydt* im Khwarezmischen, einer Sprache, in der *-w-* *ll* Wortanfang regelmäßig erhalten ist.

<sup>23</sup> Für solchen Verlust von *-w-* im allgemeinen vgl. Bartholomae, *Vorgeschichte*, § 80. 9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, XV, pp. 567 sqq.

- FRANZ ALTHEIM und RUTH STIEHL: *Asien und Rom. Neue Urkunden aus sassanidischer Frühzeit*. Tübingen: Niemeyer 1952. 72 S. 32 Abb. 4 Schrifttabellen. 16,40 DM.
- DIERCKESEN: *Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen. Das Alter der Jesaja-Rolle. Neue Urkunden aus Dura-Europos*. Baden-Baden: Verl. f. Kunst u. Wiss. 1953. 90 S. 13 Taf. 27 DM.

Die beiden Werke gehören aufs engste zusammen; sie beschäftigen sich mit z. T. bisher unveröffentlichten, in orientalischen Sprachen geschriebenen Pergamenten, Ostraka, Dipinti und Inschriften aus den Dura-Europos-Funden. Im September 1951 fragte C. B. Welles an, ob F. Altheim für die mittelpersischen Pergamente einen Bearbeiter nennen könne, worauf er sich bereit erklärte, die Aufgabe selbst zu übernehmen. Nachdem Altheim anfangs O. Hansen als Sachverständigen zu Rate gezogen hatte, machte er sich Ende 1951 in Zusammenarbeit mit R. Stiehl an die Lesung und Erklärung. Die Ergebnisse dieser gemeinsamen Arbeit, die z. T. bereits nach Jahresfrist im Druck vorlagen, dürfen als sensationell bezeichnet werden.

Für das von Altheim bei der Behandlung orientalischer epigraphischer Monumente eingeschlagene Verfahren hielten diese Bücher eine Fülle von neuen Beispielen. Es kann durch nichts besser gekennzeichnet werden als durch die Geschichte der Versuche, die in Tang-i Sarvak (Elymais) gefundenen, in einer lokalen Abart des aramäischen Alphabets geschriebenen Inschriften zu entziffern.

Diesen Inschriften gilt eines der Kapitel von 'Asien und Rom' (30-34): etwa gleichzeitig hatte sich der Referent mit ihnen beschäftigt (*Asia Major* 2, 1952, 151-178); und in 'Auftreten der Hunnen' (61-68) sind die Verfasser zu dem Gegenstand zurückgekehrt. Es ergeben sich bei wenigstens einer der Inschriften (Tang-i Sarvak 2, nach meiner Nummerierung) drei verschiedene Lesungen, von denen die beiden ersten voneinander unabhängig sind:<sup>1</sup>

## TANG-I SARVAK 2

Altheim-Stiehl 1952 (A. u. R. 32)	Henning 1952 (A. M. 2, 171)	Altheim-Stiehl 1953 (Hunn. 64)
1 <i>wt š...d[...]</i>	<i>bidat' za rōny</i>	<i>bidat' zy rōny</i>
2 <i>... d ydk' ppy[q]</i>	<i>w'xyry' w'lyk'</i>	<i>w'xyry' w'lyk'</i>
3 <i>... y whfu'</i>	<i>zy bly' ly</i>	<i>zy hly' ly</i>
4 <i>wlm hpyk</i>	<i>hry n'lyb</i>	<i>hry n'lyb</i>
5 <i>'pyq ydn</i>	<i>hury'</i>	<i>hury'</i>

<sup>1</sup> Statt *š* schreibe ich *g*.

Man würde vielleicht aus Ritterlichkeit über die abenteuerlichen Verlesungen der ersten Kolumne (es handelt sich wirklich um dieselbe Inschrift!) mit Stillschweigen hinweggehen, wenn sie nicht im Tone der Gewißheit vorgebracht worden wären<sup>1</sup> und wenn sie nicht im Fortgang zu allerlei Schlussfolgerungen über die iranische Schriftgeschichte, den Ursprung des Awesta-Alphabets u. dgl. Anlaß gegeben hätten. Die 'Asien und Rom' beschließenden Schrifttabellen, in denen die mit Ausnahme des *l* durchweg falsch bestimmten Buchstaben von Tang-i Sarvak mit anderen Schriftarten verglichen werden sollen, sind für die paläographische Methode der Verfasser überhaupt charakteristisch.

Von den in den beiden Büchern zum ersten Mal veröffentlichten Pergamenten und Ostraka können hier nur die wichtigsten derer besprochen werden, die für die Leser dieser Zeitschr. von Interesse sein mögen. Zunächst Pg. 12, der Anfang eines Briefes in parthischer Sprache ('Asien und Rom', 9-19).

Die beiden ersten Zeilen werden von den Verfassern folgendermaßen übersetzt: «Von Sāsān an Ardeschir, wie der Titel und wie es erlaubt ist (im) Jahr des Wankens unter dem Kaiser Quietus P[rius?] und (im) Jahr 30, zwischen ihm und zwischen 21, und (im) Jahr des Argabedh Schähpuhr (des Älteren) . . .». Hier fällt einem zunächst die dem antiken Briefstil sonst fremde Datierungsfreudigkeit des Absenders auf; gleich auf vierfache Weise hat er das Jahr bestimmt: Tag und Monat zu nennen hat er dagegen vernachlässigt. Das 'Jahr des Wankens' zeugt von sonderbar romantischen Geschichtsbewußtsein; seine Erwähnung des Augustus Quietus liefert, dank dessen Kurzfristigkeit, ein ziemlich genaues Datum; mit dem 'Jahr des Argabedh' hat er dem Sassanidenreich die bislang dort unbekannte Institution des eponymen Beamten bescheinigt; zu tadeln aber ist er dafür, daß er bei seinen Zahlenangaben, die sich auf den persischen König Schapur I. beziehen sollen, für gut befunden hat, von Schreibern, nicht wie gemeinhin üblich in ein Jahr, sondern zwischen zwei Jahren zu datieren (für die Verfasser ergab sich freilich daraus nur ein weiteres, wertvolles Indiz). Welch ein Schatz des Interessanten ist hier aus knapp zwei Zeilen zutage gefördert worden!

Wenn man nun die Photographie des Briefes ('Asien und Rom', Abb. 1) einzieht,<sup>2</sup> erleidet man allerdings eine bittere Enttäuschung: nichts von alledem steht da zu lesen. Die von den Verfassern vorgeschlagenen und die vom Referenten für richtig gehaltenen Lesungen sind hier untereinander gesetzt:

- A.-S. *l'm wlgun lry' o lnt l'm' (2) qdm kwty*  
 H. *SLM W-SRR TSGY H(W)SRT L-MR' (2) QDM kwty*  
 A.-S. *kwytya py[ . . . ] wnt (XX) bnyh wbyh XXI wnty 'rgpt*  
 H. *KTYT wpt(mny) SLM (H)WYH 'wgun l'wun kwty*  
 A.-S. *lry 16*  
 H. *B-NPSH*

Wie man sieht, ist es den Verfassern gelungen, hier und da die Buchstaben richtig zu bestimmen; doch bis zur erfolgreichen Lesung auch nur eines einzigen ganzen Wortes haben sie es nicht gebracht (für das richtige *QDM kwty* bedanken sich die Verfasser bei O. Hansen). Typisch für ihr Verfahren ist die Entzifferung des Kaisernamens Quietus, *Kwytya*, aus dem allerdings seltenen Worte *KTYT*, mit Hilfe einer Verlesung und der

<sup>1</sup> «Nun der Text der Inschrift, soweit wir ihn mit Sicherheit lesen konnten» ('Asien und Rom', 32). In 'Aufreten der Hunnen' (61) wird kurz gesagt: «Demgegenüber ziehen wir unsern Versuch . . . zurück».

<sup>2</sup> C. B. Welles stellte mir gütigerweise Originalabzüge der auch F. Altheim übermittelten Photographien zur Verfügung, wofür ich ihm auch hier meinen Dank aussprechen möchte.

<sup>3</sup> Bis zum Ende der zweiten Zeile, angefangen von der Stelle in der Mitte der ersten Zeile, wo m. E. die Nennung des Adressaten ihr Ende erreicht.

Hinzunahme der ersten beiden Buchstaben des nächsten Wortes, *tesfermay* (*tespāsamay*). Statt einer Datierung enthalten die Zeilen in Wahrheit bloß eine ausführliche, überaus höfliche Grußformel: 'Heil und Kraft in Menge schicke ich dem Herrn; möge bei dem Herrn Heil sein, unverrückbar auf alle Zeit, ganz so wie es dem Herrn selber (erwünscht ist ...)'. Das Interessante ist hier, daß die Formel, dem Sinne wie dem Wortlaut nach, aus der Praxis der achämenidischen Kanzlei bekannte Vorbilder fortsetzt: die ersten Worte finden sich genau so bereits im 3. vorchristl. Jh.<sup>1</sup>

Unbedingt Besprechung erheischen die hunnischen Namen, das Kernstück des zweiten der hier anzudeutenden Bücher. Durch geheimnisvolle Anspielungen auf das Vorkommen türkischer, a priori hunnischer, Namen in dem aus der Mitte des 3. Jh. stammenden Dura-Europos-Material hatte F. Altheim in den letzten Jahren bei den an der Geschichte der spätantiken Welt interessierten Gelehrten mehrfach Spannung erregt; denn wenn Hunnen an der Ostgrenze des Römischen Reiches bereits um 250 n. Chr. nachgewiesen werden können, dann muß ein gutes Stück der Weltgeschichte neu geschrieben werden. In der Tat hat Altheim auch keineswegs gezögert, aus seiner Entdeckung die sich ergebenden Konsequenzen zu ziehen. Sein Beweis liegt jetzt vor uns. Es handelt sich um drei Ostraka, von denen zwei (O 4 und O 5) in parthischer Sprache, eins (O 3) in mittelpersischer (Pehlewi) geschrieben sind.

Die beiden parthischen Ostraka (O 4 = 'Auftreten der Hunnen' 9-13 und Abl. 1; O 5 = ebda. 14-16 und Abl. 2), beide anscheinend von derselben Hand geschrieben, stellen Namenslisten mit beigefügten Zahlen dar; der gezählte Gegenstand (im Text als *G* abgekürzt) ist nicht klar.<sup>2</sup> Es mag sich um Soldlisten handeln; die Ansicht der Verfasser, daß hier eine Art Weintributenrechnung vorliege, beruht darauf, daß sie das Wort *hmk* 'im ganzen' fälschlich als *hmn*, was 'Wein' heißen soll,<sup>3</sup> gedeutet haben. Obigeins bilden als die Zahlzeichen, abgesehen von der '1', durchweg falsch erklärt;<sup>4</sup> dies liegt im wesentlichen an ihrer Annahme, daß der Schreiber römische Zeichen gebraucht habe; es sind aber, wie zu erwarten, parthische. Was nun die in diesen Ostraka genannten Namen und Titel angeht, so scheitern die Vorlesungen der Verfasser von bescheidenen, wie *Mhrk* statt *Mhrkn* (O 5 Z. 5), *hlyst* statt *hlystn* (O 5 Z. 4), *Nrysh* statt *Nryshw* (O 5 Z. 8), *Mry* statt *Mrd* (O 5 Z. 1), *Mhrk* statt *Prk* (O 5 Z. 4), zu kühnen und manchmal geradezu grotesken Vorlesungen, wie *prnt* statt *Prnt* (O 4 Z. 2), *hpt* statt *spn* (O 4 Z. 3), *Nrang* statt *Nrtgn* (O 4 Z. 5), *hds* statt *gnzn* (O 4 Z. 6), *trdr* statt *Tyrk* (O 5 Z. 3), *Prysh* statt *Srtyd* (O 5 Z. 5), *Krlrymr* statt *Nrtgnptn* (O 5 Z. 6).<sup>5</sup> Inmitten dieser

<sup>1</sup> *Sim wdrst tgy hwrttk*: Sachau Pap. 26 = Cowley No. 42; Artam Briefe (ed. G. R. Driver) 1. 2. 3. 5 etc., in Drivers Übersetzung *«I send thee much (greetings) in peace and prosperity»*. Die Fortsetzung, *QDM hwrtky etc.*, elaboriert das ältere *hpy tmk qdnyk hmn yhrky* (u. ä.), Artam Briefe 1. 5 = *«there too may there be peace with thee»* (Driver). Statt 'Du' steht im parthischen Brief durchweg 'Herr' (*hwrtky* bzw. *MR* Y), das allerdings an dieser Stelle, in einer ererbten, rein aramäischen Formel, gut als 'mein Herr' verstanden werden darf; daher *QDM hwrtky* = *qdnyk*.

<sup>2</sup> Das Wort dafür ist O 4 Z. 1 und O 5 Z. 11 eingeschrieben, aber bisher nicht sicher identifiziert.

<sup>3</sup> Richtig heißt 'Wein' im Parthischen *hmr*.

<sup>4</sup> Die Zahlzeichen sind wie folgt zu lesen: 11: O 4; die Summe ist 14 (Z. 1); Z. 5 eine 4, Z. 9 eine 3, dazu 7mal eine 1; (b) O 5; die Summe ist 13 (Z. 11); Z. 8 eine 3, dazu 10mal eine 1 (auch je in Z. 1, Z. 3, Z. 3; 7mal in Z. 4).

<sup>5</sup> Die als richtig anzuerkennenden Lesungen der Verfasser beschränken sich hier m. W. auf die folgenden: *rtktr* O 4 Z. 6, O 5 Z. 6 und Z. 7; *hm-rtktr* O 4 Z. 8; *mry* O 4 Z. 4; und *mhrk* O 4 Z. 3.

Ozeans der Fälschungen stoßen wir nun auf 'm qphn (O 5 Z. 7), Ark Qapxan, einen Hunnenfürsten (Capcanus, Καρκανός), der, so scheint es, an den persischen Weingelagen in Dura-Europos teilgenommen und ebenso wie seine iranischen Zechbrüder vergessen hat, seine Rechnung zu begleichen. Wie schade, daß er sich bei näherem Zusehen als ein ganz bescheidener *Ward mynā* 'Ordes des Älters' enthüllt!

Die übrigen Hunnen-Namen, vier an Zahl, sollen sich in dem mittelpersischen (Pehlewī) Ostrakon O 3 vorfinden ('Auftreten der Hunnen', 19-23 und Abb. 7). Die parthische Sprache ist heutzutage recht gut bekannt: so massive Fehllesungen, wie sie die Arbeit der Verfasser kennzeichnen, dürfen eigentlich nicht mehr vorkommen; doch ist zuzugeben, daß angesichts der Ähnlichkeit mehrerer Buchstaben miteinander zur richtigen Entzifferung einige Übung gehört, und wohl auch ein wenig Geschick für dergleichen Arbeit überhaupt. Das Mittelpersische aber gehört jetzt zu den bestbekannten Sprachen des alten Orients; es gibt eine Fülle von Material aus mehr als einer Periode, ganz besonders viel gerade aus dem 3. Jh. Die Lesung eines so schön und deutlich beschriebenen Ostrakons, wie O 3 es ist, kann also dem Sachverständigen keine Schwierigkeiten bereiten, außer etwa an den paar Stellen, wo die Schrift ein wenig verwischt ist. Man hat daher das Recht zu erwarten, daß die Verfasser, die ja im Tone nicht nur sachverständiger, sondern auf diesem Gebiet maßgebender Gelehrter schreiben, hier etwas Besseres geleistet haben. Diese Erwartung wird leider enttäuscht. Von den auf  $3\frac{1}{4}$  Zeilen verteilten 27 Wörtern haben die Verfasser nicht ein einziges auch nur annähernd richtig gelesen.

Es hat daher keinen Zweck, die Lesungen der Verfasser im einzelnen zu besprechen; es scheint sie nicht einmal zu bekümmern, daß das Resultat ihrer Bemühungen gar nicht als mittelpersisch zu erkennen ist. Was will man dazu sagen, daß die Verfasser so gewöhnliche Wörter wie *dhylk* 'Schneider' (Z. 5, 1. Wort), *dhylk* 'Bäcker' (M. 4, 2. Wort), *zynd'nyk* 'Gefängniswärter' (Z. 2, 1. Wort), *zynd'nyk* 'Sattler' (Z. 1, Mitte), *dhylk* 'Footman', *dhylk* 'Haremwärter' (beide Z. 2, Mitte) nicht haben lesen können? Daß sie etwas seltenere, wie *zynd'nyk* 'Zeltmacher' (M. 5, Ende) oder *dhylk* 'Scharfrichter' (Z. 1, Ende), oder gar halb verwischt, wie *md'lyl* 'Mundschenk' oder *nhylk* 'Jäger' (beide Z. 2, Ende), nicht erkannt haben, begreift man schon eher. Überhaupt werden auf dem Ostrakon keine Personennamen genannt (nur Berufsbezeichnungen), geschweige denn welche hunnischen Ursprungs. Der so ansprechende *Qapxan* (Z. 4), nachträglich ('Auftreten der Hunnen', 18 Anm.) in *Kirīl* verwandelt, ist in Wahrheit bloß ein 'Schuster' (*kylyl*); neben ihm steht *Silly*, lies *md'lyl*, auch eine Art Schuhmacher. In *Taplag*, dem 'Dick-sack', erkennt man leicht einen 'Meutewart' (*zgh'n*). Und der grandiose *Turkân-bäg* oder *Targân-bäg* schließlich, zu dessen Erklärung sich die Verfasser bei Turkologen umsonst Rats erholt haben, erweist sich als ein gemeiner 'Fallensteller' (*tkknyl*).

Raummangel verbietet es, die übrigen in diesen Werken neu veröffentlichten oder nur besprochenen Dokumente hier zu prüfen; es genüge, festzustellen, daß die Behandlung sich nirgends über das oben skizzierte Niveau erhebt. Manchmal ist selbst die Schriftart nicht richtig bestimmt. So ist das angebliche 'Bruchstück in zwestischer Schrift' ('Asien und Rom', 66 ff und Abb. 31) tatsächlich nur Pehlewī. Das 'hebräisch-aramäische Pergament 35' ('Auftreten der Hunnen' 69 ff und Abb. 18), dem die Verfasser bedeutenden Einfluß auf die Geschichte der hebräischen Pa-

läographie überhaupt und im besonderen auf die Datierung der 'Handschriften aus der Höhle' zuerkennen, ist in Wahrheit gar nicht in hebräischer, sondern in palmyrenischer Schrift geschrieben. Ist es wirklich Schuld des Druckers, daß eines der parthischen Ostraka auf dem Kopf stehend abgebildet ist ('Auftreten der Hunnen' Abb. 5)? Was nun vollends die auf ihre Lesungen gegründeten Beobachtungen und Schlußfolgerungen der Verfasser angeht, sei es auf sprachlichem, schriftgeschichtlichem oder historischem Gebiet, so dürfte es sich nach alledem erübrigen, auf sie einzugehen.

Selten haben Gelehrte ihre Grenzen in so großzügiger Weise verkannt.





# THE MIDDLE-PERSIAN WORD FOR 'BEER'

In *BSDAS* xiii, 1950, p. 642, n. 2, I referred to the Pahlavi word for 'beer', which had lurked unrecognized in the *Frahang-i Pahlavik* (v. 2 = xxxi, 2-3), and quoted the *Kārnamag* passage vii, 8 (Sanjana). There it is related that Ardashir, fleeing in disguise, was hospitably received by two friendly brothers. They housed and fed his horse, led him into their dwelling, and seated him in the place of honour. 'And they sacrificed *drām* and asked Ardashir "Please speak the *vāj* and eat and do not worry" . . . Ardashir's mind was comforted by these words, he spoke the *vāj* and ate. They had no wine, but brought "beer" forward and arranged the meal. . . . The passage shows in an unobtrusive way how everyday occasions were encompassed by religious ceremony in pious Zoroastrian society: any meal began with the *vāj* (the saying of grace, as it were), sacrificial bread (*drām*) and wine, or at least beer, formed necessarily part of it.

The spelling of the word in the *Frahang*, 𐭥𐭥𐭥 (apparently *waš* or *nš*), is naturally less authoritative than that found in the *Kārnamag*, 𐭥𐭥𐭥 (apparently *waš* or *nš*). The latter occurs in a passage, hitherto overlooked, of the *Drašt-i Asānīg*, § 15 (*Pahlavi Texts*, 113<sup>4</sup>), where the word is by mistake written in one with the preceding preposition *ō*:-

<i>pēspārag az man karēd</i>	<i>ō *wašak (ud) hur mām</i>
<i>kē xarēd taknūr</i>	<i>kāfār ud āzād</i>

'They make an *hars-d'aruro* out of me, resembling 'the beer and (alcoholic) drink, which the king drinks, the mountain-lord or the nobleman.' Here *wašak/wašak* (if that is the right pronunciation) and *hur* stand side by side, as in the *Frahang*; similarly in the Avesta *hurū* (there defined as *gumya*) is paired with *mašu* 'wine', for which, as we have seen, *waš(n)k* was a substitute.

Slightly altered, as *waš*, our word is found once in Syriac and once in Mandaeen, both times as a characteristic ingredient of a pious Persian meal. Mihrāmgušnasp (the *šur* Giwargis), on the verge of becoming a Christian, became 'disgusted with the mumbling [viz., the *vāj*] of the Magian custom, and whenever, in accord with heathenish usage, a Magian came and gave him *waš* at the mealtime, he began to say to himself . . . [a Christian prayer] . . . and to make the sign of the Cross over the *drām*, and then to eat' (Hoffmann, *Syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, 96). Here we have all three: *vāj*, *waš*, and *drām*, as in the *Kārnamag*. That *waš* in the Giwargis Vita (*wasqā* 𐭥𐭥𐭥) is a *kultische Speise der Persen* was first recognized by Lidzbarski, *Ginz.* 225, n. 3, when he dealt with the Mandaeen occurrence of the word 'Gleich meinem . . . Piktā und Mumbūgā nehmen sie das Wasqā; gleich der Totenmesse richten sie das Drāmā her'. Although the comparison is not entirely clear, we may take it for

<sup>4</sup> *ō* . . . *mām* 'resembling, like' occurs several times in that text.

granted that *Pihā*, the sacramental bread of the Mandaeans, is here compared with the *Drōn*, the sacred bread of the Zoroastrians (as was suggested by Lidzbarski); and that, therefore, *Wasqā* (𐭱𐭥𐭩𐭥) is parallel with *Mambūgā*, the sacramental drink, which, as Lady Drower tells us, 'is water and nothing else' (*The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, 108). The Pahlavi passages, in any case, leave no doubt that this was not a food, but a drink.

One of the values of the Syriac and Mandaean forms lies in their assuring the reading of the Pahlavi word as *wasak* or similarly (and excluding *\*wasak* and the like). The only apparent difference is the replacement of *-ak* by *-sk* (*-sq*), which could be ascribed either to a Persian dialect form (*sk/sk* commonly alternate in Iranian) or to adaptation to the sound-system of Aramaic. The latter may seem more likely; for the Pahlavi word may have been *\*wasak* (as indeed suggested by the *Prabang* spelling), so that the elision of the 2nd vowel and the consequent contact of *s* with *k* would have arisen only in Aramaic. There is good reason for positing *\*wasak* rather than *\*wasak*. When we translate the word by 'beer', we allow ourselves to be guided by its ideogram, 𐭱𐭥𐭩𐭥. That, however, gives us only a very broad equivalent, and no hint of the composition of the Persian drink. Yet the Pahlavi word itself may give us such a hint; for it is tempting to assume that *\*wasak* was the ancestor of the Persian word *wasak*, *was*, which is perhaps more familiar in its Arabized spellings *wasq/wasq*.<sup>1</sup> This designates a peculiarly Persian substance, known as *Persian Ammoniacum*, which is the gum resin of *Dorema Aucheri* Boiss. in Western Persia, of *Dorema Ammoniacum* Don. in Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. It is at any rate possible, though it would be going too far to assert it, that this ceremonial drink of Sassanid Persia was made with that substance<sup>2</sup> and so received its name.

<sup>1</sup> Syriac *wasq* (Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.*, 11) is presumably mere transcription of the standard Arabic form.

<sup>2</sup> Medicinally, draughts were made of it with vinegar, or barley-water, or honey (acc. to *Tuhfat* 'Imu'min); it was highly regarded as a beneficial drug in a long series of illnesses.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE KHWAREZMIAN VERB

Our<sup>1</sup> knowledge of the Khwarezmian language depends largely on two classes of material, which are dissimilar in character but supplement each other. On the one hand, we have the sentences in legal books, chief among them the *Qunyatu 'lMunyah*; on the other, the Khwarezmian glosses in the *Muqaddimatu 'lAdab*, the principal MS. of which was published in facsimile by Zeki Velidi Togan three years ago.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Muqaddimah* the translator aims at accurately reproducing the Arabic original. His phrases are unidiomatic, cast in a uniform mould, monotonous, repetitive, and deadly dull; but for us they are highly informative, and would be even more so if the scribe had not chosen to omit for long stretches the diacritical points, without which Arabic script is difficult to read even if one already knows the language. To give simple examples, he does not mind writing ك for "house", which admits of 36 readings,<sup>3</sup> or اء for "he became", which in theory can be read in 2640 different ways.<sup>4</sup> However, words which are left unpointed in one place are often found pointed in another, so by careful comparison the correct reading can be established for the greater part of the material. I have now compiled nearly a complete glossary which I hope to publish in the near future.

The Khwarezmian sentences in the *Qunyatu 'lMunyah*, on the contrary, are highly idiomatic, often slangy, full of puns and double meanings, which are difficult to grasp unless one is already thoroughly acquainted with the language. These sentences come from case law; they are sentences actually used in life, which subsequently acquired significance in a law suit. If then we wish to study the syntax of the Khwarezmian language and its mode of expression in daily life, we shall have to turn to the *Qunyah*; while the *Muqaddimah* serves largely to complete our dictionary. Moreover, the MSS. of the *Qunyah* have the diacritical marks one could wish for, in fact

<sup>1</sup> Paper read to the Iranian Section of the third International Congress of Orientalists, on 11 August 1954.

<sup>2</sup> *Khwarezmian Glossary of the Muqaddimatu al-Adab*, Istanbul, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> *Recte pdk* (ك), perhaps from *paka-* with change from -k- to -p- (as in Younger Avestan).

<sup>4</sup> *Recte nydyd* (ندید), 3rd sing. imperfect (pause form) of *nyd-* "to sit, to become" (Sogd. *nyd-*).

more than one would like to have; there is a profusion of diacritical points, and vowel marks in addition, but unfortunately each MS. is apt to have somewhat different ones from the next.

Eighteen years ago I gave a brief report on the Khwarezmian language, based largely on the *Qunyah*.<sup>1</sup> At the time I had seen the material only for a few weeks, and so my report embodied some misapprehensions and omitted some important points. Subsequent publications from another side, based also on the *Qunyah*, have neither removed the misapprehensions nor filled in any of the gaps.<sup>2</sup> To-day I would say that precisely the most interesting and important points remained unrecognized, and that is true also of the structure of the Khwarezmian verb; some of them I should like to bring to your attention.

In the *Muqaddimah* the dominant verbal form is the 3rd person singular of the imperfect; next in frequency is the 3rd plural, also of the imperfect; all other forms are very rare. This restriction, although obviously a disadvantage in some ways, is in fact beneficial on the whole; for it allows us to observe, at one example, the infinitely complicated construction of verbal forms with clarity and thus enables us to understand also the rarer forms for the other persons, tenses and moods.

The 3rd singular of the imperfect appears with four endings, *-d*, *-yd*, *-yyd*, and *-yt*. They prove the existence of three classes of present stems.

The first endings, *-d* and *-yd*, are variants of one and the same form. Any verb the stem of which ends in a consonant possesses these two variants. For example, from *hβr-* (*hβr-*) "to give" we have *h'βrd* and *h'βryd* "he gave". The distribution of these two forms depends on the position in the sentence: the longer form is confined to the end of a sentence, or, to borrow a term from Hebrew grammar, *stands in pause*.

The existence of pause forms is one of the most interesting facts about the Khwarezmian language. Generally, the vowel before the last consonant of a word is stressed in pause and thereby lengthened or apparently lengthened. This rule applies to all words; accordingly, a noun such as *xādik* "son" appears in two forms, as *x'dk* and, in pause, as *x'dyk*; this represents Old Iranian *xdtaka-*, for Old Iranian interior *-a-* generally becomes *-i-* in Khwarezmian.

Our example, the word for "he gave", can then be accounted for in this way: it represents *frābarata*; the shorter form, (*h'βrd*), pronounced *hāβtrda*, is *frābārata*, but the pause form (*h'βryd*), apparently pronounced *hāβtrda*,

<sup>1</sup> ZDMG., 60 (1936), pp. 330—334.

<sup>2</sup> An evaluation of the various contributions to Khwarezmian studies was given in an article, written in 1950, which will be included in the *Mitlangender Z.V. Togan* (*Z.V. Togan Armağanı*), pp. 441—36, the publication of which has regrettably been delayed. That article also contains a sketch of the phonology, a discussion of grammatical points, and a list of interesting words. For the time being see my *Zoroaster—politician or witch-doctor?*, 44 sq.

is *frāburda*. This distinction must have existed already in the Old Iranian form of Khwarezmian.

Sometimes the verbal stems are affected. This happens chiefly in the imperative. For example, the most frequent word in our material is *p'ruzd* (*pūruuzda*) "it became". Its present stem is *pruz-*, probably reflecting Old Iranian *pari-maza-*; but the imperative, in pause, is *pruys* (*pirutsa*). Similarly, "to eat" is *xr-*, vocalized *xw-*; but the imperative is *xwys* = *xwra*.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the endings of the 3rd singular of the imperfect, *-yd* is also the interior form of stems ending in *-y*; in such cases, *-yd* has beside it a pause form in *-yyd*. Stems in *-y* are very common; they mostly continue ancient causative stems in *-aya*; but sometimes they represent presents from bases in *-ī*. For example, *mxyd*, in pause *mxyyd*, "he wept or mourned", pl. *mxy'r*, which derives from *xš*, the *m*-prefix proves that the stem began with two consonants.<sup>2</sup>

In the fourth ending, *-yt*, *-y* again forms part of the stem. The *-t* was preserved, instead of changing into *-d*, either because no vowel preceded it, or because a preceding vowel was lost at an early stage. These imperfects belong to bases in *-ā*, in *-ah*, and to the base *i* "to go" if joined with a preverb; the simple *i* has *myd* (*mīda*), in pause *myyd* (*mīyīda*), "he went". For example, *fra-mā* "to command" produces *f'myt* (*fāmāyta*) and a present stem *f'm'h-*,<sup>3</sup> with secondary *-h*; from *ah-* "to be" we have *myt* (*mayta*) "he was". "To enter" is *cy-* (*ciyy-*) in the present, which I once wrongly explained as from *cyawa-*, while in fact it is *ati* + *i*; its imperfect is *c'yt* (*cāyta*). These verbs are further peculiar in having *-la* as ending of the 3rd plural, e.g., *c'yl* (*cāyla*) "they entered", while all other verbs have *-dra* in the 3rd plural of the imperfect. The same opposition *-t* : *-l* is found also in the present indicative of "to be", *yt* (*yetti*) "is", *yl* (*yelli*) "they are". The whole group doubtless represents the remains of the ancient non-thematic inflexion.

<sup>1</sup> This, therefore, represents *xwra*, not by any means *\*xwraya* (as one might imagine, perhaps misled by Sogdian).

<sup>2</sup> Only verbs that begin with a vowel in the present stem have the *m*-prefix in the imperfect. The present stem to which *mxy(y)d* belonged was therefore *\*'xy-*. The initial (prosthetic) vowel arose because the stem originally began with two consonants (*xš*), which were later simplified (*xy*).

<sup>3</sup> In the discussion following the reading of this paper I was invited to account for the divergent treatment of *fra-* exemplified by *f'm'h-* (if from *fra-mā-*) and *h'fr-* (if from *fra-bar-*). In fact, the preposition *fra-* in verbal compounds normally became *la-* in Khwarezmian (there are many examples); *h'fr-* is as much an exception in Khwarezmian as the corresponding verb, *h'fr-*, is in Sogdian; for an explanation see I. Gershevitch, *JRAS.*, 1946, 181, n. 3; *Gramm. Manich. Sogdian*, p. 246. On the history of *fr* in Khwarezmian in general see *Mélanges Z.V. Togan*, pp. 433 sq. One of the words quoted there in illustration, *lhw'h* "pure" as from *\*fra-patāda-* (with *fra-* conferring elative meaning, comparable to *\*peri-* in other languages, see Ernout-Meillet<sup>2</sup>, 880 sq.), is somewhat uncertain as regards its origin; for its *t* might respond to Avestan *\*tā-*.

Having discussed the three present classes revealed by the four endings, I want now to draw your attention to their finals. They seem to end in a consonant, *d* or *t*, but in reality end in a vowel, in *da* or *ta*. The existence of such unwritten final vowels is assured, not so much by the somewhat erratic vocalization in the *Qunyah*, as by the behaviour of the endings when a suffix is added. Then the final vowel is apparently lengthened, or at any rate expressed in writing as if it were a long vowel.

Most verbal forms, and most nominal forms too,<sup>1</sup> possess final brief vowels, generally *-a* or *-i*, which appear in writing only before suffixes. The question to what extent these final vowels continue the corresponding Old Iranian endings is of great complexity and cannot be discussed here; in the case of the 3rd singular of the imperfect there is no difficulty: it agrees perfectly with the Old Iranian middle ending, *-ta*.

The most common suffixes are the enclitic pronouns for the 3rd person, *-hi* in the singular, *-na* and *-hina* in the plural, the former for the accusative, the latter for the general oblique case. That *-na*, which has a close relative in Khotanese,<sup>2</sup> is the accusative<sup>3</sup> of the plural only is not immediately obvious; it often refers to nouns seemingly in the singular, which, however, are plurals in fact, collectives, the terms for water, food, grain, wheat, and the like.<sup>4</sup>

These suffixes, and most others as well, end in their turn in brief vowels which are not expressed in the orthography unless a further suffix is added. For example, the normal equivalent of "he gave" is *h'brd* = *hābirda*; "he gave him" is *hābirdahi*, spelt *h'brd'h*; "he gave them" is *hābirdahina*, spelt *h'brd'hyn*; if a further suffix is added, the final *-a* will be expressed in writing, therefore *h'brd'hyn'*.

It is a rule that any vocalic ending preserves its vowel unchanged, irrespective of the sounds of the suffix. There is only one exception in this

<sup>1</sup> With few exceptions, chief among them forms of masculine nouns in the singular. Although it is too early yet to be sure of all points, the following scheme of inflection in the singular may be put forward tentatively:

	Masc.	Fem.	Fem. <i>-k</i> stems
Nom.-Acc.		<i>-a</i>	<i>-ha</i>
Genitive (a)	} <i>nil</i>		
Possessive	<i>-dx</i>	} <i>-ya</i>	} <i>-ca</i>
Ablative (b)			
Locative (c)	} <i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ha</i>

(a) Chiefly before the postposition *h'r*. (b) After *c* "from". (c) Chiefly after the prepositions *f* "in" and *par* "on".

<sup>2</sup> In Sogdian, differently, *-n* serves for both numbers, cf. *BSOAS.*, xii, 605, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The distinction between *-na* and *-hina* is strict, though obscured by the occasional loss of *-h* in *-hina* (with attendant elision of an antecedent vowel) and by the possible confusion of *-hina* with *-hi-na* (the two pronouns, *-hi* and *-na*, in succession).

<sup>4</sup> In this point Khwarezmian strikingly resembles Pashto (cf. *Trumpp* §53).

<sup>5</sup> This, of course, could equally well mean "he gave to them".



rule: namely, when the suffixes *-hi* or *-hina* are followed by a further suffix, they may lose their *-h-*, whereupon the preceding vowel disappears. Thus, instead of *hāširdāhina* one may say, and usually does, *hāširdina*, spelt *h'širdyn*.

We must now consider the suffixes that may be attached to verbal forms. They fall into three classes. *Firstly*, the enclitic pronouns, nine in number; three of them have already been mentioned, the remaining six are for the 1st and 2nd persons. *Secondly*, certain postpositions, principally the following four: *c'* "from"; Old Iranian *hačš*; *ša* "with, to" Old Iranian *hada*; *šr* "upon" Old Iranian *upari*; and *da*, with ill-defined meaning (approximately "through, beyond, off"), probably connected with Old Iranian *ati*. *Thirdly*, two adverbs with local meaning, *wa* and *w'š*, the latter from Old Iranian *awada*.

When several suffixes are attached to a verb, they observe a fixed order of precedence. The pronouns come first, then postpositions and adverbs. Within each of these two groups, the sequence is again strict. In the pronouns, for example, *hi* precedes *na* and *dī*, but follows *mi*; among the postpositions and adverbs, *wa* follows *c'*, but precedes *šr*; and so on.

The sequence is often in conflict with the meaning. The postpositions may modify the verbal meaning; or they may function as directives preceding enclitic pronouns. In the latter case it happens that the enclitic pronoun is separated from the postposition by some other suffix, often one expressing the direct object of the verb. That produces weird forms, e.g., *kyōdyn'š* "he read them to him", *c'yt'kyw'byr* "he entered there before him".<sup>3</sup> This conflict of meaning and fixed sequence can sometimes be observed also when enclitics are added to words other than verbal forms, for example: *kf'n'c m'n* "that I took them from you".<sup>4</sup>

As we have seen, the suffixes that may be added to verbs number at least fifteen. If one takes into account that a given verbal form is capable of taking as many as four different suffixes at a time, it will become clear that there is an almost endless variety of possible forms. Some are veritable

<sup>1</sup> *-c'* (*-cy-*) when followed by another suffix; but *c'* (*c'*) in independent position, as adverb (e.g., *c' wādayta* or *wādaytāci* "he went out"). Not to be confused with the preposition *c-* which, as a rule, appears in combination with the article (*c'* "from the" masc. and pl. comm., *c'* from).

<sup>2</sup> = *kyōd'-hy-n'-š* "he read-him-them (acc.)-to". The origin of *kyō-* "to read, recite" is uncertain. Formally, *kyō-* may easily represent OIr. *kido-* (Skt. *śiḍa-*) "to sit"; a special development of the meaning (*āsideo*, to sit in on—perhaps—a sacrifice and recite hymns?) seems not impossible. Connection with Av. *ādaya-* is unlikely.

<sup>3</sup> = *c'yt'-ky-w'-byr* "he entered-him-there-upon".

<sup>4</sup> "That-you-them-*litr* I took" ("from you" = *f'c*). Thanks to its position at the end, the verb is devoid of suffixes; otherwise, one would doubtless say *\*m'm'f'n'c* (the corresponding 3rd person is *\*m'w'f'n'c*, or rather, with assimilation, *\*m'n'f'n'c* "he took them from you").

monsters, such as *kyδa'hyn'd'br* "he recited them before him".<sup>1</sup> No other Iranian language knows such a heaping of suffixes; whether Khwarezmian has been influenced by Turkish in this respect, it is impossible to tell so long as the pre-Muslimic documents remain undeciphered.

Now I come to my last point, the *principle of anticipation*. The position of the verb in a sentence is fairly free. If it precedes the object, the object is expressed a second time by an enclitic pronoun either on the verb itself or on a word before the verb. Until one grasps this principle, it is impossible to understand the structure of the Khwarezmian verbal forms. A good example is provided by the first Khwarezmian sentence I quoted eighteen years ago,<sup>2</sup> at a time when this point had not been clear to me. It meant "I have given you my daughter for one hundred pieces of gold" and began with the verb: *h'βrnyd y' δwyd'm* = *hāβirniḍi ya δuydāmi* "I have given you my daughter". At the time I thought that *hāβirniḍi* was the 1st person of the imperfect plus the enclitic pronoun for the 2nd person, genitive-dative, that is *di*. That was incorrect. Firstly, the 1st person of the imperfect ends in *-(i)na*, so that "I gave" is *hāβirna*, or in pause *hāβirna*; and if *-di* is added, the result is necessarily *hāβirnādi*, not *hāβirniḍi*. Secondly, in a sentence of this type the object *must* be expressed on the verb by the relevant enclitic pronoun, in this case *-hi*. Thus, *hāβirniḍi* is necessarily equal to *\*hāβirnā-hiḍi*, and the sentence means literally "I have given *her* to you, my daughter".

Most of the longer verbal forms contain one or even two anticipatory suffixes; it is in fact largely due to them that the forms have become so inconveniently long. Not only the direct object, but also other parts of the sentence, such as prepositional phrases, may be expressed on a preceding verb by anticipatory suffixes. For example, *w'zyt'c c'ydc 'y x'x* (*wāzayidci cāyudca i xarāx*) "the sword was drawn from the scabbard, lit. came out".<sup>3</sup> Here the postposition *ci*, attached to the verb, anticipates the immediately following preposition; if the order of the words is changed and the verb placed at the end, it will appear as *w'zyt*. Similarly, the adverb *wa* "there(in)" often anticipates the preposition *f* "in". Thus, *m'n'n'w fy prδ'β* "he misled them",<sup>4</sup> lit. "he took them (there)in, in deception"; or *m'kwrydyw fycwb* "he dipped it in water".<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "He read-him-them-off-upon" (*-d'* serves to modify the verbal meaning, *kyδ-* + *d'* approximately = "recite").

<sup>2</sup> *ZDMG.* 60 (1936), p. 34<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *wāzayta* "it came out" (from *us-i*, treated in the imperfect as if it were compounded with *aca-*); *'ydc* fem. "scabbard", gen.-abl. *'ydc*; *x'x* "sword" cf. *Sogd. syr.*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *mātd-nā-wa* from *ds-* "to take", imperf. 3rd sing. in pause *m'syd* = *mātda*, otherwise *m'td*, *m't* = *mātda*, *mātda* (cf. above p. 47, n. 4).

<sup>5</sup> Short for *m-dhūciḍa-hi-ica*; *dhūciy-*, caus. "to suspend, submerge".

These, then, are the four points that dominate, so it seems to me, the structure of the Khwarezmian verb: the presence of pause forms, the vocalic endings, the system of suffixes and its complications, and finally the existence of anticipatory suffixes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It should perhaps be stated that the contents of this paper are largely inferential, based on imperfect and often contradictory material; in particular, the vocalization of the Khwarezmian words is almost wholly conjectural.



## THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE OF AZERBAIJAN<sup>1</sup>

WHEN I proposed the title of this paper to the officers of the Society, I imagined, in an optimistic mood, that I could offer a reasonable theory of the language once spoken in Azerbaijan. Further study, I regret to say, has convinced me that I cannot: our information is defective on all sides; and the information we do possess is affected by uncertainty in the most essential points. Although therefore it would be wise to keep silent, I hope I may be allowed to put the problem as an unsolved problem, as well as to add a little to the information hitherto available.

For several centuries now a form of Turkish has been the common language of the north-western provinces of Persia, Azerbaijan and Zenjan. The late Persian historian, Sayyid Ahmed-i Keshavî, has traced the story of the gradual infiltration of Turkish tribes into those territories, and the attendant regression and final disappearance of the older population and their language; the process began in the 11th century and was completed by the beginning of the 16th.<sup>2</sup>

It is generally agreed, and indeed not subject to serious doubt, that before the advent of the Turks Iranian languages were spoken here in Azerbaijan and Zenjan, as elsewhere in Persia. From the distribution of the Iranian dialects one may infer the group of Iranian to which the lost language of Azerbaijan belonged. To the east of Azerbaijan, in the high mountains that enclose the southern edge of the Caspian Sea, and in the coastal plain itself, we have successively Tâlikî, Gilakî, and Mâzanderânî, also called Tabarî; and beyond the mountain range, in the neighbourhood of Semnân, several further dialects. To the south-east of Azerbaijan, at a great distance, we find the Central Group of dialects in the neighbourhood of Isfahân, with branches eastwards towards Yezd

<sup>1</sup> Paper read before the Philological Society on Dec. 4, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> A. Keshavî, *Âḡarî yâ zaḥn-i ḥakīm-i Âzerbâijân*. Tehran 1304/1926. With regard to the alleged survival of *Âḡarî* in Tabriz down to the end of the 16th century, see below, p. 170, n. 4.

and southwards towards Sivand. In the same direction, at less distance, a group of dialects was recently noticed in the neighbourhood of Vafs, half-way between Hamadān and Sāve.<sup>1</sup> In the south, Gūrānī survives in the Zagros mountains, which separate Persia from the plains of Iraq. And in the far west, beyond the limits of Persia, as far as the western border of classical Armenia, Zāzā, called *Dimlī* by its speakers, existed until quite recently and for ■ we know may exist even now. All these languages, which may be said to surround Azerbaijan, belong solidly ■ the north-western group of Iranian, and that was probably true also of the lost Azerbaijanian tongue.

The languages and dialects named just now constitute *all* the surviving forms of North-west-Iranian speech about which we have information, with the sole exception of Kurdish, which stands apart and is outside the range of the present subject. Several have attained full status as literary languages: for example Gūrānī, the language of an obscure religion, the Ahl-i Ḥaqq, with considerable literature; Gurgānī,<sup>2</sup> from the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea, now defunct, once the language of a Muslimic sect, the Ḥurūfī; and above all, Tabarī, with a literary history looking back almost as far as the Persian literary language.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, all of them have been receding before the onslaught of the official language of the country, Persian, which itself belongs ■ a different group, to South-western Iranian; and now, under modern conditions,

<sup>1</sup> M. Muqaddam, *Gūyāddaye Vafs va Ahlīyān va Tafrīs* (= *Irān-Kāde* No. 11). Tehran, 1316 Yezd./1949. This work also contains notices, deserving attention, of a local gypsy dialect, a Southern Kurdish language (Zand), and Khalej Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> Our knowledge ■ that dialect, hitherto largely based on Hoart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hourouffites* (Gibb Mem. Ser. ix), 1909, has been deepened by S. Kiya, *Vāle-nāme-i Gurgānī* (*Intihārāt-i Dānīshgāh-i Tehrān* 133) Tehran 1330/1951. An interesting survival is the optative (3rd sg. and pl.) *byndy/body*, which corresponds with Parthian *byndyy*. [See now further H. Ritter, *Die Anfänge der Hurufischen*, *Oriens vii*, 1954, 1-54.]

<sup>3</sup> The older specimens were recently collected and analysed by S. Kiya (*Vāle-nāme-i Tabarī* [*Irān-Kāde* No. ■] Tehran, 1316 Yezd./1947), who also published the text ■ e Tabarī "Nisāb".

all the non-Persian languages and dialects are rapidly dying away.

Of the dialects still spoken in villages some may well disappear before they have been recorded. True, some areas have been fairly fully investigated; but others have been neglected, most of all the north-western provinces. Not only is practically no information available about the few dialects known to have survived in remote corners of Azerbaijan itself; but also the districts between that province and the capital, a stretch of some 250 miles, have remained disregarded, and this in spite of a hundred years' study of the dialects of Persia. It is probably due to such gaps in our knowledge that the task of determining the relationship of the north-western dialects to each other continues to present such great difficulty.

Thanks to a lucky chance I am able to say a little about a dialect spoken on the approaches to Azerbaijan, roughly halfway between Tehran and the present border of that province. I came upon it<sup>1</sup> three years ago at Tâkistân, a village formerly known by the name of Siyah-dohân, some twenty miles to the south-west of Qazvin, on the ancient high-road that joins Azerbaijan with the heart of Northern Persia. I had only two hours and a half for taking notes, and even this short period was not free from disturbances of various kinds. In the outcome, the material I collected is insufficient and defective; regrettably there was no chance to check doubtful points and fill in the gaps that became manifest as soon as it was possible to read over my notes in leisure. In fact, one would be inclined to bury them quietly, were it not for the evident importance of this dialect, which may conveniently be called Tâkistâni, for the comparative study of North-western Iranian.

At the time I did not know that the dialect had in fact been mentioned once before, namely by Professor Minorsky in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, in his article "Tât". Professor

<sup>1</sup> I owe its acquaintance to the kindness of Mr. Hannibal, of Tehran, a very learned gentleman who invited me to pay a visit to Qazvin, a town for which he had unbounded enthusiasm.



Minorsky there expressed the opinion that it resembled the dialects of the Central Group and quoted, from his own observation, a small number of the words he regarded as characteristic. Our notes are not always in agreement. For example, of the five verbal forms quoted by Professor Minorsky (*mīzānd* 'I know', *mīzānū* 'we know', *mīzānindā* 'they know', *hikkās* 'look' [imp.], *■* 'you should go') two differ materially from the forms I received, in which the first person of the singular ends in *-im* and the first person of the plural in *-um*. The full set of the endings of the present in Tākistāni is as follows: Sing. *-im*, *-ī*, *-e*; Plur. *-um*, *-ā*, *-indā*.

A related dialect is known from another village in the neighbourhood of Tākistān, *lātihārd*; known, however, not by observation but through a written source. Žukovskiy found a copy of a Persian dictionary, the *Burhān-i Jāmi*, which was printed in Tabriz in 1844: in the margins of that copy a Persian had written glosses in an otherwise unknown dialect, attributed to *lātihārd*.<sup>1</sup> These glosses, which number about 180, are written in Arabic script, with fairly full vowel marks; they are of restricted usefulness, chiefly because many of them merely serve to indicate a slightly deviating pronunciation of Persian words. Nevertheless, there is enough to show that this dialect is very near to Tākistāni. Two words may suffice here. The first, *tifiye* or *tifiye* 'daughter' (Tāk. *tifiya*), is typical of the dialect group, with its initial *t-*; the nearest form otherwise is Mahallāti *difiye*. The second, *burhūnistin* 'to weep' (Tāk. *birbandāstān*), has four characteristic points: the use of the prefix *bi-* with an infinitive; the ending *-āstān*; the metathesis *-rb-*; and *-n-* in the place of *-m-*, the base being *bram-*.

Now I shall put before you a few of the points which define the position of Tākistāni in relation to the other North-western Iranian languages. The first is the survival of grammatical gender. I had been told that 'bull' is *gāv* and 'cow' *māgāce*, which in addition to the prefixed *mā-* (an old adjective meaning 'female') possesses a short vowel at the end, which

<sup>1</sup> Žukovskiy, *Materiali*, vol. i, p. ix. The *lātihārdi* words are included in the glossary in vol. ii, part i.

could be a mark of gender. Towards the end of our session I was blessed with an intelligent informant and drew his attention to the difference, and he told me, almost in so many words, that his language possessed gender distinctions, and quoted as example, *mānlāl lāiō* 'the man went', but *ceiniye bāsiye* 'the woman went'. Here we have separate forms for the verb, the 3rd person singular of the intransitive preterite, which however is a nominal form by origin. Later, when I looked over my notes, I found several additional examples,<sup>1</sup> one of which shows that this distinction is not confined to words of natural gender: *varā būmīā* 'snow fell' (literally 'snow came'); here both the noun and the verb have feminine endings.

Gender distinctions exist in comparatively few of the North-western languages; of those reasonably near to Tākestān, in Semnāni and in certain Central dialects, such as Farizāndī and Jōāgāū.<sup>2</sup> In the details, Tākestāni agrees here most closely with Semnāni. The Semnāni equivalent of the sentence 'snow fell' happens to occur in the texts collected by Christensen, *varā . . . būmīā*<sup>3</sup>; it almost coincides with the Tākestāni version.

There are other points, some of them almost as weighty, in which Tākestāni agrees with Semnāni. Semnān is situated about 200 miles to the east of Tākestān; half-way between the two villages sprawls the modern capital of Persia, whose presence has extinguished the intervening dialects.

Yet Tākestāni has another face, and that is turned towards the North. The pronominal system shows that most clearly. Practically all the pronominal forms of the dialect are mentioned in the following table:—

Personal	az	ta	av	amā	humā	anā
Enclitic	-m	-i	-š	-mun	-yun	-kun
Possessive	čimi	išta	šā	humā	humā	janā
[Tal.	čimī	šāi	čai	čama	šima	čavon]

<sup>1</sup> *čimi numōziye bīsiye* 'my betrothed went'; *šōrke bipārāsti* 'the chicken flew (up)';

<sup>2</sup> Lambton, *Three Persian dialects*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Le dialecte de Semnān*, p. 62, line 3.

Here the possessive pronouns are by far the most interesting. Possessive pronouns are something of a rarity in the North-western Iranian languages; they also do not exist in Persian, the language of communication used for talking with the villagers, so they attract one's attention immediately. It is true, they function occasionally also as oblique cases of the personal pronouns, as for example in the sentence *čimi ištā ānidiyāndā* 'they do not give me to you' (*čimi* 'me', *ištā* 'you', *ā(n)* verbal prefix, *ni* negation, *diyāndā* 'they give'). Such use is compatible with their origin; for they consist of an ancient preposition, Middle Iranian *āc* 'from', and oblique cases of the personal pronouns, themselves no longer in use.<sup>1</sup> But their characteristic function is that of possessive pronouns; e.g. *čimi sīgār* 'my cigarettes', *jā piyār<sup>2</sup> kālā* 'her father's head', *čunā gālbār* 'our gate'.

Comparable pronouns exist only in one of the North-western languages hitherto known, in Tālīši, the language of Tālīš, the district on the Caspian Sea which straddles the frontier between Persia and the Soviet Union. The Tālīši pronouns, which there are used exclusively as possessive pronouns, are given above; they are in form almost identical with the Tākištāni series.

Another proof of the close relationship between Tākištāni and Tālīši is provided by the preterite of the verb. Below a full set of the normal forms has been given, successively the preterite of the intransitive verb, the preterite of the transitive verb, the preterite of 'be' in post-sonantic position, and the pluperfect of a transitive verb, which involves the preterite of 'to be':—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the oblique cases of the pronouns for the 3rd person in Semnān, Christensen, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *piyār/piār* is oblique case of *piā* 'father', cf. *piārpiā* 'grandfather', *piārpiāpiā* 'my grandfather'; similarly *mayā* 'mother', *mayam* 'my mother', *māromayā* '(my) mother's mother'; *zānāzā* 'wife's brother', *brānāzā* 'brother's wife'. Cf. Christensen, *Semnān*, § 80. Curious is *fr* 'son'.

I sat	I said	I was	I had said
<i>aništīm</i>	<i>vātīm</i>	<i>-veime</i>	<i>vātā-vīmā</i>
<i>aništīš</i>	<i>vātī</i>	<i>-veiše</i>	<i>vātā-vī</i>
<i>aništī</i>	<i>vātīš</i>	<i>■</i>	<i>vātā-vīšā</i>
<i>aništīmūn</i>	<i>vātīmūn</i>	<i>-veimūn</i>	<i>vātā-vīmūn</i>
<i>aništīyūn</i>	<i>vātīyūn</i>	<i>-veiyūn</i>	<i>vātā-vīyūn</i>
<i>aništīnde</i>	<i>vātīken</i>	<i>-vīnde</i>	<i>vātā-vīken</i>

Here the most striking feature is the threatening confusion of the second singular with the third singular: *aništīš* 'you sat', but *vātīš* 'he said', *veiše* 'you were' but *vātā-vīšā* 'he had said'. What preserves the difference is merely the status of the verbs as either transitive or intransitive, but this distinction is in process of being reduced, as one can see from the 1st and 2nd persons of the plural, where the intransitive has borrowed the finals of the transitive; one may perhaps wonder how the contrast between *aništīš* 'you sat' and *vātīš* 'he said' is going to be resolved.

There is no difficulty about the origin of these forms. The intransitive, of course, consists of the perfect participle and the present of 'to be', but the transitive of the perfect participle and the enclitic pronouns. What interests us here is the agreement of the intransitive with the corresponding forms in Tāliši. In that language the present of 'to be', in combination with the negation (*ne*), has the following forms: *nim*, *nīs*, *nī* (*nīye*); *nimon*, *nion*, *nin*. There is substantial agreement, and that is most remarkable in the 2nd person of the singular, *-iš* 'you are'. Such a form is exceptional in Iranian. It is true, one finds it here and there, for example in Eastern Iranian in Sogdian; and in South-western Iranian among some dialects of Lāristān, on the coast of the Persian Gulf<sup>1</sup>; but in North-western Iranian it was hitherto known solely from Tāliši.

A considerable distance separates Takistān from the Tāliši-speaking area, and the greater part of it is occupied by

<sup>1</sup> Mann, *Tājik-Mundarten*, 127 sqq.; Ivanow, *Gabri dialect*, 77; Romanovič, *Lar i ego dialekt* (*Iranakie Yarihi*, i, 1845), 41 et passim.

the most inaccessible mountain country in the whole of Persia. There is every likelihood that Tālīsī and dialects close to it extended much towards the south, into the mountains, probably as far as Khalkhāl and upper Tārom,<sup>1</sup> and we may assume that dialects related to Tākistānī extended to the north-west of its present location, towards the Mān-jān valley, so that there may have been a smooth transition from Tālīsī to Tākistānī, just as there probably was a smooth transition, through dialects now lost, from Tākistānī to Semnānī in the east, and to the Central dialects, or some of them, in the south.

Thus we may regard Tākistānī as the essential link, joining the Northern, Eastern, and Southern groups. That it is in the right and natural position is also indicated by certain traits it shares with Gilakī and Tabarī, the languages in its neighbourhood to the north and north-east. One could mention, e.g., the preference for *-dān* as the secondary ending of the infinitive<sup>2</sup> (an ending entirely absent from Tālīsī); or the almost primeval word *vāye* 'water', which has disappeared from practically all Iranian languages, but was preserved in Gilan, as *biya*,<sup>3</sup> in certain geographical names.<sup>4</sup>

We now leave Tākistān and turn to Azerbaijan proper. As I mentioned at the beginning, in this province, where Turkish

<sup>1</sup> See below.

<sup>2</sup> *birāndān* 'shave', *bīshāndān* 'look', *hīdāndān* 'taste', *birbandān* 'weep', *āpārdān* 'turn back', *āruzdān* 'dare'.

<sup>3</sup> *biya-pā* and *biya-pāz*. It is doubtful whether any of the other dialect forms with initial *r/w* may belong here, such as *Sangisari rō* (Zukorakiy), *ro* (Christensen, ii); *Yardī wō/sō* etc. (Hadenk, *Khamsar*, lxvi n.; Andreas-Christensen 102 *erde*; Ivanov *scus*) certainly represents *āp*.

<sup>4</sup> Note also *tāyas* 'fox' (Tab. *luwa*, Gorakboni [Ivanov, *A.O.*, ix, 367] *luwa*); *pīā* 'big, great', *pīā-mā* 'rat' (Gorakboni *pīā bovo* 'grandfather'; Gilakī *pīā*, *pīle*; Zaza *pīā*, *pīā* Hadank 163; often wrongly confused with Pers. *pīr* 'old'; Dailami name *Pilevanir*, Minoraky, *Domination des Dailamites*, p. 28. A few further interesting Tāk. words may be briefly mentioned here: *āvirō* 'yesterday'; *āvirō* 'day after to-morrow'; *āst* 'boot'; *āyū* 'wedding'; *dālā* 'sparrow'; *ānk* 'dog'; *gūyār* 'call'; *asif* 'apple'; *āz* 'walnut'; *āmar* 'straw'; *āringā* 'ball'; *nimarij* 'noon'; *āria* 'child' (pl. *āria*; cf. Kurd.); *grāin* 'plough' (from

has been the dominating language for several centuries, a few islands of Iranian speech have survived in remote corners. Here our information is singularly defective: instead of knowing any of these surviving dialects, we merely know rumours of their existence. Three areas have been named:—

*Firstly*, the Harzan-Küh in the north-western corner of the province, in the ancient borderland between Armenia and Persia,  $\approx$  the north-west of Tabriz, between the northern shore of the Urmia lake and the River Aras (the ancient Araxes). In several villages here, in Harzan, Gālin-qaya, Bābra, and others, an Iranian dialect is spoken, which may conveniently be called Harzani<sup>1</sup>; I shall say more about it presently.

*Secondly*: some villages in the Qaraja-dāy, to the north-east of Tabriz. Nothing is known about their language.<sup>2</sup>

*Thirdly*: several villages in Khalkhāl,  $\approx$  the eastern fringe of Azerbaijan. This  $\approx$  precisely the area in which we should expect to find dialects that provide a transition from Tālisi to Tākištāni, and for this reason it is much to be regretted that we know nothing about them. There is  $\approx$  least a potential source of information. It is understood that the late Ksaravi, in the second edition  $\approx$  his well-known book on the ancient language of Azerbaijan, quoted a few words in one of the Khalkhāl dialects; but this second edition, published in Tehran in 1317/1938, does not seem to have reached Western

\**gov-dān* 'to govern'; *isbazz* 'spleen'; *rek* 'kidney' (cf. Tal. *rek*); *din* 'face'; *mijik* 'eyelash'; *har* 'door'; *ser* 'good'; *gūfil* 'small'; *peinā* 'broad'; *zur* 'compost' (cf. Tal. *zj*, *zpl*); *isbazz* *yuryuri* 'at thunder' (cf. Tal. *gurguri*); *lakjān* 'to fall'; *mijān* 'I fall'; *no megj biginim* 'I shall fall'; *bijsandā* 'to chew'; *majān* 'I chew'; *rindān* 'to see'; *dast vāindān* 'to touch'; *ānān* 'I touch'; *ānāndim* 'I touched'; *sozavān* 'to grow'; *sozāmbān*, *sozāmbi*, *sozāmb*, *sozāmbegun*, *-begū*, *āindā* 'I grow'; *sozāvān* 'I grew' (cf. Pers. *soz* *hān*); *ādiyān* 'to give'; *āndim*, *āndeg*, *āndiyē*, *āndegun*, *āndeyi*, *āndiyāndā* 'I give'; *āndāndān* 'to light a fire'; *āndān* 'I light it'.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. M. Navābi recently discovered and published a Persian deed dated in 701/1389, in which the name now generally known as *Harzan* is spelt *Harzan*; accordingly, Dr. Navābi prefers *Harzani* as the name of the language (*Nabiz-e Dāstān-e Adabiyāt-e Tabriz*, V, No. ii, 20-38).

<sup>2</sup> See the additional note below, p. 177.

Europe<sup>1</sup>; at any rate, in spite of some search, I have not been able to see it.<sup>2</sup>

Twenty years ago a promising attempt was made to fill the great gap in our knowledge of these dialects, by a Swiss linguist, Dr. Emil Baer. In 1932/33 he visited Harzan and Khalkhâl<sup>3</sup> (but not the Qaraja-dây), and then went on to study the languages of Persian Tališ, of Gilân, and Mâzen-darân. To two successive Congresses of Orientalists, at Rome in 1935<sup>4</sup> and at Brussels in 1938,<sup>5</sup> he read papers on the material he had collected and the method he had used. At the latter Congress (which I could not attend) he quoted examples from the languages he had investigated, but these examples were unfortunately omitted from the report printed in the Proceedings. In fact, not a single word or a single form, out of the clearly massive material he had brought together, has been made accessible to the public. It has been reported

<sup>1</sup> See the additional note below, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, thanks to the kindness of a friend in Tehran, I have secured the 3rd edition of Keshavî's *Âbers* (Tehran 1325/1949). It is probably an unchanged reprint of the 2nd edition, regrettably printed in a most unsatisfactory fashion, often illegible and studded with misprints. The specimen of a dialect (unspecified, presumably *Šâhrâd*) of Khalkhâl is on pp. 81-82, in unvocalized Arabic script; its contents, a brief description of the linguistic situation in Khalkhâl, render it almost useless for our purposes; according to it, dialects (called *Tâlî*) are spoken in the whole of *Šâhrâd* and in a few villages of *Kâysâkân*: all of them are close to *Tâlîš*. As far as one can see, the latter opinion is partly borne out by the specimen, which shows some characteristic *Tâlî* forms (*jilâs* 'self'; *im* 'this'; antecedent genitive, sometimes in *-ê*; postpos. *-â*; possessive pronoun *de* [*de*] 'his'); but there are also considerable deviations from *Tâlîš*, especially in the verb (e.g. *rôjin* [*rujin*] 'they call', *gaf-šanin* 'they talk', *bera* [*brâ*] 'it was', *tera* [*trâ*] 'it went'). However, one fails to detect any resemblance to *Tâkistâni*, in which the corresponding verbal forms are *mâfinidâ*, *ânindâ*, *-re*, and [*be*] *idâ*.

<sup>3</sup> He worked in *due villaggi remoti, ma grandi e popolati, che han conservato anche ora il loro idioma iranico* (116 p. 237) . . . in *Tâlî Šâhrâd, einem der 6 Mâhâl des Berglands Khalkhâl* (*Artes* p. 153).

<sup>4</sup> Il metodo della geografia linguistica applicato all'investigazione dei dialetti iranici. *Atti del xix Congresso internazionale degli orientalisti*, Roma 1935, 233-239.

<sup>5</sup> Zur Dialektologie Nordirans. *Actes du xix Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Louvain, 1940, 153-157.



that towards the end of the war Dr. Baer was killed in Germany, and it was said that his material had disappeared; but recently I learned from Professor Minorsky that Dr. Georges Redard had succeeded in tracing his collections. There is now good hope that they will be published one day. Pending that, we must make do with what can be obtained in other ways.<sup>1</sup>

The only one of these dialects about which I can give information is Harzani, or more precisely, the variety of it spoken in the village of Gālin-qaya. It was in this village that European scholars first became alive to the survival of Iranian languages in Azerbaijan. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, who passed a night at Gālin-qaya in 1898, noticed its peculiar dialect, and drew attention to it in the report on his journey which was published in 1910.<sup>2</sup> He quoted there four or five separate words, only two of them significant (*šāra* 'three', *isba* 'dog'), and a sentence of two words, *ospe bindor*, which he misunderstood: he thought it meant 'the horses are harnessed',<sup>3</sup> while in fact it means 'tie up the horse', *ospe* being singular and *bindor* the plural of the imperative.

This is all so far made known about the language of Gālin-qaya; in compensation, we have seven words from the neighbouring village of Harzan, which the late Mirza Muhammad-i Qazvini communicated to Professor Minorsky, who quoted them in the Encyclopædia article mentioned above. These few words suffice to show that there are differences between Gālin-qaya and Harzan. Two of the forms supplied by Muhammad-i Qazvini, together with their Persian equivalents and the corresponding Gālin-qaya forms, may be adduced here, *berend* = Pers. *būdand*: Gāl. *berut*; *kerindū* = Pers. *šudand*: Gāl. *serut*.

It will be clear from the foregoing remarks that I have had

<sup>1</sup> However, during the recent Congress of Orientalists (Cambridge, Aug., 1934) Professor Redard told me that only a part of Dr. Baer's collections had survived; the notes on the dialects of Azerbaijan have disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> *Arménien vivant au III<sup>e</sup> siècle*, i, 185 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Pferde sind 'geunden', angeschirrt.*

access to a fresh source of information, and this is happily a copious one.<sup>1</sup> I owe it to a Persian scholar, Dr. M. Navabi, a lecturer in the recently founded University of Tabriz, the capital of Azerbaijan. Dr. Navabi, who studied for some time at the School of Oriental and African Studies, very generously allowed me the use of his field notes, as well as of a fair copy he had made of the larger part of his collections. Naturally, the publication of this material, which is fairly comprehensive, must be left to Dr. Navabi; but he has kindly permitted me to quote from it in this paper.

The dialect of Gālin-qaya has inevitably been strongly influenced by Turkish, which is also the second language of its speakers. There is a good deal of vowel assimilation: *āmīta* 'to teach' corresponds with Persian *āmūxtan*, *vōrōr* 'to pass by' with Persian *guḡar*; *zunusna*, *vōrōsna*, *beramesna*, respectively 'he knows', 'it rains', and 'he cries', the vowel in the penultimate is one and the same by origin. The palatalized *k*-sounds are so strongly marked that they appear to be scarcely distinguishable from *č*-sounds; thus in Dr. Navabi's notes one finds both *kīna* and *čīna* for 'girl', *kōlla* and *čōlla* for 'you made'. A preceding genitive is mostly resumed by the enclitic pronoun for the 3rd person, which is *-y* after a vowel, *f* after a consonant, and *-yf* between vowels; e.g. *kōlō* = 'hat', *yan* = 'wife': 'his hat' is *kōlōy*, 'his wife' is *yanf*, and *kōlōyf* means 'it is his hat' (the *-a* at the end being the word for 'is'). This pronoun now appears where

<sup>1</sup> The 3rd edition of Kestari's *Ābārī* (see above p. 100, n. 2) also contains specimens of the *zōbbā-i Harzand*, 17 everyday sentences (pp. 63-64) and a brief word-list (pp. 62-63). Although owing to the orthography used (unvocalized Arabic script with somewhat haphazard *matres lectionis*) some points necessarily remain uncertain, one can say that the language of these specimens is substantially in agreement, indeed almost identical, with that of Dr. Navabi's collections. Curious is the uncertainty in the endings of the 1st pers. plur. (also of the 1st pers. sing.), e.g. subj. *šam* 'let us go' (Gāl. *šunum*); pres. (n)kōvārem 'we (do not) do' (Gāl. *kōvārem*), but (n)šunārem 'we (do not) know' (Gāl. *zunārem*; prob. misprinted for \**nšunārem*); pret. (šā) brēm 'we were (naked)' (Gāl. *hōdo berem*); "trans." pret. *zunārem* 'n' *urēmā* 'we knew (and) were' (Gāl. *-mum*); uncertainty in this very point is found also in Dr. Navabi's notes.

a genitive precedes, e.g. *merde kölöy* 'the man's hat' or *brəri yanf* 'the brother's wife'—a construction doubtless due to Turkish influence. Similarly, the possessive pronouns (*əman*, *ədə*, *əvəy*; *əmə*, *əmə*, *əvəy*), which incidentally resemble the Tāliši and Tākistāni forms, are resumed by enclitic pronouns, e.g. *əman yanma* 'it is my wife', *ədə zənustar* 'your knowledge' (the final -r being the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd person).

Here I have put down a scheme of the nominal inflexion, in which, however, one or two points are not entirely certain:—

General Case	Sing. <i>meri</i>	Plur. <i>yanöy</i>
Oblique Case	<i>merde</i>	<i>yanun</i>
Determ. Acc.	<i>merde</i>	<i>yanune</i>
Locative	<i>merlənda</i>	( <i>yanunənda</i> )
Ablative	<i>merdəri</i>	<i>yanunəri</i>
Instrumental	<i>merdəhun</i>	( <i>yanunəhun</i> )
Partitive		<i>yanunda</i>

It is always interesting to see how a language that has once shed an elaborate system of inflexion creates a fresh system that bears comparison with the original one. Actually, most of these cases are pseudo-cases, mere juxtaposition of noun and postposition. That becomes clear when an enclitic pronoun is affixed to the noun: it precedes postpositions, but of course follows proper endings. Hence *dəsmənda* 'in my hand', *dəslənda* 'in your hand', *kərfəri* 'from his house' (*kə* = house), *kərlənda* 'in your house', *kəmayfəri* 'from all of it'.

This consideration shows also that the determinative accusative, which in the singular often coincides with the oblique case, is in fact a pseudo-case. Actually, it is distinguished when a noun ends in a vowel; then the accusative ends in -re, but the oblique case is identical with the general case; e.g. *kina* 'girl', oblique case also *kina*, but *kinare* is the determinative accusative. Now I have found two examples in which enclitic pronouns are involved, *gərlə* 'his neck', i.e. *gəri* 'neck' + -y for the 3rd person + the dissimilated accusative ending; and

*zōyō eāde karille cōrun kani* 'may God ruin your house', where *karille* 'your house' is composed of *kar* 'house', the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd person (-r, often -l), and the mark of the accusative.

It is not possible to discuss here all the problems connected with the verb of this dialect. The following table contains the principal forms of the preterite and the perfect:—

I saw	I have seen	I went	I have gone	I have not gone
<i>cinma</i>	<i>vindama</i>	<i>šerīn</i>	<i>šerama</i>	<i>nema šera</i>
<i>cilla</i>	<i>vindara</i>	<i>šerī</i>	<i>šetura</i>	<i>nera šera</i>
<i>cinfa</i>	<i>vindaya</i>	<i>šera</i>	<i>šeraya</i>	<i>niya šera</i>
<i>cimmuna</i>	<i>vindamuna</i>	<i>šerim</i>	<i>šeramuna</i>	<i>nemuna šera</i>
<i>cinšura</i>	<i>vindaruna</i>	<i>šerur</i>	<i>šerunura</i>	<i>nemura šera</i>
<i>cinšuna</i>	<i>vindayna</i>	<i>šerul</i>	<i>šerayna</i>	<i>neyna šera</i>

It shows the influence of the transitive verb upon the intransitive. The perfect of the latter (*šerama*) is entirely modelled on that of the former (*vindama*); similarly *behešdama* 'I have got up', *uchetara* 'you have not slept', *vin nani zülferangin gune paristun berama* . . . *hazrate Adam angin oia pasimun berama* 'see, how like your locks I have become tangled in (my) soul (?) . . . like Adam I have now become repentant'.<sup>1</sup> The intransitive preterite ordinarily preserves its distinct forms (*šerīn*), even where the two kinds of verbs are in close contact, e.g. *šerim nāhāre hōrma āmarim* 'I went, ate lunch, came'; but occasionally we find forms adapted to the transitive, e.g. *vōrōrma* 'I passed by', *mōrfa* 'he died'.

Of particular interest are the verbal stems, of which a fairly full list is given here. In Middle Iranian and in the majority of modern Iranian languages we find two verbal stems, a present stem and a preterite stem; but in the dialect of Gālin-qaya there exist three stems, present, preterite, and subjunctive, and an additional form for the 2nd singular of the imperative:

<sup>1</sup> There is no translation of these verses in Dr. Navabi's notes; the one above is therefore conjectural. -*angin* 'like' (*apā rōrangin* 'a dog is like a wolf') represents earlier \**angōn*, cf. MPers. *āngura*, Sogd. *nyura*.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to -*im* instead of -*in*, see above, p. 168, n. 1.

	Imp.	Subj.	Pret.	Pres.	Base
(a)	ke	kun-	ker-	kend-	iyav
(b)		bun-	ber-	--	baw
(c)	da	dun-	dor-	dond-	dā
(d)	ka	kan-	kōrd-	kōnd-	kar
(e)	(bi)a	(bi)an-	ord- <sup>1</sup>	--	ā-bar
(f)		han- <sup>2</sup>	hōrd-	--	x <sup>3</sup> ar
(g)	verar	--	vōrōrd-	--	wi-tar
(h)		--	vōzōrd- <sup>3</sup>	vōzōrn-	wi-čar
(i)		yan-	yar-	yand-	jan
(j)	āsta	āstān-	āstōr- <sup>4</sup>	āstand-	ā-stan
(k)	vin	vin-	vīnd-	vinn-	uvin
(l)			[hōnd-] <sup>5</sup>	hōnn-	x <sup>6</sup> an
(m)		zun-	zunust-	zunum-	zan
(n)		ōz-	ōt-	ōin-	wak
(o)		herōš-	hōrōt-	hōrōdd-	fru-wak
(p)	m	--	ret- <sup>7</sup>	reit-	raik
(q)		duš- <sup>7</sup>	--	dušn-	dauk
(r)		hes-	het-	hett-	x <sup>8</sup> ap
(s)	gen	gen-	got-		grab
(t)	[nāšn] <sup>9</sup>		nett-	nešn-	ni-had
(u)		fi-	fest- <sup>9</sup>	fern-	vid <sup>10</sup> ?
(v)	[bend-] <sup>10</sup>		bāst-	bān-	band
(w)			nevešt-	nevešn-	ni-pais
(x)			hōšt-	hōšn-	x <sup>11</sup> az
(y)	be	bez-	behešt-	behešn-	bar + haiz
(z)				rašn- <sup>11</sup>	uarr

<sup>1</sup> Preterite stems ending in two consonants are shortened in the "transitive" preterite, generally by the loss of the second consonant; hence in Ksaravi's material 'erj' → orja 'he brought'; 'maww' → mawda 'you knew'; cf. above rimma, rilla, etc. (from riad-ma, riad-is etc.).

<sup>2</sup> In Ksaravi's material *hyan* as 1st sing. Subj. (read *ham*!).

<sup>3</sup> 'To perform' (a prayer, etc.), Pers. *guzārda*.

<sup>4</sup> 'To buy.'

<sup>5</sup> Supplied from Ksaravi (*kand*).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *veretā* (inf.) 'to see'; Ksaravi *veretā* (above p. 168, n. 1) = *veretā*.

<sup>7</sup> 'To sew.'

<sup>8</sup> Supplied from Ksaravi.

<sup>9</sup> 'To throw, spread (a rug over someone)' and 'to scatter seed, to sow', Pers. equivalents *andāzan* and *guzārdan*. Example, *ārdāndakīy naru jandayna ya aryna fento* 'have the people there sown (chick-)peas or not?' (*ārdā* 'thither', *ārdēyri* 'thence', *ārdāda* 'there', *ārdāndakī* 'someone being there', *ārdāndakīy* [?]).

<sup>10</sup> Adapted from Lehmann-Haupt (*ibid.*, above p. 167).

<sup>11</sup> 'To shine, be alight' (*āfma rafna* 'the moon is shining', *šore rafna* 'the lamp is lit').

The preterite stem continues the ancient preterite stem and thus presents no difficulty. The old present stem is continued substantially by the subjunctive stem, and entirely by the imperative, which generally has strongly shortened forms. However, some of the subjunctive stems, those at the beginning of the list (a-f), have acquired a final -n, the origin of which is not clear. Here only those stems are affected, the base of which ended in a vowel or an unstable consonant. It is probable that these subjunctive stems are new formations built upon the imperative; for example, case (d), 'to make', where the old present stem was *kar*, which in the imperative was shortened to *ka*: on this form the subjunctive stem was built by the addition of -n. The first verb in the list shows that this formation is not entirely recent; for the subjunctive stem *sun-* must have been created at a time when the imperative was still *\*su*.

The most interesting of the three stems is the present stem. It is evidently built on the preterite stem; in this point the dialect of Gālin-qaya differs from most Western Iranian languages. This origin of the present stem is quite clear in the forms in the second half of the list; but some of those at the beginning of the list are again difficult. For example, if we consider case (i), at first sight one might assume that the present stem, *yand-*, was derived from the subjunctive stem, *yan-*, rather than from the preterite stem, *yar-*. However, it is in itself unlikely that in the weaker bases the formation should have been essentially different from that found in the stronger ones; also, it is to be observed that the vowel of the present stem is in every case identical with the vowel of the preterite stem.

The rule for the formation of the present stem can be formulated in this way: if the Old Iranian preterite stem ended in -t- preceded by a sonant, then the Gālin-qaya present stem ends in -nd with loss of the old -t-; and if the Old Iranian preterite stem ended in -t- preceded by a consonant, then the Gālin-qaya present stem ends in that consonant, if it was preserved, plus -n-, otherwise in -t- or -d-. The origin of these

stems may be found in the *-ant-* participle, which in *Gālin-qaya* is regularly built on the preterite stem: *šeranda* 'going', *doranda* 'giving', *kōrdanda* 'making', *yaranda* 'hitting', and so forth. These forms may have been strongly shortened in the creation of the present stem, so that the actual present would be a composite tense by origin, 'I am going' in the place of 'I go'. Thus one could account for the various finals, *-nd-*, *-n-*, and *-d-* (often assimilated to *-t-*), resulting from *-nd-* at the end of clusters of consonants.

These few details will, I hope, give an idea of the distinctive features of the dialect of *Gālin-qaya*, which we may regard as representative of the Harzani group. The question now arises: is this Harzani the last surviving *šāhin* of the language once spoken in Azerbaijan? This question is not easily answered. The first test to be applied concerns certain sound-changes which must be presumed to have characterized the old language of Azerbaijan, principally the change of Iranian *fr-* to *hr-*, and the change of intervocalic *-d-* to *-r-*; the Iranian loanwords in Armenian, which entered Armenian from the neighbouring province of Azerbaijan, prove the existence of these changes. Now the first, *hr* from *fr*, is satisfactorily present in Harzani; but it carries no weight, because it is also present in at least half the North-western Iranian languages. The second change, *-r-* from intervocalic *-d-*, is unfortunately absent. It is true, intervocalic and post-vocalic *-t-* regularly becomes *-r-* in Harzani; many of the words I have quoted show it—but that should not be confused, though it often has been confused, with the change we are seeking. Intervocalic *-d-* has either disappeared in Harzani, or been replaced by a glide. There is only one certain case of *-r-* from *-d-*, *mina* 'Friday', a word that word is probably a loan-word; a doubtful case is the word for 'under', which occurs in *ružan* 'west', literally 'sun-down' (*ruš* 'sun'), and in *parare* 'below', which contrasts with *parpe* 'above', so that *-are* meant 'under' and may be referred to Old Iranian *adari* 'under'; that word, however, already contained an *-s-*, so that we are not safe in claiming that the Harzani *-r-* in this word represents the old *-d-*.



We have now to consider the relationship between Harzani and the other languages of the north-western group. It is obvious, and has already been pointed out by Dr. Baer,<sup>1</sup> that Harzani is most closely related to Tālīsi. This relationship would be even stronger if Tālīsi, which now presents much abbreviated forms through the loss of interior *-r-*, all dentals, and other consonants as well, had once shared in the change from intervocalic *-r-* to *-r-*, which characterizes Harzani; it has indeed been reported that words exhibiting that change occur in the southernmost dialect of Tālīsi, that spoken in Assālim.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that Tālīsi, like Harzani, possesses a present built on the preterite stem; the Tūliś forms have not been explained correctly,<sup>3</sup> and can in fact be explained only with the help of the Harzani material.

On the other side, Harzani is related to Zaza. One may instance the existence of two genuine plural cases in both languages: the ablative postposition *-ri*, Zaza *-rī*; the negative prefix in *čini(yu)* 'it is not', Zaza *činyō*, *činyā*; many characteristic words, such as Harzani *āsm* 'moon', Zaza *āsmā*, the nearest related word<sup>4</sup> being Tālīsi *ovām*; *vāma* 'it shines', Zaza *vāma*; *gen* both 'to take' and 'to fall' in Harzani and Zaza; *rau* 'quick' in both languages<sup>5</sup>; *condor* 'to stand': Zaza *cindār*<sup>6</sup> and Vafsi *render*,<sup>7</sup> a verb known

<sup>1</sup> *Andererseits vereinigen sich das Harzānī und das Shāhrūdī Azārbāijāna mit dem Tālīshī Kaspīens eng verwandt* (Acker, pp. 135 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> B. V. Miller, *Tālīshīy Fasīk*, 1933, p. 261. Two of the words quoted above, p. 160, n. 2 (*tr* and *br*) prove that this change also occurred in the Khalkhāl dialect from which Kestavi's specimen is derived.

<sup>3</sup> Thus B. V. Miller in his latest work explained the *ṭṭṭ* present (*ṭṭṭedam*, or shorter *ṭṭṭam*, 'I say') as compounded of the infinitive (*ṭṭṭe*), the preposition *da* 'in' (used as postposition), and the present of 'to *ṭṭṭ*' (*Tālīshīy Fasīk*, p. 148). However, Miller himself does not attribute, in his discussion of the prepositions (*ibidem*, pp. 46-88), such a preposition to Tālīsi (only *ṭṭ* 'with', and the postposition *ada* 'in', which would not produce the form required; there is of course, a proverb *da*).

<sup>4</sup> Several times also in Kestavi's specimen, spelt *čynāh*.

<sup>5</sup> [Now: *Kerfagānī āsmā*.]

<sup>6</sup> [So also in *Kerfagānī*.]

<sup>7</sup> Hadank, *Zāz*, 138, 273, 361, 378, *stehen bleiben*, *stillstehen*, *anhalten*, *bleiben*, *warten*. Similar forms (but with initial *m-*) occur also in Gurani.

<sup>8</sup> Mequaidam, *Vafa*, p. 97, inf. *renderan*, imp. *kōwender*, pret. *kōwenderō*, and similarly in neighbouring villages (note also *randardo*, p. 127 middle); Pers. equivalent: *istādan*, [Add *Kerfagānī renderān*.]

from Middle Iranian.<sup>1</sup> This is merely a small selection of the many coincidences, some of them exclusive, that can be quoted. They leave no doubt that Harzani takes its place between Tāliši and Zaza.

This result seems to be consonant with the present geographical location of the three languages, with Harzani actually in the middle between Tāliši in the east and Zaza in the far west. But these appearances are deceptive; for it is certain that Zaza, now altogether out of contact with the languages to which it is related, has been carried into Eastern Turkey by some migration. It has been argued on historical and linguistic grounds, on converging lines, that Zaza is a branch of the ancient language of Dailam, an alpine country in the centre of the high mountains on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.<sup>2</sup> If Zaza had its original place in Dailam (to the north and north-east of Tākestān), we are driven to the assumption that Harzani, too, is a dislocated language and had its home to the south-east of Tāliši, somewhere between Tāliši and the ancient Zaza country. Such an assumption would give an answer to many difficult problems; for example, we should gain a perfect series of the languages that form their present stem with the help of an *-n-* or *-nd-* suffix, that is, Tāliši, Harzani, Zaza, parts of Gilaki, Tabari, and some dialects near Samnān.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, there has been a report, by the head of the American Presbyterian Mission in Tabriz at the beginning of this century (S. G. Wilson), that the people of Harzan had been transferred there from the region of Tāliši by Nādir-Šāh, that is to say a little over two hundred years ago.<sup>4</sup> Ordinarily one might look upon such a report with

<sup>1</sup> Pahlavi *Frāšn* *scādyt* = *guydān* 'durans, permanent'; Inscr. of Šapur, Parthian 17 RB' y'rtā *scyndrān* 'BD'; with assimilation *-nd-* > *-nn-* Manich. MPers. *scayr* 'to remain (permanently), stay' (so to be translated), from which its apparent causative *scayr* 'to wet, fix' (also Pahlavi *scyn't*, Pahl. *scn'tly*, Inscr. *scn't*) cannot easily be separated. The derivation of *scayr* from a base *scr* (cf. ZII, ix, 208; Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1963, 106) can scarcely be maintained.

<sup>2</sup> See the full discussion in the introduction to Hadank, *Idēd*; cf. Minorsky, *Domination des Dailamites*, 37; *BSOAS.*, vi (1943), 98-99.

<sup>3</sup> Hadank, *ibidem*, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> See Hadank, *ibidem*, p. 5.

a critical eye<sup>1</sup>; but here, as it is in agreement with the linguistic evidence, we may accept it as corroboration.

That leaves us with empty hands. The dialects that were presumed to be the last remnants of the ancient language of Azerbaijan have proved to be recent imports from another province. We are similarly unfortunate with the literary evidence which the late Ksaravi had collected from Persian works: there is nothing conclusive. The most considerable<sup>2</sup> is a set of 14th century dialect quatrains from Ardabil<sup>3</sup>; but Ardabil is merely on the fringe of Azerbaijan, close to Tâlis, and the dialect of these quatrains has been shown to be akin to Tâlis.<sup>4</sup> In short, with all the dialects we have considered here, of Tâlis, Harzan, Khalkhâl, and Takistân, we remain on the threshold of Azerbaijan; but of the language once spoken in Azerbaijan itself we know nothing.<sup>5</sup>

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE

This paper has been dogged by misfortune. Important new

<sup>1</sup> For example, I was myself told in Takistân that according to a local tradition the people of that village (the Tâs) were immigrants from somewhere else; but no one could say from where they had come, or at what date.

<sup>2</sup> The 3rd edition of Ksaravi's *Āḡārī* contains additional dialect verses (some of them very interesting) taken from various *jang-nā* (pp. 54-59); unfortunately, they are not sufficiently closely localized.

<sup>3</sup> *Sikilata 'a-Nāmb-i Sefaurīy*, pp. 29-32; Ksaravi, *Āḡārī*, 1st ed., pp. 31-42 (3rd ed., pp. 36-46).

<sup>4</sup> See Miller, *Tal. Yazit*, 254-263. After seeing Miller's work (1953) I abandoned my intention to give a full analysis of the language of these quatrains. Note that *dardā*-*ār* continues Manich. Parthian *dardā* 'suffering, in pain' (cf. *ārdā*); and *īz* 'life' Manich. Parth. *īz*. There is a possible case of *-d- > -z-* in *guryū* (6) 'I am the bull', which reading, however, is secured only by emendation (required by the rhyme); *ništīm* (7) is misreading of *n-dītm*, cf. Tal. *dāz* Miller, *Tal. Tekst*, 217; Gālin-qaya *dādam dāna* 'my hand hurts'; probably Yaghobi *dāz*. The word for 'God', 'ay'a, is surely of Turkish origin (= *ayan Kāhyarī*; Houtama, *Glossar*, p. 7; etc.).

<sup>5</sup> The 'Appendix' to the *Riddle* by Rūhī of Anrājan (16th century), which A. Iqbāl has drawn attention to (*Yādgar*, ii, fasc. iii, pp. 43-50) and which was published in full by M. Muqaddam (*Yak sanad-i Ārifī az gūyā-i Āḡārī-i Tabriz = fān-Nāz*, 1317 Year/1948), is not, as has been claimed, written in any "dialect", but in a vulgar (extremely vulgar!) and slangy type of colloquial Persian. It has no bearing on the problem of the ancient language of Azerbaijan.

publications, each requiring fresh adaptation of the views presented, kept coming in, either at the last minute or after the event. While the printing was in process, my friend and former student Dr. E. Yarshater, of the University of Tehran, presented me with (1) the second edition of Kesaravi's *Āḡarī*, for which I had looked so long in vain (above, p. 165; it is indeed much superior to the third edition, which is merely a reprint); (2) M. Sütüde (Sutoodeh), *Farhang-i Gīlakī*, Tehran, 1954 (an admirable work); (3) Yahya Zoka, *The dialect of Keringan*, Tehran, 1332/1953-4 (the first glimpse of one of the unknown dialects of the Qaraja-dāy, see above, p. 165; received too late, unfortunately, to be taken into account here).



## Eine arabische Version mittelpersischer Weisheitsschriften<sup>1</sup>

Vor ein paar Jahren ist in Kairo ein neues Werk von Miskawaih, dem besonders als Verfasser der *Tajrisb al-Umam* bekannten Autor des vierten Jahrhunderts der Hijra, veröffentlicht worden, unter dem Titel *al-Hikmah al-halidah* „die ewige Weisheit“<sup>2</sup>. Als mir kürzlich ein Exemplar dieses Buches in die Hände fiel, hatte ich gleich den Eindruck, daß es für die Geschichte der Pehlwi-Literatur von großer Wichtigkeit sei, und näheres Zusehen hat diesen ersten Eindruck nur bestätigt.

Der Titel, *al-Hikmah al-halidah*, ist, so scheint es, erst von dem Herausgeber, 'ABDURRAHMÂN BADAWI, erfunden worden; der wahre Titel, so wie er im Buche selbst und auch in den Schreibernotizen am Ende vorkommt, ist persisch, *Jawidân Hirad*. Unter diesem Titel ist das Werk schon längst bekannt, in persischen Übersetzungen oder Überarbeitungen, und in Handschriftenkatalogen und Handbüchern mehr oder minder kurz erwähnt; eine von ihnen ist auch in Teheran, im Jahre 1877, gedruckt worden. Viel Beachtung haben diese persischen Versionen nie gefunden, zum Teil wohl weil sie so stark überarbeitet worden sind, zum Teil weil ihr spätes Datum (17. Jahrhundert) Zweifel an der Echtheit der Vorlage erweckte, vielleicht auch weil der einzige Druck nicht leicht zugänglich war. Jedenfalls liefert erst die Ausgabe des arabischen Originals eine solide Grundlage für die Forschung und macht das Werk für uns nutzbar.

In seiner Vorrede erzählt Miskawaih, daß er als junger Mann, also etwa um 950, in einem Buch des berühmten Philologen und Literaten al-Jâhiz von dem *Jawidân Hirad* gelesen und daß diese Notiz ihm keine Ruhe gelassen habe, bis er schließlich nach langem Suchen das seltene Werk bei dem Obermohod von Fârs fand; nebenbei bemerkt, für die Qualität der im Druck vorliegenden persischen Version ist es charakteristisch, daß sie *al-Jâhiz* in *Hafiz* umgewandelt hat<sup>3</sup>. Al-Jâhiz nun habe eine lange romantische Geschichte über die Entdeckung des *Jawidân Hirad* erzählt, in die der Calife al-Ma'mûn, seine Minister, die Brüder al-Faql b. Sahl und

<sup>1</sup> Beim xiii. Deutschen Orientalistentag in Hamburg am 28. Juli 1955 gehaltenen Vortrag.

<sup>2</sup> Abû 'Alli Ahmad b. Muhammad Miskawaih, *al-Hikmah al-halidah*. Ed. 'ABDURRAHMÂN BADAWI. Kairo 1952.

<sup>3</sup> Lithographie Teheran 1877 (t. Farvardin 799 Jalâl), S. 16 u. 6.

al-Hasan b. Sahl, und ein weiser Mann aus Kabul, Dhübän oder Dhaubän, verwickelt sind. Nach seiner Entdeckung in den Ruinen des Chosroenpalastes gelang es al-Hasan b. Sahl, wenigstens ein paar Seiten von Dhübän zu borgen und sie rasch übersetzen zu lassen, und eben diese leider fragmentarische Übersetzung stellt das existierende *Jawidän Hirad* dar. Das Original aber, das der weise Dhübän nach dem fernen Kabul entführte, war von keinem andern als dem iranischen Urkönig *Höschang* verfaßt worden.

Dieses Höschang-Buch nun, dem allein von Rechts wegen der Name „*Jawidän Hirad*“ zukommt, nimmt nur etwa den dreißigsten Teil von Miskawaihs *Jawidän Hirad* ein; es steht an seinem Anfang, zusammen mit der Dhübän-Legende, und hat dem ganzen Werk den Namen gegeben. Das Höschang-Buch existiert auch für sich außerhalb von Miskawaihs Werk. Der Herausgeber des arabischen Textes hat eine Handschrift dieser Separatausgabe benutzt: sie hat einen verschiedenen Titel, *Yatt-matu 's-Sulḥān*, und ist Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' zugeschrieben, und zwar als Autor, nicht als Übersetzer<sup>1</sup>; die Geschichte von al-Ma'mūn und dem weisen Dhübän fehlt natürlich in dieser Separatausgabe. Unglücklicherweise ist eine solche Schrift des Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' sonst nicht bekannt; und das Buch von al-Jāhiz, das Miskawaih zitiert, *Istīḍālatu 'l-Fahm*, scheint ebenfalls sonst nicht bekannt zu sein; so daß wir also über Miskawaih selber zunächst nicht hinauskommen. Doch kann man die Möglichkeit, daß die Schrift von Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa' stammt oder übersetzt war, immerhin nicht ganz von der Hand weisen.

Dem eigentlichen *Jawidän Hirad* oder Höschang-Buch hat nun Miskawaih eine ganze Reihe von Schriften ähnlichen Inhalts angefügt, Schriften der Perser, Araber, Inder und Griechen. Hier wollen wir uns nur mit dem persischen Material beschäftigen. Bekanntlich besteht ein guter Teil der Pehlewi-Literatur eben aus solchen ethisch-didaktischen Büchern wie Miskawaih sie hier gesammelt hat, Büchern des guten Rates oder „*Pand-nāmag*“. Testamenten oder *Andarz*, usw. Man hofft also von vornherein, daß Miskawaihs Sammlung das eine oder andre Stück der noch existierenden Pehlewi-Literatur enthalten werde, und diese Hoffnung hat nicht getrogen.

Allerdings muß ich nun gleich gestehen, daß die Identifizierung der Stellen nur in den ersten Anfängen steht. Den arabischen Text habe ich eben erst vor kurzem erhalten, und das Aufsuchen der Stellen ist mühsam und zeitraubend. Miskawaih (bzw. seine Vorlage) behandelte sein Material mit völliger Freiheit. Im allgemeinen beschränkte er sich keineswegs darauf, die Pehlewi-Schriften, so wie sie sind, aufzunehmen, vielmehr suchte er sich aus ihnen aus, was ihm zusagte; und was er sich aussuchte,

<sup>1</sup> Arabischer Text S. 7 Anm. 5.



brachte er unglücklicherweise nicht in der Reihenfolge des Originals, sondern wie es ihm gerade paßte. Dazu kommt noch, daß die Zuschreibung der Sentenzen an Urheber schon in der Pehlewi-Literatur ziemlich willkürlich war, so daß ein und dasselbe Diktum hier dem frommen Ādarbād, dort dem weisen König Chošro in den Mund gelegt ist. All dies erschwert das Suchen sehr.

Gleich das erste Stück, nach der Überschrift eine Auswahl aus den Ermahnungen des Ādarbād an seinen Sohn, stimmt recht gut mit dem entsprechenden Pehlewi-Andarz überein, nur erscheinen die Sätze in der schrecklichsten Unordnung, verglichen mit dem Original. Hier liest man so charakteristische Sentenzen wie diese: „Seiest Du auch noch so geschickt in der Schwimmkunst, so stürze Dich doch nicht in die Wirbel des Flusses; seiest Du auch noch so klug mit Beschwörungsformeln, so greife doch nicht Schlangen in Hast“<sup>1</sup>. Genau so dem Sinne nach im Pehlewi<sup>2</sup>; in der Ausdrucksweise freilich ist der Unterschied hier und überall bedeutend: im Arabischen ist sie elegant, stilvoll und pointiert, im Pehlewi dagegen schwerfällig, langatmig und kindlich.

Auch dem Ādarbād zugeschrieben ist hier<sup>3</sup>, ebenso wie im Dinkard, eine auf fünf Ursachen schematisch verteilte Liste von 25 menschlichen Zuständen und Attributen, deren zoroastriische Versionen R. C. ZAHNEN vor einigen Jahren ans Licht gezogen hatte<sup>4</sup>. Seinerzeit hatte ich mir notiert, daß eben diese Liste auch in muslimischen Büchern vorkommt, so in der al-Ghazzālī zugeschriebenen persischen *Nafīḥatu 'l-Mulūk*<sup>5</sup> und in dem sogenannten *Zafar-name*, das auch als Teil des *Tārīḫ-i Gūzide* erscheint und den weisen Buzurjmīr zum Verfasser haben soll<sup>6</sup>. Wie weit solch spätere Weisheitschriften auf Miskawayhi's Werk zurückgehen, bliebe noch zu untersuchen.

Man muß sich nun fragen, ob nicht auch das eigentliche *Jawādan Hīrad*, das Höschang-Buch, seinen Ursprung in der Pehlewi-Literatur habe. Höschang, wiewohl als iranischer Urkönig dafür recht geeignet, ist jedoch in der iranischen Tradition als Produzent von Weisheitsprüchen nicht bekannt. Da liegt der Verdacht nahe — ich glaube, er ist schon einmal ausgesprochen worden — daß er seine Einführung in diese Literatur nur einer Verwechslung mit dem weisen Aōšwar verdanke. Aōšwar führt im Avesta das Beiwort *pouru.sira* „überaus weise“ — Grund genug,

<sup>1</sup> Arabisch 27<sup>16</sup>—17.

<sup>2</sup> *Pahlavi Texts* ed. JAMASP-ASANA, S. 69 §§ 113—114.

<sup>3</sup> Arabisch 67<sup>1</sup> sqq. <sup>4</sup> JRAS. 1940, 36—39; dazu kürzlich denselben Vfs. *Zurvan* (Oxford 1955), 407—8.

<sup>5</sup> Teheran 1315/7, 123 u. — 124<sup>18</sup> (wo anmerkungsweise auf das persische *Jawādan Hīrad*, 113—114, verwiesen ist).

<sup>6</sup> *Tārīḫ-i Gūzide* 73<sup>13</sup>—17 (auch bei SALEMANN-ZIEHOVSKIY, *Persische Grammatik*, 41<sup>6</sup>). Vgl. übrigens NÖLDEKE, *Pers. Studien*, II 29 A. 2.

ihm Weisheitsbücher zuzuschreiben. Ein allerdings fragmentarisch überliefertes Pehlewi-Andarz des Aōšnar existiert ja noch heute<sup>1</sup>, und in der Pehlewi-Schrift waren die Namen *Hōšhang* und *Aōšnar* einander recht ähnlich. Bei der Tat haben die Sentenzen des Hōšhang-Buches mit denen der Aōšnar-Schrift eine gewisse Familienähnlichkeit, besonders in der äußeren Anlage, doch ist direkte Identifikation bisher nicht möglich gewesen<sup>2</sup>.

Das wichtigste Stück aber von Miskawaihs Sammlung, wenigstens in den Augen des am Pehlewi Interessierten, ist seine Auswahl aus den *Adab Buzurjmīhr*. Sie entspricht genau dem Pehlewi *Ayādgār* des *Vuzurjmīhr*, und hier ist nur wenig vom Original weggelassen (besonders am Ende), und vor allem ist die Reihenfolge genau beibehalten, so daß tatsächlich eine fast vollständige Übersetzung vorliegt. Sie ist so treu, daß sie für das Verständnis des oft schwierigen Pehlewi-Textes von großer Wichtigkeit ist; mehrere Wörter, deren Bedeutung man bisher erraten oder erschließen mußte, werden nun sichergestellt. Dazu sieht man einmal an einem Beispiel, wie die Übersetzer derartiger Pehlewi-Schriften ihre Originale handhaben und in welcher Weise sie sie modifizierten, um sie ihrem Publikum schmackhaft zu machen.

Allen einem Muslim Anstößige, alles spezifisch Zoroastrische wird einfach weggelassen oder so verändert, daß es harmlos aussieht; nichts liegt dem Übersetzer ferner, als etwa die Lokalfarbe zu wahren. Die *Druf*, die Dämonen, welche Ahriman gegen die Menschen schickt, erscheinen als „die natürlichen Eigenschaften und Begierden“, das „Gesetz der Dämonen“ wird der „Befehl des Teufels“, die Dämonin *Būštep* wird Tiefschlaf, der zoroastriische Priester ist einfach ein *Faqīh*, und die Frage „welche Religion ist die beste“ ist taktvoller Weise beiseite gelassen. Dem ganzen Stück sieht man nicht mehr ohne weiteres seinen fremden Ursprung an, und der Leser kann kaum umhin, zu finden, daß *Buzurjmīhr* und seine Zoroastrier eigentlich ganz gute Muslime waren. Man kann wohl sagen, daß solche Übersetzungen eine Art kultureller Propaganda darstellen.

Die Frage, wer diese Übersetzungen angefertigt hat, läßt sich nicht beantworten; sicherlich waren mehrere Hände am Werk. Dagegen kann man dessen ganz gewiß sein, daß die Texte aus dem Pehlewi ins Arabische übersetzt worden sind und nicht etwa umgekehrt. Der Herausgeber des arabischen Textes, dem die Existenz vergleichbarer Schriften in der Pehlewi-Literatur wohl bekannt war, hat in seiner gelehrten Einleitung

<sup>1</sup> Pahlavi Text Series, No. 4. *Andarz-i Aōšnar-i dānāk*, ed. ERVAD B. N. DRAHEHAR, Bombay 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Dagegen finden wir z. B. *Aōšnar* ■■■ 39–40 bei Miskawaih S. ■■■<sup>1</sup>–<sup>11</sup>, aber unter dem Namen des *Buzurjmīhr*.

die Frage nach dem Ursprung des Materials ernstlich aufgeworfen, und wenn er sich auch sehr vorsichtig ausdrückt, so neigt er doch offensichtlich der Ansicht zu, daß das Arabische das Original sei, das Pehlewî aber die Übersetzung — Fälschungen wohl des neunten Jahrhunderts. Für jemanden, der beide Versionen Satz für Satz verglichen hat, gibt es hier aber überhaupt keine Frage. Der Umstand jedoch, daß der Herausgeber hier ein Problem sah, zeigt aufs deutlichste, wie überaus geschickt die Übersetzer in ihrem Bemühen, diese Schriften zu arabisieren und islamisieren, verfahren sind.

In seiner Besprechung dieser Frage hat der Herausgeber wohl zuviel Gewicht auf die Ansicht gelegt, die CHRISTENSEN in seinem grundlegenden Artikel über Buzurjmîr<sup>1</sup> zum Ausdruck gebracht hatte, dahingehend, daß das *Aydgâr* des Vuzurgmîr seine gegenwärtige Form erst im neunten Jahrhundert erhalten habe. Diese Ansicht gründet sich jedoch zum Teil auf Mißverständnisse von Stellen in seiner Einleitung. Das Datum „neuntes Jahrhundert“ z. B. beruht auf einem Passus, der nach CHRISTENSEN heißen soll „im Laufe von dreihundert Jahren geht eine Familie zu Grunde, ihr Name wird vergessen, und die Tempel der Magier fallen in Ruinen“. Solch ein Satz, so meinte CHRISTENSEN, könnte erst längere Zeit (oben etwa 300 Jahre) nach dem Verfall des sassanidischen Reiches geschrieben worden sein<sup>2</sup>. In Wirklichkeit jedoch ist von Tempeln der Magier im Text gar keine Rede, vielmehr steht dort „Haus und Hof, *mârad mēkan*, fallen in Ruinen“<sup>3</sup>. Die übrigen Gründe, die CHRISTENSEN zu dieser späten Datierung führten, sind ebenfalls nicht zwingend. Meinerseits sehe ich keinen überzeugenden Grund, weshalb der Text nicht, wie er vorgibt, im sechsten Jahrhundert verfaßt sein soll. Dafür spricht gerade seine Einleitung, die, wie CHRISTENSEN gesehen und mit Recht betont hat, sich aufs engste mit Burzoes Einleitung zu *Kalîla wa Dimna* berührt und daher gut derselben Zeit wie jene angehören mag, eben dem sechsten Jahrhundert.

<sup>1</sup> *La légende du sage Buzurjmîr*, Acta Orientalia, viii, 81—129.

<sup>2</sup> Nous pouvons en effet, d'après ce passage, fixer la date de la rédaction à environ trois cents ans après la période de Khusrâu I, c'est-à-dire au milieu du neuvième siècle. CHRISTENSEN, a. a. O. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Pahlavi Texts*, 86<sup>a</sup>.



## THE KHWAREZMIAN LANGUAGE

Many of those who come to-day to offer their congratulations to Professor Zeki Velidi Togan may be unaware of the great services our learned friend has done to the study of the Iranian languages. It is owing solely to his restless energy and searching mind that we now possess a fairly adequate knowledge of the ancient Khwarezmian language, the mother tongue of al-Beruni and al-Zamakhshari, an Eastern Iranian dialect that continued to be spoken in Khwarezm well into Mongol times.

His first discoveries of Khwarezmian material were embodied in an article (*Islamica* iii, 1927, 190-213) that contained extracts from a Fiqh work studded with Khwarezmian sentences, the *Yatimatu 'd-dahr fi fatāwī ahli 'l-'aqr*, and, in addition, a few glosses from the Khwarezmian version of Zamakhshari's *Muqaddimatu 'l-'adab*. They were overshadowed by his later find of the *Qunyatu 'l-munyah*, another Fiqh work written in Khwarezm, of which countless manuscript copies are extant, some of them of the first quality. As the Khwarezmian words of the *Qunyah*, in the best manuscripts, are not only properly pointed and vocalized but also fully explained, in Arabic or Persian, they offered a secure basis for the study of this hitherto forgotten Iranian language.

Professor Zeki Velidi Togan has now crowned his earlier efforts with the brilliant discovery of a considerable portion of the *Muqaddimatu 'l-'adab* in its Khwarezmian version. The manuscript he has discovered extends to some 190 pages: it contains about a third part of the original work (corresponding to pp. 45-132 in Wetzstein's edition). The obvious fact that this manuscript is the original copy written by the author, the great Zamakhshari, himself, nearly consoles us for the lack of any vocalization; but the scarcity of consonant points, which

■ the author, writing in his mother tongue, may have seemed an unnecessary adornment, creates endless difficulties for us<sup>1</sup>.

In correct appreciation ■ the immense value of his discovery, which, providing a vast vocabulary, supplements the information derivable from the *Qunyah* in the happiest way, Professor Zeki Velidi Togan has decided to publish the manuscript in a full-length facsimile edition. Of his edition, which may be generally available by the time this paper is published, ■ kindly sent me advance proof-sheets. As a token of our appreciation of his great services to Iranian Studies, what could be more appropriate ■ the occasion than making some use of the rich material he has provided?

When Professor Togan had found the *Qunyah*, he generously invited me to participate in the exploration of the documents. After some weeks ■ intensive work the basic structure of the language became clear. At the 8th German *Orientalistentag*, held in Bonn ■ August, 1936, both Professor Togan and myself delivered lectures on the *Qunyah* and the language data contained in it; our lectures, in extract, were printed still in 1936 (*ZDMG.*, vol. 90, pp. + 27 + — + 34 +; here quoted as *Report*). We then announced that we were engaged in preparing a full edition of the material.

Three years later, before we could complete the work, the «discovery» of the very same *Qunyah* was announced by S. L. Volin and A. A. Freyman in two articles (*Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akad. Nauk*, vii, 1939, 79-91, 306-319), of which the former repeats Professor Togan's lecture and the latter reproduces what I had said. These two articles are unhampered by consideration of our clear priority; ■ Freyman's article the only acknowledgement made is in a sentence of classical brevity ■ the end: «the study of the Khwarezmian language proceeds also abroad» (p. 319, with reference to *ZDMG.*, 90, but without mention ■ our names). One gains the impression that ■ the opinion of these two authors the task ■ analysing the Khwarezmian language was so easy that its accomplishment deserved no credit; it is true that it is easy *after* ■ has been accomplished by someone else.

As A. A. Freyman had declared his wish to proceed to the publication

<sup>1</sup> [When this was written, in November 1950, the even greater extent of Professor Togan's discovery could not ■ fully perceived. The Ms., now happily published in facsimile (*Khwarezmian Glossary of the Muqaddimat al-Adab*, edited by Z. V. Togan, Istanbul 1951) contains in fact as much as 511 pages with Khwarezmian glosses. Only the first 190 pages could be used for this article.]

of the Khwarezmian sentences of the *Qunyah*, I for my part abandoned my earlier intention to undertake this task. The interference we had experienced produced in my mind disinclination to engage in work now made distasteful; and there is a sufficiency of untouched material in our field to render double work doubly undesirable.

Ever since 1939 A. A. Freyman has published a series of articles on the various features of the Khwarezmian language, without, however, fulfilling his promise of making the text of the *Qunyah* accessible in a proper edition. Only in his latest paper, contained in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi, 1949, pp. 63-88, has he made a beginning with the systematic publication of the Khwarezmian sentences, although still withholding the Arabic context and, for the greater part, the Arabic and Persian glosses explaining the Khwarezmian words<sup>1</sup>.

After studying Freyman's latest article (here quoted as *SV*, vi) one realizes, not without surprise, that there has been no advance over the inevitably incomplete and in many points faulty statements in my part of the *Report*. It is clear that no proper analysis has ever been attempted. In consequence, not even the principal points of either phonology or morphology have been grasped (apart, of course, from those that had already been dealt with in the *Report*). The explanations given by Freyman unsystematically, sentence by sentence, are marked by poverty of invention, lack of coherence, and irritating repetitiveness. There is an abundance of blunders; a few examples may be given here.

In the sentences concerning divorce the word *panāmi* «my co-wife» occurs more than once (*SV*, iii, 86). Freyman derives it from *patināma*. Such a word might mean «surname», but scarcely «co-wife»; and even the most casual glance at the Khwarezmian language assures one that it would result in *pinām*. In fact, the *mi* of *panāmi* is pronominal affix «my»; the noun is *pana*, or, more properly, *apana* (spelt 'pn in the *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* [here referred to as *Muq.*]), presumably stressed *apāna*; the stress moved forward on to the final syllable when a suffix was added, and the stressed vowel was lengthened, hence *panāmi* from *apana-mi*. Already in my part of the *Report* I referred to the *Beweglichkeit der Vokale unter Akzentwirkung* (p. 34),

<sup>1</sup> [Meanwhile the publication has been continued in Freyman's *Khwarezmīyaskiy Yazık*, 1951, which, in addition to reprints of earlier articles, including that in *SV*, (here on pp. 51-78), contains further glosses (pp. 78-118) published in the same style. This work was not yet available when the present article was written.]



which is indeed as characteristic of Khwarezmian as is e. g. of Hebrew and Aramaic; it frequently involves the loss of an initial vowel, when the stress moves forward, cf. e. g. *\*wāyr* = *uāir* «belly» (Avestan *udara-*) beside *ōrōnd* = *ōrōānd* «girth» or *ōrōncryk rwyr* = *ōrōānjik ruwira* «astringent medicine» (Av. *urwāra*). While lack of understanding such finer points as the movement of stress and its effect on the word structure may well be excused, one would have thought that the ability of detaching the more obvious suffixes from the whole word should form one of the prerequisites of the study of unknown languages. In the present case matters are made worse by the consideration that the true etymon (Avestan *hapadni* «co-wife»), which in any case should be obvious to anyone acquainted with the history of the Iranian languages, was expressly stated as long as ten years ago (see my *Sogdica*, 1940, p. 17).

The first of the *Probesätze* I gave in the *Report*, p. 34, is reproduced by Freyman, *SV.*, vi, p. 66, but the first words, *hāβarnidi yā diydāmi* «I have given you my daughter», reappear wrongly as *hāβ(ī)rīndi yā diydāmi*. In fact, all MSS agree in spelling *h'βrnyd* (not *h'βrynd*), with *nūn* before *yā*. To give the text as *h'βrynd* involves a silent correction of an altogether illicit and misleading kind; no doubt it has been caused by inability to account for the form; for as «I gave» + *hi* «him» is *h'βrū'h*, «I gave» + *di* should appear as *h'βrū'd*. However, the actual form, *h'βrnyd*, illustrates one of the principal rules of Khwarezmian syntax, a rule not understood by me in 1936, after the first brief glance at the Khwarezmian material, and not understood by Freyman in 1949, after many years of study. The rule is this: if a verb precedes its object, the object is expressed a second time by an anticipatory pronoun, which is added either to the verb (if the first word of the sentence) or to a word before the verb<sup>1</sup>. It follows that in the sentence under review the verb, *h'βrnyd*, as it precedes its object, must contain a reference to the object, in addition to the pronoun - *di* «to you». Indeed, it is owing to the presence of a second pronoun that the actual form differs from the (wrongly) expected form *h'βrū'd*. The

<sup>1</sup> The use of anticipatory pronouns in such positions is not confined to the direct object. It also occurs with certain prepositional expressions. Thus a noun preceded by *f-* «in, by» is normally anticipated by the pronominal adverb *uā* «in him, therein, thereof» (not understood by Freyman, *SV.*, vi, 76, 78), which, when affixed to a verb, appears as *wa* (e.g. added to the ending of the 3rd pers. sing. impf., *-da*, it appears as *dāwa*, spelt *-dwa*). Example: *c'yr'w fy n'n'm* = *cāytāwa* // *nānāma* = Arabic *daxala 'alā fulān* (Muq.), where «he entered» = *cāyta*.

hidden pronoun, of course, is *-hi* "her", and *-nyd* = *nidi* represents *-nahidi*. Such contraction commonly occurs, owing to the feebleness of *h* in Khwarezmian, whenever the pronoun *-hi* is followed by another element. For example, the ending of the 3rd sing. impf. is *-da*, which combined with *-hi* becomes *-dāhi*; but when *hiθ* "with him, to him" or *hič* "from him" are joined with it, we find *-diθ* and *-dič*.

Another error which Freyman has followed me concerns the prepositions. In dealing with the words *fj cwā* "in the water" (*Report* p. 34) I wrongly explained *fj* as a preposition "in". In fact, two words have coalesced in *fj*: the preposition *f* or *f'* "in to, at, on, etc." (presumably derived from Old Iranian *abi*) and the masculine (and plur. comm.) article *i*. Hence, *fj* = "in the". Correspondingly, in combination with the feminine article, *yā*, we have *fā*. Freyman, of course, has not understood why this preposition should seemingly appear sometimes as *fj*, sometimes as *fā* (see *SL*, vi, 76, 84). The two forms of the article are equally combined with the other prepositions: thus we have *mā* and *cā* from *c'* "with, from" (Av. *haēa*), *paci* and *pacā* from *pac* "after" (Av. *pasēa*), *pari* and *parā* from *par* "over" (Av. *upairi*), and so on. This has not been clear to Freyman (see e.g. p. 86 on *parā*). The fact that the feminine article is a mere *-ā* when attached to prepositions may, at first glance, make one doubtful of the derivation of the article from the old relative stem *ya-*, which was proposed in my portion of the *Report* (p. 34) and has since been advocated by Professor Bailey (*Asica*, 15 sqq.; Transactions of the Philological Society, 1945). Yet the volatility of initial *y-* in Khwarezmian entitles us to the assumption that the difference between *yā* and *ā* was so insignificant that the former could be replaced by the latter. Indeed, one finds *\*wyc'nyrk* (unpointed) = *āvēcānakik* "eternal" resulting from *yāwātān-*, or *\*yw'nyk* "young" (from *yuvan-*) beside *\*y yw'nyk* "the young". An allusion to the reverse phenomenon, the addition of *y-* to initial *ā-*, was made already in my *Report* (p. 32); it is applied irregularly, cf. *\*dyr* = *ādir* "fire", *\*styr-* = *āstir* "lining" (Pers. *āstar*), *\*y* (with *tašdid*) = *āy-* "life" from Old Iranian *āyu-*, against *\*y'k* = *yāk* "egg" (with article *\*y y'k*), and the like; it must not be confused with the occasional coalescence of the article with a word that begins with a vowel or with *y-*, as in the case of *\*ymnk* "the summer" (from *i* + *\*mnk* from *hāmīna-*) or *\*ysm* "the sky" (from *i* + *(y) āsm-*; why Freyman, *SL*, vi, p. 66, attributes the feminine gender to this word escapes me). Clear support for the derivation of the Khwarezmian article from the old relative pronoun is afforded by the repetition of

the article before an apposition (an adjective or a genitive) that follows a determined noun. Examples: adjective + noun, undetermined *znc j'nwrn* «insects, lit. small animals», determined *y' wδzy'k-myn* «the place of strangulation» (*wδzažyāk* verbal noun, from *awa-darzaya-*); noun + adjective, undetermined *r'c wāncy* «old veins» (pl. of *r'k* = Sogd. *r'k*; *wānyk*, fem. *wānc* «old», pl. fem. *wādanciya*, cf. Sogd. *wēnyy* etc.), determined *y' sīrc y' nhyr* «the unlucky stars» (pl. of *sīryk*; *nahsiya* from Arabic *nahs*), *y' mrc y' xw'rcm* «the Khwarezmian». Determined genitives, preceding *y' jsty pax's* «the wife's (*jsty*) clothes», cf. *'s δuck* name of a parasite plant, clearly «camel's tooth» (viz. *uṣṣi δancik*; OIr. *ultra* and *dant-*); chiefly following, *y' cyr y' xr'x'n* «the blade of the sword» (*taiya-*; *xr'x'n* gen. of *xr'x*, masc., cf. Sogd. *xyr* etc.); *y' nwk y' mrc* «the tip of the lance» (*nyrc* gen. of *nyrk*, fem.), *y' y'k y' zmwk'n* «the ant's egg» (gen. masc. of *zmwryk*, cf. Sogd. *zm'wr'k* P 2, 390, *zm'wré* SCE. 366), *y' hūny y' n'cy* «the blood of the nose» (*hūni*, Av. *vohuri-*; *nāciya* gen. fem. of *nāca*), *y' 'nwš y' qmry* «the creaking of the qalam and of the door» (*qal(a)miya* gen. fem., *δšarān* gen. masc. of *δšar-*), *y' δ'rk y' ywc'wd y'psy* «the udder of cow and ewe» (*δārik* from *ūdar-*? *yōca* gen. of *yōk* «cow», Oss. *yog*; OIr. *pasu-* here capable of being either masculine, gen. *ps'n* = *apsān*, or feminine, gen. *psy* = *apsiya*). In these genitive constructions the gender of the first article always conforms to the gender of the first word; but the gender of the second article conforms to the gender of the second word only if the first word is masculine: is the first word a feminine, both articles are feminine. This circumstance is not necessarily due to attraction: for if the article is indeed derived from the relative pronoun, the gender of the second article should agree with that of the first word. For example, *wāc* «thing, matter» (Av. *vāc-*) is a masculine noun in Khwarezmian, and as such has the gen. sing. *wācān*; one finds both *y' hqyq' y' w'c'n* «the truth of the matter» (the Arabic fem. being treated as a masc. in Khw.) and *y' pc y' w'c'n* «the end of the matter» (*paca* «end» is fem. throughout); cf. also *y'yt y' w'c'n* «the beginning of the matter», where *y'yt* = *i* + *āyat-* «beginning» (from *āyast-*). The repetition of the article has a parallel in the repetition of prepositions in equivalent situations. Thus we have without article *f'ydk'wk f'n'n'm'n* «in the presence of so-and-so», *f-* preposition, *āyatkāuk* «presence» (abstr. of *āyadik* «one who has come»), *f-* preposition, *nānāmān* gen. masc. of *nānām-* = *fulān*. With the article, *fy zfk fy rk'wyk* «in Turkish», literally «in the language in the Turkish»; *cy b'ōys cy 'lth'n* «from the command of God» (from

the command from the of-God). No repetition occurs with an antecedent apposition, *fy n'n'm w'r* «in such-and-such a matter», *fy nß'y'n ðrwk'nyk* «in the illness of death» (*nß'y*, masc., «death»; *ðrwk* «sick» from *adruva*-, *Morgenstierne, IIFL*, ii, 224).

As I have mentioned the *Prohesätze* in the *Report* (p. 34), I will not let the opportunity pass without correcting a few further points. In the second sentence, *eiyy*- «to enter» does not belong to OIr. *ēyau*-, but derives from *ati* + *i*-; its imperfect stem is *cāy*- (*atīyāi*-), its participle is *cydyk* (*atigata*-); cf. Parthian *'dyh*-: *'dgd*, Sogdian *rys*-: *ryt*-. In the third sentence, the first word should be written *kimi*, -*mī* here being contracted from -*mī-hi*; and the name of the small coin is not *'ys* but *'ps* = *ipši*, developed from *pīši*- with the prothetic vowel common in Kwarezmian; this *ipši* belongs to Persian *pīši* (beside *pīši*: etc.), which originally means «scale» but is used of small coins (= Arabic *fals*; on the history of the meaning see G. Hoffmann *apud* J. Flemming, *Akt. Ephes. Syn.*, Abh. G. G. W. 1917, p. 174a).

It should not be thought that the errors found in Freyman's latest article are confined to the cases mentioned above; these are merely representative cases, showing the absence of progress beyond the stage reached in our *Report*. It would be tedious to fill many pages with the list of his blunders, but we will mention a few. P. 62, the first word, *aciwa* is not *a* + interrog. pronoun, but *'cy* interrog. pron. + *wa* «therein» (= *wā* with preceding stress). P. 65, *mis* «also» compared to Sogd. *m'yš* «so», without regard to phonology; in fact = Sogd. *ms* «also»; still stranger remarks on *ms* on p. 80. P. 64, a peculiar derivation of the ending of 2nd sing. subj. from the 3rd sing. opt. of «to be». P. 67, *pārwarzda* «he became» derived from *par* + *var*-; but the present stem is *purwuz*- (e.g. *ibid.*, p. 68 where wrongly with *š*), hence *pari* + *waz*-. P. 68, *nānām*- is declared to be a pronoun; in fact, a *bahuvrīhi* compound of *nā(n)* «that» and *nām*- «name». P. 69, *hyd* and *n'd* completely misunderstood; in fact, *hy* + *da* and *n'* + *da*, *hy* and *n'* being the enclitic pronouns of the 3rd person, *hy* singular and *n'* plural. P. 71 *hußyr* and *huß'r*, from *huß*- «to fall», wrongly divided into *hw* (which does not exist) and forms of «to be». P. 71, *kicyāmihi* «I throw away» absurdly referred to *kaft*- «fall», with the usual confusion of present stem and past participle and the accustomed disregard of phonology; in fact, *key*-, impf. *k'ey*-, is from *kartaya*-, cf. Wakhj *kart*- «to throw». P. 72 *muxxāsi* is said to be from *xwāh*-, but on the next page we are told that *muxxās*- comes from *vi* + *hrc*-; the latter statement stands on the same page as the assertion that *ixxi*-

is the result of *grz-*: truly an extraordinary language; we note that in fact *rz-* always becomes *z* in Khwarezmian, and that *(i)xxi-* belongs to Avestan *xši-* (with *-x-* or *-xx-* from *-xs-*, see Report 32; *mxy-*, not *mcy-*, as in *Sogdica* 37, is the correct reading). P. 74 *y-alti* «lip» wrongly compared with Sogd. *yāt-* «meat»; in fact, from Av. *aošta-* «lip» with *-t-* *-ti-* from *-št-* as commonly. P. 75 *xurnāna* explained as *xurina* + *nāna*, while in fact in *xurina* «I ate» + *nā*, encl. pron. 3rd pers. pl. (see above my remark on p. 69); *xurina-nā* results in *xurnāna* quite regularly; the pronoun is extremely common, especially in combination with the 3rd sing. impf. *-da*, when *-dā-nā* produces *-dāna*. P. 75 *ws-* «to say», from Av. *raša-*, is wrongly referred to Sogd. *wys-*, which in fact would have *-xs-* in Khw. (cf. e.g. *\*mxx-* «to learn»). P. 76 *nāz dī* «I (am) a woman» has been «corrected» into *nāz wūdē* (in itself an impossible form, «wife» being *wūd*); but *dī*<sup>1</sup>, also *dyn* = *dīn*, «woman» (not «wife»), which belongs to Av. *daēnu-*, is the correct word. Even stranger is the importation of the word for «wife» into *\*cydywθ* (in our MSS. *\*cydwθ*, vocalized *acydiwθ*), p. 77, which means «what (*\*cy*) to you (*-di*) there (*-wθ*)», (*\*wθ* «there» = OIr. *awadu*, Sogd. *\*wā*). P. 77 *jity* «of the wife» is wrongly transcribed *jiftē*; in fact, the oblique case of feminine stems (excluding those ending in *-k*) has the ending *-iya* (from OIr. *ayāh* etc.); it is vocalized *-iya* throughout; when a suffix is added, the ending is spelled *-y-*, for example *y-* «we» «the place», *c-* «wey» «from the place», but *c-* «wey'h» «from his place». P. 77 *pw'reymn* completely misunderstood; in fact two words, *huwāracci* from *huwāradei* from *huwārād-ei*, pl. of *huwārādik* «separated» (cf. *BSOAS.*, xii, 310), and *ymin* «we are». P. 78 *mānhā*, explained as «to me», means in fact «as soon as». Ibid., *yd* «they are» is either a bad misreading or a «silent correction». The correct form is *yl*, mostly vocalized *yalli* (it occurs often enough). It may be difficult to account for it; but such consideration does not entitle one to suppress the true form and replace it by a purely speculative word. The pres. indic. of «to be» is spelled (without vowels) sing. *ym*, *y'h*, *yt*, plur. *ymn*, *yf*, *yl*; forms with vowels are rare and uncertain. sing. 1st *yimni*, 2nd *yāhi*, 3rd *yatti*, *yitti* (probably *yetti*); pl. 1st *yimmini*, *yimninni*, *yuminni*, 2nd not found, 3rd *yalli*, *yalla*, *yilli* (probably *yelle*). P. 81 *šhydk* «damaging action, obstruction» is queerly referred to Arabic *šāhid* «witness». Since *šā-* normally represents OIr. *frā-*, we should pose *frāhiti-* or a similar form (from *hāy-*); cf. Gothic *ahōiθōi*. P. 81 *fynd*

<sup>1</sup> With nasalized *ē*.

(*fjynd*) «husband» (whence *fjyndk* «master, God») is derived by Freyman from *band-*: in my view it belongs to *fšuyant-*, Saka *kšandaa-*, Pers. *fšuy*, etc., with *f-* from *fš-* (cf. *x-* from *xš-*). P. 81, *mā*, *-fā*, the enclitic pronouns, are here and elsewhere referred to OIr. *mām* and *θwām*, while in fact they belong to the enclitic OIr. *-mā* and *-θwā* (see Report 32). P. 82 *zywk* = *zīwak* «anyone» «someone»<sup>1</sup> appears in the transcription as *ka-*, distributed over two words and deprived of its initial consonant; and *hfly*, the personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. plural, is said to be a «prefix» which forms a pair with *mfly* «we» = *māflyi*, genitive *mfly'n* = *māflyān*; hence = *hāflyi*). P. 82-3, *θhrkk* has been arbitrarily changed into *thrkk*; in fact, it is glossed *δū barakar*<sup>2</sup> and therefore is an adjective, while *taharruk* (which in Khw. is spelled *thrwk*) is a substantive. Adjectives indicating possession are ordinarily formed with prefixed *θa-* in Khwarezmian; they are very numerous and have their prototype in the Avestian compounds of the type of *haða-hunara*, *haða-barasman-* etc. Hence, *θabararak* (vulgarism for the expected *θa-barakat*).

Before we leave this appreciation of the value of the contribution Freyman has made to the study of Khwarezmian, a few words must be said on a major error he has disseminated, namely on his assertion that Khwarezmian shared the Sogdiano-Ossetic plural ending *-t* (*Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 314, and elsewhere). The presence or absence of this ending is of some importance for the classification of the Iranian languages; it figures prominently among the material Professor H. W. Bailey collected for the demonstration of close relations between Khotanese, Sogdian, Khwarezmian, and Ossetic (*Asica*, 24 sqq.). However, Freyman's assertion is misleading; no such ending, in fact, existed in Khwarezmian. It is true that plurals frequently end in *-c*; but this *-c* derives not from *-t* but from *-k*. One only has to look at a list of the plural forms found in Khwarezmian to discover that the plural in *-c* is restricted to words that in the singular end in *-k*, and, contrariwise, that all words in *-k* form their plural by changing *-k* into *-c*. For example *z'dyk* «son», pl. *z'dyc*; *'stryk* «drachm» pl. *'stryc* (\**ester-* from *satēr-* = *statēr*); *p'cm'nyk* «a weight (= *mann*)», pl. *p'cm'nc* (Pers. *paimāne* etc.); *ywck* «single», pl. *ywyc*; *suk* «stone», pl. *mc*; *šwk* «nail», = *šwuk*, pl. *šwc* (from *srwka-*, cf. also *šw* «horn», and, for *š* from *sr*, *'jwc* «tears», *xš* «mother-in-law»<sup>2</sup>; *xš'k* «self, same; he».

<sup>1</sup> From «living, existing».

<sup>2</sup> Exceptional change in *p'šruwmyd'h* «he exercised it», denominative verb from Sogd. *pšrwrm*, where *-cfr-* from *-cfr-*.

pl. *x'd'e* (Av. *x'atō*); *r'k* "vein", pl. *r'e*; and so on. That the ending was *-ci*, not a mere *-c*, is shown by the spelling when a suffix is added, e.g. *z'mwk* "knee", pl. with suffix *y z'mwcyh* "his knees"; hence, sing. *zânūk*, pl. *zânūci*, with suffix *zânūcihi*. Cf. also the passage printed by Volin, *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, vii, 91 where *xw'jeyh* and *r'yeyeh*, the plurals of *xw'j(y)k* and *r'yeyk*, face *māryfn'h* and *n'ybn'h*, the plurals of *māryf* and *n'yb*. The two latter forms indicate the normal plural of nouns other than those ending in *-k*; it is *-ina* (in final position *-ina*, before a suffix *-(i)nā-*). Certain such words, however, possessed a plural<sup>1</sup> that remained unmarked in unvocalized text, e.g. *m'y* = "bird" and "birds"; the rare suffixed forms show that in these cases we have to presume the presence of a final vowel, namely *-i*, cf. *y' puyh* (nom.) "its feathers" (*parna-*, with regular *-n-* from *m-*, cf. *w'nync* "sheep-wool", Av. *carandā*, *cn-ugbyn* = Pehl. *tart(r)-anguhin*, *z'wck* "crane", Pushto *zāḡu*, *h'my-* "shake", Sogd. *'m-*, *-knyrk* "making", etc.); they differ from the corresponding singulars (nominative), which are spelled masc. *z'alkh* "his son", *šwmh* "its tail", *nsh* "his lancelet" (note *ywh* "its colour" = *yūhi* with nasalized *-ū-*, from *ywn*), fem. *n'e'h* "his nose", *šyd'h* "his daughter", *kfwk'h* "its foam", *y' n'xk'h* "its claws".

Evidently nouns in *-k*, as the words mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph, formed their plurals by adding *-i* to the singular stem, and *-ki* became *-ci* (by *-ēi*). Similarly, the feminine nouns that in the nom. sing. end in *-k(a)*, have the genitive and ablative ending *-(ca)*, while other feminine nouns have *-iya* in the genitive and ablative; clearly, this *-ca* is the outcome of an earlier *-kiya* (by *-kya* and *-ēa*). Several fem. genitives have been mentioned in this paper, such as *ywc* from *ywk* «cow», *nyzc* from *nyzk*, *nyzyk* «lance»; cf. further *y' šnc* from *šnk*, *šnyk* «bow» (with *tašdid* over *-n-*; prob. from *druna-* by *dru-*); *y' β'reye* from *β'reyk* «riding animal»; *y' zyewk* «life»; and contrast *y' dwyt* from *dwyt* «ink-pot», *y' šy* (*ušiya*) «of the she-camel», *y' k'ry* «of the bitch», *y' xry* «of the she-ass», *y' wōry* «of the belly», etc. (an exception to the rule is *y' pšky* from *pšk* «back»). There are not many ablatives: a good example is *e' rknhwrc* «from the she-hyena» (*rknhwryk* «hyena», masc.<sup>2</sup> or fem. acc. to natural gender), in contrast with *e' βwmy* «from the land» (*βūmiya*, nom. *βwm*), *e-xby* «at night»

<sup>1</sup> A form of this type may have been in Freyman's mind when he attributed a third plural ending *-ē* to Khwarezmian (and moreover to Sogdian). No such ending exists in Khwarezmian (nor in Sogdian).

<sup>2</sup> The masc. abl. ends in *-a*, *mg.* (with suffix) *cy s'rwk'h* «from his head».



(*xšap-*), and the above-mentioned *c'* 'wcy, *c'* 'wcy'h «from the/his place».

As regards the position ■ Khwarezmian within the circle of the Iranian languages, the closeness of its relation to Sogdian on the one hand and Ossetic on the other has perhaps been overstressed; some of the most striking resemblances to Sogdian may be due ■ loans. Some ■ the sound changes that so far have been neglected may ■ mentioned here, especially those that show the connection of Khwarezmian with the languages adjoining it towards the south and south-east.

Not only *wi-* becomes *ū-* (cf. also 'wyr «twenty», 'wš'd «wide»), but also *w-*, e.g. 'wryyk «wolf» (fem. 'wšk'a), 'wšyk «hungry», 'wšynd «hungry», 'wšnyrk «male», 'wšnyk «neighbour» (Av. *varazšnya-*). *-h-* is mostly lost (e.g. *s'k* «hare», *n'e* «nose»), but sometimes maintained (*w'h* «price», *pxw'h-nyk* «people» from *pxy-* «cut», Sogd. *pxw'y-*; *hwny* «blood»), sometimes added (*t'h* «thief» from *tāne-*, *hrs* «bear», *h'kš* «mountain goat», Wakhi *yukš*). *-y-* ■ lost after *-s-* and *-d-* (*s'w* «black», *kšb* «tortoise», *mš'n* «middle»). Initial *xw-* becomes *ux-* or *ax-*, but sometimes *x-*, cf. 'x «sister» = *uxa* (from *xwahū*), 'xyd «sweat», *mxyd* «he beat» (Oss. *xwajun*), but *xyr* «sun» beside 'xr, *xsr* «father-in-law»; *xwā-* remains or is *axwā-*, e.g. 'xu'dk «weak» (Sogd. *xw't*), beside which we find *mxx'st* = *max/x)ās-t* «grew tired» (Sogd. *xw's-*, Parth. *wx's-*). While *-θw-* appears as *-f-*,<sup>1</sup> *cfy* «four», *cfrys* «forty», as ■ Parthian, *-dw-* becomes *-δβ-* as in Sogdian, e.g. *δβcy*, *δβeym* «second», *δβzk* «thick», *δβr* «door», 'rδβk «erect» (Av. *arδwa-*), *δβ'ny-* «winnow» (see *IIFL.* ii. 222). *b'δβzyd'h* «he unfolded, spread out», intrans. impl. *b'δβxzyd*, participle *b'δβzyk* (cf. Sogd. *wyδβys-* etc.). Similarly, *zw* is *-zβ-* in *zβ'k* [so, not *zβ'k*] «tongue». Irregular *β* for *-w-* perhaps in *βnc* (?) «rice», *βnyk* «mark, characteristic» (*warna-*?), and *bz'β'r* «lean», cf. Pers. *nizār* (if indeed from *nizāwar*).

While old *z/j* has become *-z-* throughout (*yzy* «snake» from *zji-*, *zyw-* «alive», *zywy-* «revive», *z'my-* «bring»), both *rz* and *rž* appear as *ž*, cf. *kž* «difficult» (Sogd. *kry*), *wž* «thread» (*Yidgha wirž* etc.), 'žnd «worthy» (Chr. Sogd. 'yžnd-), *žž* «wild beast» (Pers. *šarže*), 'ndž «(knee-) fetters» (Av. *handarəza*), *xž*, *xžk* «good, sound» (Oss. *xorž*), perhaps 'žδ'nk «sheath (of a stallion)» if from Av. *arazi-* + *dāna-*. Correspondingly, *š* often becomes *-s-* (see below), and both *rs* and *ri* turn into *š*, cf. *βš* and *βš* «mane», *kšyk* «strap», *mwsyd* «he was

<sup>1</sup> Initially perhaps as *θf-* in *mšfncd'h* «he collected it» (Pers. *aljami-*), see *BSOS.* x. 105; *Sogdica*, 17, 32.

hungry», *γ'f'yk* «glad», *γ'šyd* «he was glad» (Sogd. *wyš-* etc.), *w'š'myk* «a wrapper or veil for the head» (Arabic *ximār*) = Pers. *hāšāme*, Arm. *varšamak*. Further, *šš* «goat-hair» (Wakhi *širs*, Yidgha *lirs*) and, with *šp* for original *-rsw-*, *pšp-* and *pšpyk* «side, rib» (Av. *parasu-*).

Most other *-r-* groups offer little of interest; *sr* and *rn* (becoming *š* and *n* respectively) were mentioned before. *-dr-* remains (*šruk* «sick», *šryd'h* «he reaped it»), and so do *-gr-* (*γryw* «self», *cyr* «sharp» from *tigra-*, *γr'cy* «awake», *γr'm* «weight»  $\equiv$  Oss. *āryom*, *cyr* «Falco sacer» = Pers. *čary*, *čarx*, Arab. *šayr*), *-rg-* (*mryy'* «wild (animal)» from Av. *marayā* with adj. suff. *-yān* or *-yā* with nasalized *-ā*; *sry* «lion»; *šryyc* «long»), and *-hr-* (*βr'd* «brother», many forms from *braig* «fry», e.g. *βryy* «kabab», *mšryzd'h* «he fried  $\equiv$ », *βryck* «fried»), Difficult groups are *θr* and *fr*. The former becomes *-r* in postvocalic position, *pur* «son», *purandir* «son-in-law», *cwrdys* «fourteen», and so also in the often divergent Khwarezmian dialect of al-Beruni, e.g. *'rw* from *āθrō*, *'xšrywry* from *xšāθrahe vairyche*, *'ryyn* from *varāθraynahe*, etc. In initial position we have *š-*, as  $\equiv$  Sogdian, *šy* «three», *šys* «thirty», *š'ky-* «strew» (Sogd. *dr''š-* beside *š'š-*), but once *hr-*, in *hršys* «thirteen» (cf.  $\equiv$  Parthian *hry*), once *arc-*, in *'rcy'dyk* «third part» (with Av. *yāta-*) beside *'rcy'my* (reading doubtful) «third part» (the ordinal number is *šym*), and once *θ-*  $\equiv$  *θyd* (as pointed out by Freyman); the latter form is due rather to loss of *-r-* in a cluster of consonants (from *θrxta-* instead of *θraxta-*) than to any regular change from *θr-* to *θ-*<sup>1</sup>. Similarly divergent treatment, due no doubt to the influence of a number of dialects, occurs  $\equiv$  the case of *fr-*. It may remain (*wfrk* «snow», *zfrk* «deep», *mšrysdh* «he sent to him») or become *f-* (*f'yk* «our»), and sometimes appears both as *fr-* and *f-*  $\equiv$  one and the same stem. E.g. *fratara-*  $\equiv$  *f'yr* «before» and *frdr* «better», *fratama-* is *frdm*, *frdym* «chief, best» and *f'myck* «first» (*-t-* remaining after reduction<sup>2</sup>), *fri-* gives *b'fnd* «he created», *b'fnd'h* «he created it», beside *y' b'fryc* «the creature(s)» (unpointed and doubtful except for *-fr-*), *friya-* supplies *f'y'ny* (unpointed) «love affair(s)», *θfy'n* «friend» (*θa-* + *f'y'n-*), *frywnyk* «friendly» (= parth. *fryhgwā*), *frywny'd* «kindness, friendliness»<sup>3</sup>). However, the normal development of the preposition *fra-* is *šā-* (cf. Balochi and Ormurī); I have noted more than a dozen examples, among them *š'med'h* «he took it off (clothes)» (*frā-* + *muč*); *š'mšyd-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *šnyk* «bow» from *druna-*.

<sup>2</sup> Correctly *spnk* and *'nszyk*.

<sup>3</sup> Correctly *βry'k* «honoured, dear», not from *friya-*.

«he rubbed» (Bal. *mušag* etc.), *š'k'ry-* «to pain» (cf. Pers. *nigār*); *š'w'e* «voice» (cf. Av. *fravāka-*), *š'nsyd* «he went astray», *š'nyk* «astray», caus. impf. *š'n'syd* (*framas-*, *franašta-*), *š'w'zd* «he jumped», caus. impf. *š'w'zy-* «throw» (*fra-waz-*) *š'w'k* «pure» (*fra-pawāka-*?), cf. also *š'ō* «nine» if from *frād-* «increase» (the only aberrant numeral in Khwar.; «90» is *nwyc*, «19» *nw'dys*). In addition, there are a few cases where one suspects that *fr-* has become *r-*, e.g. *rxnd* «insult» *rxyz-* (?) «arise, occur», cf. *'rs'wyk* «punice» (*fra-sāw-*?) and *p'cr'wyd'h* «he recalled it» (Sogd. *p'f'r'w-*); that this change existed in a Khw. dialect is assured by Beruni's *rwen* (*rawacina*) = Av. *fravāsinqm*. — *xr* remains in the middle of a word, *txryk* «bitter», *cxyr* «wheel», but loses *-r-* at the beginning of roots, *xn-* «buy», *sxn-* «ransom» (Sogd. *sy'r'm-*), *p'rx'wd-* «he scratched» (BSOS., X, 509); doubtful is the occurrence of *-rv* in *p'rx'wd* «he became lost, giddy, dazzled», possibly from *apa* + Av. *xraoda-* (cf. the metathesis *gr* in Beruni's *'wnry*).

As confusing as the treatment of *θr* and *fr* is that *θ* postvocalic *-š*. It remains in a few words, perhaps throughout loanwords, *pwš* «cat», *pwš'yk* «hoopoe» (Pers. *pūpat*), *š'wk* «target» (cf. Arm. *nšavuk*?), but normally becomes *-s*, e.g. *'ws* «attention» *θws* «intelligent» (*θa-* + *'ws*), *'nyws-* «listen», *θws-* «to milk», etc.; cf. also *try* «lion» for initial *š* (of doubtful origin). Besides, we have *h*-sounds, namely *x* in *ywx* «ear» and *h* in *'nh* «ewe», obviously from Av. *maēti* (cf. also *mhyak* «ram», formed as *'βzyk* «he-goat» from *'βz* «goat», Pers. *buz*), and in *sp'h* «louse»; in *nht-* «sitting» (cf. *nθ-* «to become»), *-h-* is probably original. And in addition, there are, surprisingly, clear cases of *-f-* as the result of *-š-*, namely *mwf* «mouse» and *frwf* (or *βrwf*) «flea»; this change occurred also in the dialect spoken by al-Beruni, who has *'srwf* for *sraošuhe* (with *sr* maintained in contrast with the other forms of Khw.) and *wufyk* «Virgo» from (*h*)*ausaka-* «ear of corn» [*f* from *š* only after labial vowels].

A few groups with sibilants: *sn* (*wsn* «because of»), *zn* (*βz'nyk* '«cushion»), *zg* (*nzy* «brain»), *zyk* «horn» from *azga-*, *zyryk* «coat-of-mail» Oss. *zyar*, Psh. *zyara*), *zd* (*'zd'k*, unpointed, «clever», from *azdā?* *yzdk* «rich» Oss. *qāzdig*, on which differently Bailey, Asica 15), *zm* (*zm* «fuel»), *sm* (*y'sm* and *y'sym* «the sky»), *ns* (*δns-* «be tamed»), *šm* (*cm* «eye»), *δnn* «enemy», *δnn'wy'd* «enmity») *xšn* (*y'xnyk* «the moon» from *axšm-*?), *xšn* (*pxnw'r'wc* «ungratefulness» from *apa-xšmauθra-*), *xš* (normally *x*, *w'xd* «he grew» *xw'feyk* «sweet» from

\* *zn* from *rzn*.

xwfc- «milk», 'xh'cyk' «kingdom», etc., but xšwθy-, unpointed, «to wash» from xšaudaya-), fš (mostly f. fynd «husband», cšk, cšyc «sour, vinegar» from rfs-, fš'n «breast» 'rδf-fš'n or 'rδf-fš'n corresp. to Av. aradva-fšni, but bšprm'c «shamelessness» with sp from šp from fš; mδššyd'h or mδš- «he envied him» from Av. dvašša-? both with -š-, perhaps s'fš'nyd'h or šfš- «he smoothed it with a file» from fra-fšānaya-?), fs (xfst «he was eclipsed» from grfsa-), sč (pc «after», pč'r «backwards», pčrmk «arms (tied) on back» cf. Sogd. 'pš'rm'y), šxw ('nx'r = Pers. nišxvār), rš ('šc «lance», but pšk «back» from pršt-), štr and štr (both -i- or -šš-, e.g. wš «grass, pasture», fš «dam, dyke» from hastra-, γš «tooth», 'š- «camel», cf. 'šny «ostrich»; also = -š- in 'šcyk «female» from Sogd. 'šryc + -k). Šr either remains, 'sinh «last», b'stwd «he denied», 'štyk «bone», mškyk «fresh butter» (from mūθ-; Pers. masge from mastke), etc., or appears shortened to -r-, as in fš'd «master», 'šwr<sup>2</sup> «large animal» (but once, disconcertingly, 'šwr<sup>3</sup>, as pl.), w'syd «he placed» from awāstaya- (beside wš'dyk from awastātaka-), cf. also šxyc «osprey» (from asti-xwara-); possibly -c-, by -sc-? in pck «egg-shell», if from pustaka- (but pwt also exists, as «fur», perhaps loan-word). Šr similarly either remains, 'š, 'šr-δys, 'št'c, 'šzd «8, 18, 800», 'šty «brick», 'šyw, pause form of 'š from šravah-, probably also in δštw «poor», δštw'wyk «poverty» (Sogd. δštw'n), if, as is likely, -st- is due merely to the common habit of incomplete pointing; or becomes -r-, 'yt «beginning», šnyk «astray», mtyk «broken», mt-zyk «with broken horns» (m'z-d «he broke», Parth. 'mšt, Psht. māt, Ormuri maz- māt-), rik and rtyrk «true» (beside ršt and ršt'wrd), perhaps y't «the lip» and wtr «twirl» (waštar-?), cf. perhaps also yt «is» from asti by ašt'<sup>1</sup>. The resulting -r- has further developed into -c- in mck, 'mck «fist(ful)» from mušt- (cf. the word for «egg-shell» above).

A remarkable feature of Khwarezmian, which it shares with Younger Avestan, is the occasional appearance of θ- in the place of -δ-, as in θ- «with» (-hiθ «with him», θxr «sunny», θwz «threaded (needle)», θ'wfy «faithful»), mθx «locust», nyθ- «become», (y') pθk «house» (probably from pada-), k'lyθ «form»; presumably in nmθk «salt» (see Sogdica 8, BSOAS., xii, 55). It is true, though, that devoicing occurs sometimes in Khw. (e.g. in črs «bustard» = Pers. čarz).

<sup>1</sup> 'xh- «to rule».

<sup>2</sup> Mistake for normal 'šwr.

<sup>3</sup> Probably merely badly formed 'šwr.

Ordinarily, Khw. -θ- represents OIr. -θ- (e.g. *ywθ* «excrements»); ■ may render foreign *t + h* (*mθryk* = Arabic *maṭharah*); and in one case Khw. -s- responds to OIr. -θy- (perhaps by -š-, cf. OPers. -θy- MPers. -š), namely in *xhsk* = *xubisk* «own» (MPers. *xwys*), supported by *xhsk'wnd* «master» (cf. Sogd. *xypθ'wnd*).

A brief list of some interest may conclude this survey, which, it is hoped, will afford some guidance ■ those who may wish to study the Khwarezmian material contained in the *Muqaddimatu l- Adab*. «Paradise» is *yrθm'n*, «hell» *tm-* (as in Sogd.), *'shnd'cmd* «earth», *βyk*, *'βyk* «doll» (from «god»; cf. Pers. *fuṣ*), *'rd* «feast» (Av. *ratu-*; Beruni has *ryd*). *K's* «pig» (Sogd.), *p'θ* «arrow» (Asica 11), *pθryk* «slate» (Sogd. *pyd'r*, S. T., i), *mand-* negative prefix as in Sogd. (*mndm'nynd* «dissimilar», *mndcyr* «blunt», *mnd'kirm'n*<sup>1</sup> «disobedient»); *rwhs* «fox», *'bw* 1) «silk», 2) «woof» (Sogdica 19), *p'rθ* «sell», *θyckyk* «axe» (Sogd. *θyccq*), *wryk* «saw» with *wryd'h* «he sawed it» (Sogd. *θm wry'kh* «with a saw» P 21, iii, 3; *θn wry'*, S. T., ii)<sup>2</sup>; *w'rynyk* «royal falcon» (Av. and Sogd.), *mrk* «monkey» (Sogd. *mkr'*), *θrmeyk* «scorpion» (from *dmud-* cf. Sogd. *nyrd'β'k* from *drdub-* and, from *drdam-*, Pahlavi *laram*, Pers. *dilamak*), *yrθk* «neck» (Sogd. *yrθ'kh*), *hyrβk* «cloud» (Sogd. *pr'β'k*), *'ks* «lean» (Sogd.), *Knbnyk* «linen» (Sogd. *kynp'*, cf. BSOAS. ■ 724), *wyn* «eye-sight», *ywr* «wild ass» (also Sogd., Pers. *gōr*), *K'm* «mouth» (Oss. *kam*), *'m'ny-* «guide, show» with intrans. *n'm'nsyd* «he was guided» (Oss. *amonin*), *n'rk* «narrow» (Oss. *nareg*, Psht. *narai*), *'lx* «top of the spindle» (Oss. *ālxui*; excludes etym. Asica 36), *pdyk* «large axe» (from *p(a)rt-*, cf. Asica 13), *ray* «barley» (Saka *rasā-* etc.), *Spdyr* «mule» (Pers. *istar*, but Sogd. *yrt-*), *mr'w* «date» (Parth. *'mr'w*), *yundyk* «sin» (Parth. *gwyndg*), *β'r* «cup», *βyw-*, trans. *βy'w-* «increase», *βywnk* «additional» (Parth. *'bgw-*, *'bg'w-*), *nbyk* «Qur'an» (Pers. *nubi*, MPers. *nbyg*, etc.), *nx'w'z* «a he-goat that leads a flock» (*naxāw-* from *naxu-*, and *waz-*<sup>3</sup>? Cf. Arm. *noxaz*, Pers. *nuhāz*), *Krbwn* «lizard» (Av. *kahrpuna-*), *nkōyk* = Arabic *lbn 'irs* «weasel, ichneumon» (Skt. *nakula*, hence Indo-Iranian *nakuḍa*; not loan-word), *'zyd* or *'zyd* «silver» (*rzata*),

<sup>1</sup> *'kirm'n* shortened from *'kt-fm'n*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further Khotanese *hīr-* as in E 6, 106

<sup>3</sup> Probably to be read *ray*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *dmn'wy'd* «enmity», where *dmn'* represents the strongest stem of *dulmanīyur-*, the abstract ending being *-y'd*

*pyrk* «node» (Av. *pixa-*), *prw* «grey» (cf. Pers. *pir*), *tuy* «jizyah» (Pers. *nūxtan*, Arm. *toiē*), *fywδ* «beestings» (obscurely related to Skt. *pīyūṣa* or MPers. *frušag*, BSOAS., xi, 719?), *rxr* «red» (Skt. *rakta-*)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [For technical reasons, a few diacritical marks, especially points etc. under letters etc. have been omitted in this article.]

## THE 'COIN' WITH CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION

THE square piece of silver inscribed with cuneiform characters, which formed part of the Kabul hoard (dated in about 380 B.C.) consisting largely of coins of the sixth and fifth centuries (R. Curiel et D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, 1953, pp. 41, 45, pl. v. iii. 12), has been the subject of comment in this journal more than once (H. M. Figulla, *N.C.* 1954, p. 173; P. Hulin, *ibid.*, pp. 174-6; G. K. Jenkins, *N.C.* 1955, p. 145). Already R. Labat, *apud* Curiel-Schlumberger, p. 45, recognized the Elamite nature of the cuneiform characters and read them as *MA-HU*,<sup>1</sup> a reading rightly insisted on by P. Hulin and placed beyond a doubt by the excellent enlarged photograph published by him, *N.C.* 1954, p. 175. G. G. Cameron, *apud* Hulin, p. 174, suggested that 'HU could just possibly be the beginning of some such word as *hudda* or *huddaš*, "I made" or "he made"'.

In order to understand the purport of the inscription, which is obviously incomplete, and thereby gain an idea of the object that was so inscribed, it is necessary to consider the context of which the surviving characters may have formed a part. The first point to observe is that there are not merely two characters but three, or rather, two complete characters preceded by a fragmentary one:



The number of Elamite signs that could fit the fragmentary character is not unduly large: according to Weissbach's list nos. 55 (*kar*), 63 (*e*), 66 (*ru*), 71 (*ia*), or 108 (*a*); we thus gain five possible readings, *kar-ma-hu*, *e-ma-hu*, &c.

A rudimentary acquaintance with the Elamite material of Achaemenian times suffices to call to mind a formula containing the sequence *e-ma-hu* (which otherwise is by no means common), a

<sup>1</sup> The alternative reading *MA-PAK*, given by H. M. Figulla and P. Hulin, does not deserve consideration, since the second character possesses only the value *HU* in the Elamite of Achaemenian times.



formula found regularly at the end of inscriptions on movable or semi-fixed objects belonging to the King of Kings:



UL-HI<sup>da</sup>e-ma hu-ut-tuk-qa

i.e. 'made at the palace', equivalent with *viθiya krtam* in the corresponding Old Persian versions. These words (3) are preceded by (1) a brief definition of the object, and (2) the owner's name, e.g. (1) *har-da-iš-da-na* <sup>det</sup> HAR<sup>da</sup>in-na (2) *perš Da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš* <sup>perš</sup> sunkik (3) UL-HI<sup>da</sup>e-ma hu-ut-tuk-qa ' (1) stone sill,<sup>1</sup> (3) made at the palace (2) of Darius the king' (= Darius I); similarly on the door-knobs made of artificial lapis lazuli (Darius I and Xerxes). Of inscribed silver ware there was hitherto only one safe example, the silver jug of Xerxes, with incomplete inscription only in Old Persian (ending in *viθiya krtam*).<sup>2</sup>

There is scarcely any doubt that the characters on the Kabul piece, which, as regards their execution, are on a par with those of the royal inscriptions, formed part of an owner-inscription of this type. The width of the surviving fragment being 17.5 mm., the whole Elamite text would have required about 17.5 cm.; if (as is likely) it was preceded by an Old Persian version and followed by a Babylonian one, a line approximately 50 cm. long must be postulated. Such a strip of silver may have been part of a tray or box-top, which once belonged to the treasure of the Achaemenian kings, but somehow made its way to the eastern frontier, where it was cut up into small squares, to divide the spoil or, perhaps, for melting it down.

<sup>1</sup> Old Persian *ardāstāna*, which (as has hitherto escaped notice) survives in Persian *ardān(e)* (shortened from a theoretical *\*dāstān*), 'threshold, sill'.

<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions on the four silver plates ascribed to Artabanus I are generally regarded as faked (cf. *B.S.O.S.* 1940, p. 501).

# 'SURKH KOTAL'

M. Daniel Schlumberger deserves warm congratulations on his discovery of a sanctuary, dating from the time of the Great Kushan empire, in the eastern part of Bactria.<sup>1</sup> The question it is desired to raise here concerns the name of the site. Its situation has been described by M. Schlumberger in these terms:<sup>2</sup> '... en bordure de la grande route de Caboul à Mazar-i Shérif, à une quinzaine de kilomètres au-delà de Pul-i Khumri,<sup>3</sup> au pied d'une haute colline qui se projette... dans la vallée du Kundûz-âb, en largeur en cet endroit aux dimensions d'une plaine intérieure. La colline n'est rattachée aux montagnes, qui limitent cette plaine vers l'ouest, que par un ensellement, dit le "col rouge", Surkh Kotal...'

Originally, when the discovery was first announced,<sup>4</sup> the ruins were introduced under the name of *Sar-i Tchekché*, which properly belongs to 'une source distante d'environ 2 kilomètres'<sup>5</sup> and has been rightly discarded. The site itself was described as *Kāfir-Qal'a* 'heathens' castle', 'comme toutes les ruines pré-islamiques du pays';<sup>6</sup> this, being virtually an appellative, was rejected by M. Schlumberger, who finally adopted the name of the saddle joining the sanctuary-hill to the mountain-range, *Surkh Kotal*. While agreeing that the site, now practically anonymous, is in need of a name, we should consider whether its ancient appellation can be recovered.

From the description given by M. Schlumberger it is clear that the sanctuary lies within the district known to medieval geographers under the name of *Baylān*, see e.g. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 427, or Professor Minorsky's definition 'on the middle course of the Doshi river (formed by the Surkhāb (= Barfak) and Andarāb)'. The name survives to the present day. Captain John Wood, coming from Hāmīyān, left the valley of the river of Haihak a little below Ray and, after travelling eastwards to the Qunduz river, came 'through the swampy district of Baghlān and Aliabad'.<sup>7</sup> It still belongs to an eastern tributary of the Qunduz river<sup>8</sup> and is a village near the junction of the two watercourses.<sup>9</sup> According to Muqaddasi, 303<sup>a</sup>, *Baylān* was divided into two parts, 'upper' and 'lower'; the sanctuary should be counted to 'Upper Baylān', where there was a 'large village, to which a well-wooded valley belonged'.

Among the fragmentary inscriptions found by M. Schlumberger and ably

<sup>1</sup> 'Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane', (3), *J.A.*, 1932, 433-53; (II), *ibid.*, 1934, 161-87.

<sup>2</sup> *J.A.*, 1932, 433.

<sup>3</sup> This town lies 'au point où la route principale (from Kabul to Mazar-i Shérif) se sépare du Kundûz-âb et de la route de Kundûz, pour s'incliner en direction de Haihak' (*J.A.*, 1932 430 n. 2). It corresponds with the 'bridge (jua) at Thowri [sic] halfway between Ghuri and Baghlān' mentioned by Sir Henry Yule in his 'Essay' introducing Captain John Wood's *Journey*, p. lxxxi and marked on his map.

<sup>4</sup> H. Dunsand, *C.E. Acad. Inscr.*, 1932, 225-7.

<sup>5</sup> *J.A.*, 1932, 435 p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* <sup>7</sup> *Hudūd*, 340.

<sup>8</sup> *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*, 1872, 128.

<sup>9</sup> cf. Wood, *loc. cit.*, 270.

<sup>10</sup> See Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. III.

discussed, in all their aspects, by M. Raoul Curiel,<sup>1</sup> the most considerable piece consists of three lines, of which the first two are incomplete at both sides. M. Curiel gives the following reading:—

ΙΒΙΔΟΙΣΗΝΟΒΙΔΟΙΑΡΙΟΙ  
ΚΙΡΔΟΜΙΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟΜΙ  
ΔΙΑΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΟΥ

Apart from the last line, which is in Greek, the language of the inscription is not clear: M. Curiel assumes, with some measure of likelihood, that it is the Middle-Iranian dialect once spoken in Bactria.<sup>2</sup> Here I wish to draw attention merely to the principal word in the second line, ΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟ, which I regard as an older form of the name of *Baylān* and very probably the ancient name of the sanctuary. It would be a strange coincidence if ΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟ, in an inscription found within the territory of *Baylān*, were to be unrelated to the name of the district.

ΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟ, i.e. *Bayolāngo*, after the loss of the ending and the compound-vowel, became *Baylāng*, *Baylān*, finally *Baylān*. Previously one could compare *Baylān* with Armenian *Bagaran*, from early Middle-Iranian \**bagadān*; the inscriptional spelling shows now that the Sogdian form, *βγδ'ny* (Mun. Sogd. -*βγδ'nyy*), was closest: both represent Old Iranian \**bagā-dānaka* 'temple, altar, sanctuary'.<sup>3</sup> Since the place-name *Bayolāngo* must be ascribed to the local Iranian dialect (whatever may have been the language of the inscription),<sup>4</sup> we are safe in attributing to that dialect the change of -d- to -t-, at least in intervocalic position, and the reduction of final -*ānaka*- to -*āng*- (-*āng*-), e.g. in Persian *dāng*: *Savān*. Hsün-t'ang's *Pa-ku-lang* also proves -*āng*.

The transparent etymology of *Baylān* always permitted the inference that the district was called 'the sanctuary', short for 'the province of the sanctuary', after a famous temple or sacred enclosure. M. Schlumberger's brilliant discovery of *Bagolungo* (as perhaps we may now be permitted to say instead of *Surkh Kotal*) has taught us where the temple lay to which *Baylān* owed its name.

<sup>1</sup> 'Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal', *J.B.*, 1934, 180-215.

<sup>2</sup> ΧΡΟΝΟ, in *Inscr.* No. 2 (Curiel, pp. 193 sq.), may be = *krwn* (*krwm*) 'reign-period, rule'.

<sup>3</sup> cf. E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, p. 176. The Manichaean Sogdian form referred to in *BSOAS*, xi, 220, should be read and restored as \**βγδ'nyy* = synagogue; the corresponding Middle Persian word was presumably *ganyān*.

<sup>4</sup> If M. Curiel is right in assuming that ΚΙΡΔΟΜΙ is a complete word, and in his interpretation of it as *kirda-mi* 'made of me', the second line may mean 'I made Bagolungo . . .' or 'I made [this] sanctuary . . .'.

## THE DATES OF MANI'S LIFE

by S. H. TAQIZADEH

*Translated from the Persian, introduced, and concluded  
by W. B. HENNING*

In the first appendix to G. Haloun's translation of the Chinese Manichaean document a new set of dates was proposed for the principal events of Mani's life (*Asia Major*, iii, 1952, 196-204). It so happened that S. H. Taqizadeh, universally regarded as the leading authority in all matters of Oriental chronology, was then about to publish a book on Mani written in Persian; when he had taken cognizance of our article, he added to it a *Takmilah* (or "finishing touch"), in which he gave an account of the Chinese document and discussed the new dates. In 1953, His Excellency Mr Taqizadeh kindly sent me page proofs of this *Takmilah*. It seemed to me a great pity that so important a contribution was likely to remain inaccessible to almost all the numerous scholars who take an interest in the history of Manichaeism; for very few of them are sufficiently familiar with the Persian language to be able to follow such intricate argument as is here presented. Accordingly I prepared a draft translation and submitted it to Mr Taqizadeh when he visited this country in 1954, on the occasion of the Congress of Orientalists held at Cambridge. After some amendments had been made and a few slight improvements of the contents had been introduced, Mr Taqizadeh very kindly approved my English version, which is here published with his permission.<sup>1</sup>

### TAKMILAH

[i] . . . Professor Henning's part of this article contains some very important and useful points concerning Mani and his creed; among other matters, he has put forward a new theory of the date of Mani's death, which disagrees with what I have said about it in the present compendium and in some of my earlier articles which were published in English.

About the date of Mani's death a number of different theories has

<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the Persian text has been issued: *Mâlel va dîn-i â (Nakriyye-yi Anjuman-i Irânîndêst)*, Tehran 1335 (1956). The *Takmilah*, separately paginated with odd-numbered pages, is inserted after page 70; reference is here made to its pages by Roman numerals in square brackets.

been placed on record within the last twenty years. At first, on the strength of passages in Parthian Manichaean fragments<sup>1</sup> which gave *Monday the fourth of Sahrivar* as the day of Mani's death, H. H. Schaeder and I myself proposed February 14, 276; for in the years 273-7, which could be presumed ■ have been the regnal years of Bahrām I, the fourth of Sahrivar fell on a Monday only ■ 276. Later, when the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book turned out to have mentioned the date as Monday, too, but *Monday the fourth of Barmhat* (which date corresponds, in 276, with February 29, a Tuesday), the whole question became subject to doubt. Finally, the opinion (which I was the first to advance) gained ground that *Monday the fourth*, the common factor, was the true date; that, however, neither the Persian nor the Coptic month formed originally part of the date, but instead the Babylonian month *Addaru*, for which the translators had substituted approximately corresponding month-names from their own calendars. [ii] Since ■ the years 273-7, which may be considered the final years of Bahrām I, it was only in 277 that the fourth of Addaru was a Monday, I attributed the death of Mani to that year and adduced some additional arguments, which appeared to support that attribution.

Now, however, Professor Henning, relying on a Turkish Manichaean colophon in which the year 522 after the death of Mani ■ counted as a "pig-year",<sup>2</sup> has become persuaded that the year of the death was 274 and the day Monday, March 2 (corresponding with the fourth of the Babylonian Addaru); the aforesaid scholar supports this view chiefly by stressing that ■ other conclusions are built on conjectures, inferences, and calculations, while this opinion is grounded on an ancient written document, which is the only source in this matter.

No one acknowledges Henning's learning and high rank as a scholar more than I do; he was also my teacher in Pahlavi; nevertheless, I cannot refrain from expressing doubt about this theory, for the following reasons.

The wording ■ the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, on which Henning relies, does not clearly convey that the date on which Mani received his second revelation and the command ■ propagate his religion coincided with the day of Shapur's official accession and coronation, on which he received Mani in audience. We may rather assume that Mani announced his prophetship and occupied himself for two or three years with conversions and missionary work and with his journeys to the East ■ the South, up ■ Khorasan, Sind, and so on; that, having heard the news of Ardashir's death and Shapur's accession during his stay in Sind, he returned to Ctesiphon and gained access to Shapur with the help of the king's brother, Pērōz; that on the day of the coronation, which took place on the first day of the Babylonian

<sup>1</sup> Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, iii (1934), p. 861.

<sup>2</sup> v. LeCoq, *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 12.

year as was customary, he was admitted to the presence of the king and had the courage to proclaim his religion openly and formally; and that that day was the first of Nisannu in the Christian year 243. This hypothesis is supported by several arguments:

Firstly, relying on Ibn anNadim and Beruni, we should calculate the years of Mani's birth and of his first and second revelations in the following fashion. His birth took place within A.D. 216, with great probability on April 14 (= 8th of Nisannu of the Seleucid lunar year 527). [iii] Therefore he entered upon his thirteenth year, i.e., completed his twelfth year, on April 14, 228 (if the years of his life are counted in Julian years) or on April 1, 228 (if one counts them, as he himself would have done, in lunar Babylonian years).

The first revelation came to Mani [within the Seleucid Babylonian year 539 = March 25, 228—April 12, 229, and] within his thirteenth year, therefore after April 1, 228, and before April 12, 229 (= Nisannu 8, 539—Nisannu 1, 540 lunar Sel.). Since, however, he received the revelation, according to his own statement in the *Shābūrān* as quoted by Beruni, *after the passing of two years of Ardashir's reign (or within its second year)*, its arrival can be narrowed down: it came *either* after September 26, 228, when two years had passed since September 26, 226, the beginning of Ardashir's reign in official reckoning (Mani's age would by then have been twelve years and five and a half months approximately); *or* between September 26, 227, and September 25, 228, i.e., within the second year of Ardashir's rule; at the events, after April 14 (or April 1), 228, the day of Mani's twelfth birthday. One may not count the two years from Ardashir's actual accession (his coronation), which apparently took place in April, 227; for then the two-year period would have ended only by April, 229, when Mani had already completed his thirteenth year, whereas Heruni's phrase "son (boy) of thirteen years" definitely means, not that he had completed his thirteenth year, but that he was in his thirteenth year. At any rate, considering that Ibn anNadim says "when twelve years had become complete for him" and Beruni "when he was a son (boy) of thirteen years" = "when he was in his thirteenth year", it is necessary to place the "coming of the revelation" after March 25, 228 (= the first day of the Seleucid year) or rather even after April 1 (= Nisannu 1), and probably between that date and, say, October or November of the same year, so that it would fall within Mani's thirteenth year but not too close to its end, and within Ardashir's third official year but not too far removed from its beginning.

Secondly, the second revelation, and with it the call to missionary work, came to Mani after he had completed twenty-four years of his life; they were completed on April 14, 240 (in Julian years) or April 19, 240 (in Babylonian years). It is overwhelmingly probable [iv] that at that date Ardashir was still on the throne. He exercised royal power, according to the

most reliable sources, for fourteen years and ten months (for fourteen years and six months according to a weaker tradition); for the final term of this period, when Ardashir either abdicated or died, the following four possibilities are given:

(a) ■ ■ ■ counted from September 27, 223, the beginning of the Persian year during which Ardashir killed Ardavan, it comes to an end on July 26, 238 (or March 26, 238) or, if the Persian calendar is followed, on July 24 (or March 26), 238.

(b) If it is counted from the death of Ardavan (April 28, 224), it comes to an end on February 27, 239 (or October 27, 238) or, if the Persian calendar is followed, on February 28, 239 (or October 21, 238). At none of the dates gained by the above calculations (a and b) had Mani yet completed his twenty-fourth year.

(c) If it is counted from the "official" beginning, *viz.*, the first day of the first Persian year of Ardashir's reign as "King of Kings" (as Beruni, quoting the *Shābūrāgān*, explicitly calls it), namely, September 26, 226, it comes to an end on July 25, 241 (or March 25, 241) or, if the Persian calendar is followed, on July 23 (or March 25), 241.

(d) If it is counted from Ardashir's actual coronation (very probably on April 6, 227), ■ comes to an end on February 5, 242 (or October 5, 241) or, if the Persian calendar is followed, on January 26, 242 (or September 28, 241). At any of the dates found under (c) and (d), Mani was already twenty-five years old (or near that age).

Thus, the date of Shapur's accession (or the end of Ardashir's rule), calculated in any of these four ways (a-d), is not in agreement with the date assumed by Henning, April 12, 240.<sup>1</sup> In fact, we should gain the following values:

## SHAPUR

	True accession	"Official" beginning of 1st year
a	July 26, 238	September 23, 237
b	February 27, 239	September 23, 238
c	July 25, 241	September 22, 240
d	February 5, 242	September 22, 241

[v] All these are based on the assumption that Ardashir's reign lasted fourteen years and ten months; if it lasted fourteen years and six months,

<sup>1</sup> [On that day, however, I placed Shapur's coronation, not his accession, which I did not discuss or mention. W.B.H.]



the dates in the first column would have to be advanced by four months (if the Persian calendar was followed, they would be earlier by merely three days or so).

Although in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* the report of Mani's "coming out" on the day of Shapur's coronation follows immediately without break upon the sentence about the second revelation and the descent of the angel that commanded him "to come out" on the occasion of his completing his twenty-fourth year, this collocation does not necessarily indicate that his "coming out" and the inception of his missionary work on his reaching the age of twenty-four took place on the day of coronation. For, firstly, according to the very same sentence, Mani, on the first day that he was received in audience by Shapur, was accompanied by two of his disciples,<sup>1</sup> which presupposes that he had begun his mission before and had acquired followers. Further, Ibn an-Nadīm, quoting Manichaean sources, states<sup>2</sup> that before his meeting with Shapur Mani had travelled about in various countries;<sup>3</sup> that he had converted Shapur's brother Pērōz to his creed, evidently in the course of his journeys, perhaps in Khorasan and Kūshān where he was governor; and that Pērōz "caused him to come to Shapur". On the heels of that report,<sup>4</sup> under the heading "the Manichaeans say"—the very heading that had introduced also the report of Mani's "coming out" on the day of Shapur's coronation (plainly both are derived from one and the same ancient Manichaean source)—there follows once more a story of Mani's going to Shapur and presenting several requests, one of which the king accepted. Then it goes on "Mani had called Hind and Šin and the people of Khorasan to his religion and had appointed one of his companions as his representative in each region" (*wa-kūna Mōni dā'a 'l-Hinda wa-Šina wa-ahla Xurāsāna wa-xallafa [w] fi kulli nāhiyatin jāhiban lahu*). Therefore, his first meeting with Shapur (clearly on his coronation day) lay a little later than his first announcement of his prophetship, his first appeal to others (possibly in private), his first successful conversions at home and in various other provinces, and his journeys.

Furthermore, as results from a Kephalaia passage laid in Mani's mouth, he set out on his journey to the South and the East (Sind and Khorasan) still in the time of Ardashir's kingship (perhaps in A.D. 240), made up his mind to come back when he heard of Ardashir's death (perhaps in 242) and Shapur's assumption of the royal power, returned along a route detailed in the Coptic work, by way of the Persian gulf to Persis, Mesene,

<sup>1</sup> *K. al-Fihrist*, p. 328, line 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328, lines 26-7.

<sup>3</sup> Although the duration of this travelling is determined as forty years in the printed text, there is no doubt that a mistake has crept in and that the number was originally perhaps two or four years (or forty months).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328, lines 27-31.

Khuzistan, and Ctesiphon, and only then, after reaching the Sassanian capital, was received by Shapur, on his coronation day. If Ardashir's death occurred after Nisannu 1 of the Seleucid lunar year 553 (April 20, 242), one may assume that Shapur's coronation had to be postponed to the first day of the next Babylonian year and thus fell on Nisannu 1, 554 = April 9, 243, the eve of the feast of *Mithragata*, when the sun was in its "exaltation" (Aries 19°).

In the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, the ingredients of the whole story are given in various places on one and the same page, but not consecutively, in fragments torn from each other. Henning himself speaks of a report which, as he says, "certainly emanated from Manichaean circles, probably from Mani himself", and which implies that Mani had delayed and waited for about three years before announcing his prophetship publicly and beginning to fulfil the divine command.<sup>1</sup> This report, which Henning regards as incredible, seems on the contrary very sound and trustworthy. In the history of Islam, too, there are indications that its prophet, between his first revelation and very restricted appeal on the one hand and the public announcement of his prophetship and the appeal to the people in general on the other, spent about three years delaying, reflecting, and converting his friends and relations.

Beruni says:<sup>2</sup> "Mani's affairs were uninterruptedly on the increase in the days of Ardashir and his son Shapur . . .". This sentence, unless there exist proof [vii] of its unsoundness, is in itself clear proof of our contention that Ardashir was still on the throne when Mani was twenty-four years old (i.e., after April 19, 240), probably even until his twenty-fifth birthday (April 7, 241), hence during the first year of Mani's missionary activities. Thus, firstly, the claim that the announcement of his prophetship after his twenty-fourth birthday (or in the course of his twenty-fifth year) coincided with Shapur's coronation becomes baseless; and, secondly, the sentence proves that Ardashir still held the reins on April 19, 240, at the very least. Henning, however, places Shapur's coronation on the first day of the Babylonian calendar in that very year, viz., April 12, 240, on a day, therefore, on which Mani had not yet completed his twenty-fourth year, whether we count in Babylonian or in Julian years; indeed, he himself points out that that date preceded the birthday by seven days in the former calendar, by two days in the latter. Actually, one interprets the report that Mani was entrusted with the prophetship after his completing twenty-four years as meaning that he was so entrusted on the first day of the calendar year in the course of which he became twenty-four years old, and not at some point in that year, is improbable. If, however, the phrase used in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*

<sup>1</sup> *Ans Majar*, iii, 201 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Āḥad al-bāḥiyah*, p. 208.

about the second revelation, "when twenty-four years became complete for him", is taken to refer to the first day of the calendar year in the course of which he became twenty-four years old, then it follows necessarily that the equivalent phrase used of the first revelation, "when twelve years became complete for him", is to be referred to the first day of the Seleucid lunar year 539, viz., April 9, 228 (or Nisannu 8 of that year = April 16, 228); whereas that date is unlikely (though not impossible) on other grounds, among them Beruni's statement that Mani was then "a son of thirteen years" and Mani's own words that "two years had passed from (the beginning of) Ardashir's reign".

It is likely, in a high degree, that in the Seleucid year 551 (April 12, 240—March 31, 241), which is, with a few days' difference, Mani's twenty-fifth year (the period when, in common parlance, he was "twenty-four years old"), Shapur had not yet succeeded Ardashir on the throne. [viii] The "official" beginning of Shapur's first year (in accord with the customary Sassanian system of chronology), which for some time and especially ever since Nöldeke has been accepted as falling on September 22, 241 (and which according to that system certainly opened the year, ending on September 21, 242, in the course of which Ardashir died or abdicated and was followed by Shapur), lay some time after the moment when Mani became twenty-four years old (at the least six months); and Shapur's coronation lay again some time (one year, six months, and nineteen or eighteen days) after this "official" beginning. Elias of Nisibis, too, counts the Seleucid Macedonian year<sup>1</sup> 553,<sup>2</sup> beginning on October 1, 241, as the first year of Shapur's reign. If now the duration of Ardashir's reign is calculated, as Nöldeke, probably rightly, assumed, by the method given above p. 109 under (d), viz., from Nisannu 1, Seleucid Babylonian 538 = April 6, 227, to February 5 (or January 26), 242, the possibility arises that the latter date is that of Ardashir's abdication, not of his death: because his father was still alive, Shapur may have postponed his coronation (which in the normal way would have been due on Nisannu 1, 553 = April 20, 242, only two and a half months after his father's abdication) to the next following year, viz., Nisannu 1, 554 = April 10, 243. Or else, if the date (early February, 242) is really that of Ardashir's death, Shapur may have been compelled to postpone his coronation by a full year because, in the spring of 242, he was busy with the war against Gordian and away from his capital. It is true that reliable investigations have shown [ix] that Gordian with his own army, under the command of Timesitheus (who in any case died before October, 243), did not until the first half of 243 occupy himself with conquests in Asia, taking Carrhae, gaining a victory near Resaina on the high road from

<sup>1</sup> = "year of Alexander" or "year of the Greeks".

<sup>2</sup> In Nöldeke's work misprinted 533 (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 412; but correctly in the table, p. 435).

Carthae ■ Nisibis, conquering Nisibis, and marching forwards to the frontiers of Mesopotamia; and that, moreover, Gordian's offensive in a southerly direction, towards the Euphrates, in the aim of reaching Ctesiphon by the southern route, took place only after the death of Timesitheus. Nevertheless, Gordian's movement towards the Orient had begun in 242; before the end ■ that year he had reached Asia and his army threatened the frontier regions of Syria and Mesopotamia and the dominion of Persia.

That Shapur succeeded Ardashir either ■ the end of 241 or in the course of 242 is clear thanks also to a statement by Zosimus,<sup>1</sup> who places that event after Gordian had married Timesitheus' daughter and established his power on a firm basis, therefore, between the autumn of 241 and the summer of 242.<sup>2</sup>

If we place the "official" beginning ■ Shapur's first year on September 22, 241 (= Farvardin 1) and his coronation on April 9, 243, we obtain perfect corroboration through the various reports, as in Tabari, etc., concerning the length of Shapur's reign, viz., thirty years (or thirty years and fifteen days) and thirty-one years, six months, and nineteen (or eighteen) days; indeed, the very exactness of these figures affords a powerful argument in favour ■ the assumed dates. For, ■ Shapur's reign counted from his coronation lasted thirty years, its duration counted from its "official" beginning would have been thirty-one years, six months, and nineteen days precisely; since the interval between the two dates involved (Farvardin 1 of one year to Mihr 14 of the year thereafter, including the five epagomenae at the end of Mordād) is one year, six months, and nineteen days.<sup>3</sup>

[x] Support for our contention that Mani's death occurred in 277 ■ afforded by the reports that he was sixty years old at death or that he lived for sixty years; such reports are found in various sources, as ■ a Parthian Manichaean fragment quoted by Henning,<sup>4</sup> in the Chinese document<sup>5</sup> published by Haloun and Henning, and in certain other passages.<sup>6</sup> On March 31, 277 (= Nisannu 8) Mani would have completed his sixty-first (Babylonian) year; if he died, as we assume, on Addaru 4 (= February 26) ■ the same year, i.e., thirty-three days earlier, his lifetime would have been 60 years and 318 days (counted ■ solar years: April 14, 216—February 26, 277). It does not seem likely that the figure 60, which everywhere appears plainly enough, can be regarded as due to mis-spelling or interpreted, as Henning assumes, as meaning "58 years of age", even if not strictly (in his calculation Mani would have lived only 57 years and 323 days, even less

<sup>1</sup> i, 17/18.

<sup>2</sup> See *BSOAS.*, xi (1943), 13 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *BSOAS.*, xi (1943), p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *ZDMG.*, 90, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Asia Major*, iii, p. 191, line 24, and p. 195, line 12.

<sup>6</sup> Referred ■ by Henning, *ibid.*, 199 n. 5.

than 58 years by 47 days); although Henning treats this important and glaring difference, between the 60 years of the sources and the 58 years (or less) of his conjecture, as a "minor and negligible difficulty".

To come now to the equation, in the Turkish colophon, of the year "522 after Mani's death" with a "pig-year", which Henning regards as the sole and principal authority in the question of Mani's death-date, and which would require attributing the death to the year 274: even if one cannot consider it totally unworthy of attention, it cannot, in my view, have decisive force in the face of the numerous contrary arguments. Firstly, the document is late. It is not at all unlikely that the authors of the Turkish manuscripts made mistakes in identifying non-Turkish years with Turkish ones, especially if they were accustomed to using Sogdian or Persian years and dates (or others, except Chinese ones). An example of this sort of mistake can be seen in a Manichaean Uigur calendar-fragment,<sup>1</sup> where the Yezdegerdi year 358 is described as a "mouse-year", while in fact it was a "cow-year", with its last days in a "tiger-year" (perhaps the year 357 Yezd. had been intended). I referred to this circumstance in my *Notes* on Henning's article on the Sogdian calendar-fragments.<sup>2</sup> In one of the last-named fragments, as I pointed out in the same *Notes*, the Christian year 985 is apparently identified with the year 388 after the death of Šād-Ormīz (if [xi] the figure 388 is so to be interpreted), whereas it should have been 384 or 385, so that a mistake of as much as three years has crept in; however, that the number refers to Šād-Ormīz (who died in A.D. 600) is nothing more than a possibility (a conjecture by Henning) and cannot be regarded as certain.

Henning's assumption that the original date of composition of the Chinese Manichaean document, the "Stein Fragment", was 724, earlier by eight years than its known date (731/2), is also merely a conjecture; and although some seemingly plausible arguments have been adduced in its favour, it does not appear entirely confidence-inspiring.

As a result of our discussion of the dates of Ardāšīr's and Šapur's reigns one may say, with some degree of assurance, that (1) Šapur succeeded his father, on his abdication or death, at the beginning of 242 (probably in the first days of February), (2) he was crowned on Sunday, April 9, 243 (= Nisannu 1, lunar Sct. 554), (3) he died in April, 273 (probably on one of the first days of that month), (4) his son and successor Hormīz died in April, 274 (probably on April 11, or a little later), (5) Hormīz was immediately succeeded by his brother Bahrām I, who lived to the middle of 277 (perhaps to the end of July), and (6) Mani was killed on February 26, 277, in the third year of Bahrām's kingship (two years, ten months and a fraction—or nearly eleven months—after his accession).

<sup>1</sup> Rachmati, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, vii, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS.*, 1945, 157.

That, as is hinted and occasionally explicitly stated in the sources, the date of Mani's death is tied to the period of Bahrām's reign at any rate, moreover to a moment removed from its beginning, is an important point in determining it, and for this reason Henning has been compelled to date Bahrām's reign from the middle of 271 to September, 274, so that Mani's death (according to him on March 2, 274) would fall in Bahrām's third year. If, however, in accord with the arguments stated above Shapur's death is assumed for 273, even Bahrām's accession would have been later than the end of Mani, as dated by Henning.

Apart from the conclusions he has drawn from the Chinese document, Henning has leaned on W. Enslin's opinions<sup>1</sup> [xii] about the dates of Shapur's coronation and his death, which have not remained without influence upon his views. Although Enslin's work is useful in the parts dealing with Roman history, in matters of Persian chronology he unfortunately followed the baseless and unacceptable opinions put forward by Martin J. Higgins in his article *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice*; he would go beyond the scope of this *Takmilah* to explain why Higgins' theories of the Persian year and its months in Sassanian times are unfounded.

The observations made above concerning Professor Henning's recent opinions and investigations should not by any means be accepted as decisive proofs against his theory. The confidence I have in his standing as a scholar, the quality of his investigations and observations, and his wide knowledge, do not permit me to claim absolute correctness of my own remarks. It is, I admit, possible that I am wrong; and I do not deny that it is possible that he is right. However, he himself encouraged me to express my opinion, and therefore I took the liberty to present the points made above about his article; otherwise, an amateur's statements in front of a specialist could merely have claimed to be a reminder . . .

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Εἰ δ' ἀναγκασθῶμεθα πρὸς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀντιλέγειν, οἷς μάλιστα ἐπισκολουθόμεν κατ' ἄλλα, βεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν. Strabo

The remainder of the *Takmilah* summarizes the information, contained in the Chinese document, concerning Mani's writings. I have purposely refrained from omitting the concluding paragraph as well as some further kindly remarks in the body of the *Takmilah*; for they are a monument to the author's generosity of spirit. In fact, in matters of chronology and related subjects, His Excellency Mr Taqizadeh, none other, has been my teacher; whatever I know in this field I owe him his guidance. It was,

<sup>1</sup> In *Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I.*, Sb. Bayer. Ak. Wiss., 1947. Munich 1949.

therefore, with the utmost diffidence that I ventured to put forward a hypothesis that ran counter to his opinion.

The chronology of Mani's life is inextricably bound up with the dates of the early rulers of the Sassanian state; whoever wants to settle the one, must at the same time deal with the other. I freely concede that Mr Taqizadeh has created an integrated whole; but it seems to me that for my own hypothesis the same claim may be made. It should not be overlooked that there is a considerable area of agreement, especially on such essential points as the duration of the reigns of the various Sassanian kings, the date of Mani's birth (April 14, 216), and the weekday and day of the month of Mani's death (Monday, the 4th of Addaru). The disagreement arises from "matters of opinion": the value to be put on certain traditions; the question which of several contradictory reports is more deserving of credit; and the like. In the outcome, almost all the important moments in the two schemes are separated from each other by a constant interval of three years:

	Taqizadeh	Henning
Ardashir's 1st year begins	September 26, 226	September 27, 223
His actual accession	April 6, 227	April 28, 224
Shapur's 1st year begins	September 21, 241	September 23, 239
His coronation	April 9, 243	April 12, 240
His death	April, 273	May, 270
Hormizd dies	April, 274	June, 271
Bahrām I dies	July, 277	September, 274
Death of Mani	February 26, 277	March 2, 274

The origin of the three years' interval lies in the various ways of determining the reign of Ardashir, who laid the foundation of the Persian (Sassanian) empire by his great victory over Ardavan, the last Parthian king of kings. The day of this event, "the day on which the dominion of the Parthians, the sons of mighty Arsaces, came to an end" (as the Chronicle of Arbela puts it), is happily known: April 22, 224. In the Persian official history, the Sassanian "Book of Kings", the duration of Ardashir's reign was given as fourteen years and ten months.<sup>1</sup> As this reign-period emanates from a Persian source, it is likely that it was counted from the victory over Ardavan, the event that in the eyes of Ardashir's Persian compatriots was the most important in his career; so that his reign would have lasted till February 239. Yet Nöldeke (followed herein by Taqizadeh), for reasons not

<sup>1</sup> Certain by the agreement of witnesses so remote from each other in the line of transmission as Agathias and Tabari. The alternative (fourteen years six months) has no claim to consideration (as Nöldeke clearly saw).



clearly explained, preferred to attach its initial term to the "year of accession" (begins autumn, 226) attributed to Ardashir by some Western authors (Agathias; Elias of Nisibis; implied by Mani). We do not know on what happening this "year of accession" is based (if ■ is soundly based ■ all)—the final defeat of the last Parthian claimant in Babylonia? the conquest of Seleucia? a solemn coronation in Ctesiphon? At any rate, it is scarcely appropriate ■ combine the Persian reign-period with this "year of accession" that had some limited currency in the western fringe of the Sassanian state. The result ■ incongruous: it is hard to believe that the Persians, in determining the length of Ardashir's rule, should have disregarded the first two or three years after his momentous victory and waited for some unknown event in Babylonia or Mesopotamia, which, whatever it was, was at any rate insignificant in comparison with the great battle that crushed the power of the hated Parthian overlords.

Moreover, if one accepts Nöldeke's construction, one has to put aside the direct statement in one of our best historical sources (Tabari) that the reign-period is ■ counted from the defeat of Ardavan.<sup>1</sup> An even greater difficulty ■ presented by the stele of Bihshabur, which ■ dated ■ terms of the years of the "sacred fires" appertaining to the first Sassanian kings. It is hardly possible that this system of dating, an entirely Persian religious affair,<sup>2</sup> depended on occurrences outside Persia proper, in colonial territory populated by non-Zoroastrians. The natural assumption is that the "fire of Ardashir" was lit immediately after the news of his victory over Ardavan reached Istakhr.<sup>3</sup> In the stele the number of years given ■ Ardashir ■ sixteen: this is in consonance with his reign-period of fourteen years ten months, which are distributed over sixteen calendar years (five months after April 28, 224, to the end of the Persian year; fourteen full years; five months from the beginning of the following year). According ■ the stele, therefore, the full years of Ardashir run from September 27, 221, to September 22,

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 229q. "Seine Regierung währte, vom Fall des Ardawān an gerechnet, 14 Jahre, nach Einigen aber 14 Jahre und ■ Monate".

<sup>2</sup> Its importance is shown by the coins: throughout the Sassanian period, the "sacred fire" of each king occupies the reverse. "Years ■ the sacred fire" amount to "regal years". In the later Sassanian coinage the regal year appears on the reverse, at the side of the representation of the "sacred fire": the legend should be understood as conveying "year s. of the sacred fire of King V."

<sup>3</sup> This ■ as good as proved by the appearance of the "fire of Ardashir", for the first time, on coins where his title is given as "king of Iran" (Paruck No. 31). On the earlier issues, struck before Ardashir extended his power beyond the Persia, his title is simply "king" and there is no "sacred fire" yet. Tagizadeh himself expressed the opinion that the coins with "king of Iran" belonged "to the period after the defeat of Ardavan, but before the consolidation of his power in the whole of the empire and his crowning in Ctesiphon (c. 224-7)" (*BSOAS.*, xi, 29); but the coins are inseparable from the institution of the "fire of Ardashir" (*NWR ZY 'rthtr*), on which the dating of the stele depends.

239; so that the year beginning on September 23, 239, was counted as Shapur's year of accession.<sup>1</sup>

If we settle the limits of Ardashir's reign in the one way or the other, we are bound to determine the dates of the subsequent rulers in a matching fashion; for the duration of the various reigns is too well established to leave much room for argument. Nevertheless, we should examine the beginning of Shapur's rule, that being the central point in the whole series of events. It is unfortunate that the data given in the *Fihrist* for the coronation of Shapur are so constructed that they are equally applicable to two different days, and, as if malicious Fate had set out to baffle the historians, there is an interval of almost exactly three years between these two days: April 12, 240, and April 9, 243.<sup>2</sup> Here the evidence of Roman history, last examined by W. Enslin, is of some importance: "Es kamen 241 Nachrichten aus dem Osten, dass der Perserkönig Schapur<sup>3</sup> erneut das Reichsgebiet bedrohe, und darauf antwortete die römische Regierung mit dem 242 beginnenden Feldzug, bei dem nominell Gordian III . . . die Führung hatte."<sup>4</sup> This is a fair summary by a leading classical historian; it is independent of Oriental reports. It seems to me that we would do an injustice to Professor Enslin's admirable study if we dismissed it merely because he adopted it in the system of Persian chronology advocated by M. Higgins, which, I fully agree with Mr Taqizadeh, is untenable; for evidently Enslin accepted the dates given by Higgins (which happened to be earlier than those proposed by any other author) only because they agreed best with the Roman evidence as interpreted by him; and that evidence favours the earlier dating.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that Taqizadeh, deviating from the indications of the stele, allows only fifteen full years for the rule of Ardashir (September 16, 226, to September 21, 241). The reason why his last year was not counted as Shapur's year of accession, contrary to later custom, may lie in the unusual circumstances, hinted at in several sources, that led to the assumption of power by Shapur (abdication or semi-retirement or co-regency).

<sup>2</sup> A fine observation we owe to Taqizadeh (above p. 113) is that the suspiciously precise figure "31 years, 6 months, and 11 or 12 days" found in some sources for Shapur's reign is made up from a full number of years and the interval between the beginning of the Persian year and the day of coronation. Regrettably this provides no criterion for the choice between April 12, 240, and April 9, 243. The latter, it is true, gives an interval of 6 months and 11 days, including the epagomenae (= 15 *dhitr*); the former, alas, fits just as well: it was the 18th of the 7th Persian month, so the interval was 6 months and 18 days (counting the coronation day, but neglecting the epagomenae).

<sup>3</sup> Taqizadeh (above p. 113) quotes Zosimus as saying that Shapur succeeded Ardashir after Gordian had married the daughter of Timesitheus, therefore after the autumn of 241. In fact, Zosimus says that Shapur then had succeeded Ardashir, a very different matter (ἡδὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν ὀλίγῳ, Πέρσαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐξωτὴν ἐβίβαν ἐπένειον προσδοκῶντες, τὴν ἀρχὴν Σαπύρου παραλαβόντες μετὰ Ἀρτοξέρην).

<sup>4</sup> W. Enslin, *Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I.*, Munich 1949, 1149.

<sup>5</sup> In his own inscription, Shapur attributes the conduct of the war with Gordian to himself entirely, but gives no precise date, beyond saying that it occurred at the beginning of his long reign.

An important point, rightly stressed by Ensslin, is the report in the Chronicle of Arbela (a prime source) that Shapur spent his first year in wars in northern Iran. This agrees badly with the later dating, excellently with the earlier one:

Shapur's first year	September 23, 239—September 21, 240
War in northern Iran	Summer 240
First moves against Rome	Summer 241 <sup>1</sup>

Further support is provided by the dates in the Pahlavi graffiti in the synagogue of Dura-Europos, buried under sand when the city was besieged and captured by the Persians in 256. Already M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Berytus*, viii, 1943, 509qq., suggested that there had been an earlier conquest of Dura-Europos by the Persians in 253, and such a temporary occupation obviously affords the best (indeed, the only) opportunity for the activities of the Persian "scribes" in the synagogue. This view is now also held by C. H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue*, 1956, 336sqq. The earliest and latest full dates are: 4th day of 7th month, year 14, and 18th day of 1st month, year 15. These are precisely our scheme of early dating; they would correspond with March 26, 253, and October 6, 253.<sup>2</sup>

One would contend that the purely historical evidence, summed up in the preceding paragraphs, deserved more credit than the legendary story of Mani's life. Hagiography is not history; it is biased and involves elements of religious propaganda. We hear of Mani's age only on three occasions: when he was twelve, when he was twenty-four, and when he died at the age of sixty. Is it credible that the prophet's life thus proceeded in even jumps of twelve years *precisely*? Five and twelve, we must remember, were sacred numbers for Mani; everything in his system was grouped in pentads or dodecads. Did Life accommodate itself to Mani's system to the extent of granting him a span equal to the product of his favourite numbers? Such figures are no more than approximate values at best.

Mani's completion of his twenty-fourth year, in the Manichaean legend, is bound up with the coronation of Shapur. In my calculations, the coronation preceded the birthday by as little as seven (or two) days; according to Taqizadeh, the coronation followed it by almost three years. The implication of the relevant passage in the Fihrist is that the two events coincided: an angel, Mani's "Twin", came to him and said "*the time has come for you to go out . . . so he went out on the day when Shapur became king . . .*". Arguing within the hagiographical tradition, one experiences

<sup>1</sup> In agreement with the Script. Hist. Aug. "*Gordiano iam iterum et Pompeiano cons. [= 241] bellum Persicum satum est*" (ii 47<sup>a</sup> ed. Hohl).

<sup>2</sup> Taking into account the yearless dates, one can easily arrange them so that they all fall within 253: earliest 19th of 5th month [year 14] = February 4, 253, and 29th of 6th month [year 14] = March 22, 253; latest, 1st of 2nd month [year 15] = October 19, 253. They would thus testify to an occupation lasting 8½ months.

some difficulty in believing that a prophet addressed by his divine guide in such terms, "the time has come" (*qad hāna laka an . . .*), should be represented as responding to the command only three years later. We need not assume that Mani refrained from all activity until his twenty-fourth birthday arrived, the less so as a fragment of his autobiography tells us that after his first meeting with the "Twin" (therefore after his twelfth birthday) he began to spread his gospel and converted his father and others;<sup>1</sup> and the journey to India, described in the *Kephalaia* immediately after the first appearance of the "Twin", may have taken place when he was about twenty years old. The true interpretation of the report in the *Fihrist*<sup>2</sup> is probably that at the age of about twenty-four Mani gained the ear of the newly-crowned king of kings and was enabled to organize his missionary activities on a large scale.

Whether Mani's age at death exceeded full sixty years by some 300 days or fell short by some 700, in a community so conscious of sacred numbers and still addicted to the sexagesimal system the precise figure was bound to be replaced by the hallowed round number of sixty. That sufficed for the purposes of hymnology and popular consumption. It does not mean that the Manichaeans were incapable of precision where it mattered. Characteristically, our Chinese document speaks (twice) of Mani's "sixty years", in general context; but the very same document, by supplying precise dates for the prophet's birth and death, informs us that his life-span was a little short of fifty-eight years, namely, fifty-seven (solar) years and 350 days (March 12, 208, to February 25, 266). Such a figure, therefore, is not due to a conjecture of mine; it is directly attested in an authoritative statement of the Manichaean church, incidentally the only source known to exist that gives dates for both Mani's birth and his death. Adding the length of life, as derived from the Chinese document, to the actual day of birth, April 14, 216, we reach the early part of 274. The much-discussed Turkish colophon,<sup>3</sup> correctly construed, also points to 274. If the chronology proposed above for Ardashir and Shapur is accepted, 274 would be the last year of the reign of Bahram I. There is thus some solid evidence in

<sup>1</sup> Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichäer*, ii, 308.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn an-Nadīm has combined stories of different origin and value. Some depend on Mani's autobiography; others derive from late sources of poor quality. Thus the sentence with the Arabic equivalent of a phylacter (above p. 120) is an unhistorical commonplace that cannot have been invented before the eighth century, when the Manichaeans had reached China; Mani, of course, never set foot in "Khorasan", far less in China.

<sup>3</sup> It seems hard to put a colophon, in which the scribe mentions the current year according to the era to which he is accustomed, on a level with calendar tables, which were calculated many years in advance; in the latter, mistakes occur easily. The Manichaean specimens, moreover, are very late; but the Turkish colophon, older by two centuries, was written at the time when Manichaeism flourished in Central Asia.

favour of the date proposed by me for the death of Mani, March 2, 274 (= Monday, 4th of Addaru, 584 Sel. Bab.).

It would be ungracious if in the end, having defended my point of view, I refused to admit that it may be wrong after all; and that Mr Taqi-zadeh's opinion may very well be right. We sorely need a fresh piece of unambiguous evidence to decide these questions.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF TANG-I AZAO

(PLATE 1)

Χρυσὸν γὰρ διεζήμενοι  
γῆν πολλὴν ἐρύσσαυσι  
καὶ εὐρέσκουσι ὀλίγον

HERACLITUS

**A**LTHOUGH your scholarly fame, Sir Ralph, rests principally on your achievements as a comparative linguist, your work on certain Asoka inscriptions has shown that you are no less at home in the field of epigraphy. I gratefully recall how generously you helped me when, some years ago, I struggled with a particularly difficult inscription (also attributable to Asoka) from the Indo-Iranian borderland. This interest in matters of epigraphy encourages me to hope that you will not disdain, as a modest tribute, the following notes on some new inscriptions, discovered at a place not far beyond the confines of ancient India.

In the early summer of 1952, Dr. M. Ghirshman and Professor R. N. Frye set out from Tehran with the aim of reaching Tang-i Azao, a desolate gorge in the midst of the mountains of western Afghanistan, some 50 miles to the south-east of Čāzī<sup>1</sup>; they had heard from Dr. Ahmed Ali Kolzad, the Director of the Museum of Antiquities at Kabul, that a rock-inscription had been discovered there. The journey proved arduous in the extreme and lasted much longer than had been expected, so that, having arrived at the site, the two scholars found themselves compelled to turn back almost immediately, without being able to give us much time to the study of the inscription as they had wished to do. The attempt to secure an impression with a mixture of latex, which turned out to be too liquid, failed; the photographs, taken after the rock had been painted with latex and after the latex had been removed (leaving behind a surface disconcertingly speckled with drips and blobs of glistening latex), proved to be insufficient for decipherment. Although the expedition had thus not been wholly successful in its principal object, it had at any rate the merit of drawing attention to a previously unknown monument. In his account of the journey (*Archaeology*, vii, 2, 1951, 114-18), R. N. Frye stated that the inscription was written in Parthian. As a hypothesis this is perfectly possible, even though the nearest site where Parthian inscriptions have been found (Kāl-i Jangāl, see *JRAS*, 1953, 132 sqq.) is some 300 miles away<sup>2</sup>; for the

<sup>1</sup> An old town, also called *Arōfe-Čāz*, on the upper Heri-rūd. Cf. *Nuzhat-al-qolub*, trans. Le Strange, p. 162 ('Chast'); *The Strange, Eastern Caliphate*, 410 ('Khasht'); Markwart, *Wehrst.* 100, n. 2; Minorsky, *Hadsaf*, 313.

<sup>2</sup> Not counting the inscribed (?) Parthian or Sassanian (?) bas-relief in the mountains to the south of Sar-i-pul, which was discovered by the French general J. F. Ferrier in 1845 (see his *Caravan journey*, London, 1856, p. 229). Attempts to locate it here, I understand, been made recently, but without success.

author of an inscription at Tang-i Azao, presumably a traveller on the ancient road linking Herat with Bamian or Kabul,<sup>1</sup> may have belonged to any of the nations that once dwelt in the surrounding countries.

At the time, Dr. Frye, with customary generosity, had presented me with good copies of the photographs he had taken. Not much could be seen in them, but I doubted whether the writing should be described as Parthian; after repeated study I gained the impression that it might be Hebrew. The latex covering the letters made a clear decision impossible, but I thought I recognized, in the first line on the left, the name אברהם (Abraham), with letters barely distinct (except for the **א**) from ordinary Hebrew printing type. In two or three places there seemed to be a short word, אפ, in rather old-fashioned script; that could only be a Persian word, the preposition *pa* (later *ba*), which is ordinarily so written in the older type of Jewish Persian. I scarcely dared voice the suspicion (it could not be more) that the language of the inscription was Jewish Persian, expressed in letters of the Hebrew alphabet<sup>2</sup>; one has to bear in mind that Parthian, Hebrew, and all the other children of the ancient Aramaic script share in a certain family likeness, which makes it all too easy to mistake one for the other, if the light is bad or the conditions are otherwise unfavourable.

The only way to decide the question was to obtain fresh material. Several times I discussed ways and means with Dr. A. D. H. Bivar, the able and energetic numismatist and archaeologist, who then specialized in the early history of Afghanistan and who on more than one occasion had helped me by procuring photographs or impressions of inscriptions out of my reach. When Dr. Bivar learnt that an expedition of young Oxford scholars was about to set out for Afghanistan, he in his turn approached its members and asked them to pay a visit to Tang-i Azao. The expedition, the 'Hertford-Wadham Afghanistan Expedition', went out last year. As I am aware that its members intend to publish an account of their adventures, it would not be proper if I anticipated their tale in any way. Suffice it then to say here that the expedition duly visited Tang-i Azao and brought back a series of admirable photographs of the inscription. Through the good offices of Dr. Bivar, some of its members got in touch with me on their return to England and handed to me all the material they had collected. I wish to thank, also in this place, the Hertford-Wadham Afghanistan Expedition and especially Mr. Robert M. Evans of Wadham College and Mr. L. Holland and Mr. E. J. F. Bell, both of Hertford College, for coming so readily to the rescue of despairing epigraphists; and in particular for placing their precious material at my disposal and even permitting me, in the most generous fashion, to publish the most suitable of their photographs with this article (Plate II).

It is clear now, beyond a doubt, that the writing is in fact Hebrew. It

<sup>1</sup> On the various routes see Markwart, *Wakol*, 168 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> I mentioned it, with due reserve, in an article on Middle Iranian contributed to the *Handbuch der Orientalistik*; it has not yet been published.



emerges that we are dealing not with a single inscription, but rather with three separate inscriptions, which were probably inscribed at one and the same time. One of these, Inscr. A (of three lines), which stands by itself on the left-hand side, is written with smallish, compact letters. The script of the other two, which form a slanting block to the right, is large and straggling: Inscr. B, above, comprises four lines, Inscr. C the remaining three. Inscriptions A and B have almost identical text, except for the personal names; the wording in C differs a little. After the opening words (which we leave aside for the present) one reads in both A and B:

آن نیر کدر پا دالکس پا مود (A ۳۳)

'The beginning at any rate is plainly Persian: *In neri land pa . . .* 'he inscribed this inscription in *دالکس*'. At the end one recognizes *پا* or *پاا*, the common abbreviation of the divine name, but the meaning of *مود* is not clear; hence, 'in/by/through the . . . of God'.

In this short passage there occurs a remarkable word, *نیر* 'inscription': the context guarantees the meaning. This is the lineal descendant of Old Persian *dipi-* 'inscription' (whence Indian *dīpi-*),<sup>1</sup> through Middle Persian *nīpik*,<sup>2</sup> later *nībīg/nīβīg*.<sup>3</sup> In Middle Persian, and equally in Sogdian, the word stands for 'script, writing, anything written' generally, especially 'sacred writing, scripture'. This last meaning alone is attested in classical Persian: *nīd* (*nīb*)<sup>4</sup> exclusively = 'the Qur'ān'. The word became obsolete in Persian probably in the eleventh century<sup>5</sup> although it continued to be used by poets in need of a rhyme in *-ī* or of a substitute for *Qur'ān*; its occurrence in our inscriptions, moreover with a meaning that had not otherwise survived in Persian, testifies to their relative antiquity.

Up to now we have neglected a word, or group of letters, that forms part

<sup>1</sup> Bohler, *Ind. Palaeographie*, 3 sq.; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, 1, 222. The change *dī* to *nī* may be due to transmission through an Eastern Iranian dialect in which *dīpi-* was pronounced *nīpi-*. The contrary opinion, that *dīpi-* belonged to Skt. *dhīpi-* 'sower' (Pischel as quoted by Kent, *Old Persian*, 101), cannot be maintained.

<sup>2</sup> On *dī*/*nī* see *BSOAS*, 1, 4, 1942, 948 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The final *-g* was lost relatively early, as is shown by Middle Persian words borrowed by Syriac (Hoffmann, *Montgraffes*, 283 sq.) and by transcriptions of Western Iranian texts into Sogdian. This accounts for the MPers. loanword *šyā* 'book' in Syriac, which therefore collided with the indigenous word for 'prophet'. The confusion of the two is well illustrated by a quotation from Baumstark, *Gesch. syr. Lit.*, III, 'die Originalausgabe . . . umfasst . . . 200 . . . Gedichte, die . . . in 12 Bänden angeordnet waren, deren jeder wieder in zwei . . . Halbbände oder "Prophezen" zerfiel'.

<sup>4</sup> Final *-d* according to the grammatical tradition, supported by several unexceptionable rhymes; cf. also Paret's *waf* (*Mss.* xxvii, 23). The change in the quality of the vowel may have taken place in the later Middle Persian period: *nībīg* became *nībī* under the influence of *nībā-* 'to write'. The alternative Persian pronunciation *nīd*/*nīb* is comparatively late.

<sup>5</sup> Except occasionally where Mohammed is considered as representative of a class, as e.g. in the definition of *muraṣṣ* given by Bal'amī: هر کسی را از آسمان آن که مرسلان بپزند آن بپزند که هر کسی را از آسمان (in the definition of *muraṣṣ* given by Bal'amī: هر کسی را از آسمان آن که مرسلان بپزند آن بپزند که هر کسی را از آسمان).  
صف و بی و شریعت آمد

<sup>6</sup> In prose it was freely used in the tenth century, e.g. ۳۳۳ Bal'amī in the *History* (where continually انیر = 'in the Qur'ān'); it does not once occur in the *Shāhnāme*.

of the sentence quoted above: (he incised this inscription in)  $\text{אלף}$ . The line surmounting the letters indicates that they constitute an abbreviation or that they have the value of figures. No such abbreviation being known, it is reasonable to assume that they represent figures, presumably for the year in which the inscriptions were written. When a date is given in a document or a letter, one expects most of all the month and the day; but those who record their names in the places they visit (or cut their initials in trees) are apt to feel they have done enough for posterity when they have stated the year alone. The numerical value of  $\text{אלף}$  is  $4-1000-60 = 1064$ . It will be noted that  $\text{אל}$  (an abbreviation of  $\text{אלף}$  - 1000) is expressed not by two letters but by a common ligature, a *Lamedh* with a little stroke set on its horizontal; even this ligature is perhaps unduly shortened by omission of its lower part, in both A and B, but its nature is not in doubt. A serious difficulty, however, lies in the sequence of the letters: they should appear in descending order, as  $\text{אלסד}$  =  $1000-60-4$ . I cannot explain this deviation from the norm<sup>1</sup>; the reading of the first letter as *Daleth* seems certain.<sup>2</sup> For the present we have no choice but to assume that the figure intended by the scribe is 1064. Since the era is necessarily the Seleucid era (beg. autumn 312 B.C.), the date of the inscriptions would be A.D. 752/3. Undoubtedly so early a date is somewhat unexpected; for the inscriptions would then be the oldest documents written in the Jewish dialect of Persian, indeed in any form of the Persian language; but it is in consonance with the occurrence of the rare word *nirv* and with certain orthographic and palaeographic features that will be mentioned below.

There is little comparable material: most of it is listed in Professor Minorsky's article 'Some early documents in Persian (I)', *JRAS*, 1942, 181 sqq.:

- (1) a fragmentary letter found by Sir Aurel Stein at Dandan-Uliq, near Khotan, and attributed to the eighth century, — Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 8212 No. 166 (Margoliouth, *JRAS*, 1903, 747 sqq.; see further Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 183)
- (2) the Quilon copper-plate with witnesses' signatures, believed to have been written in about A.D. 830 (see Minorsky, *loc. cit.*)
- (3) the Hormuzir settlement dated in the year  $\text{אלשלכ}$  = 1332 = A.D. 1920:21, = Bodleian Ms. Heb. b. 12 fol. 21 (Margoliouth, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1897, 671 sqq.; see further Minorsky, *loc. cit.*)
- (4) the Kabul inscription dated Saturday, *Tisri* 24, year 1510 = Saturday, September 26, A.D. 1198<sup>3</sup> (A. Dupont-Sommer, *C.R.Ac.Inscr.*, 1946,

<sup>1</sup> In certain Pahlavi inscriptions of the later period, also in some Sogdian material from Bakhra, the units are in fact placed first, contrary to normal usage.

<sup>2</sup> The *kada* is far too short for final *Kaf* (= 500), which otherwise might have seemed attractive (on account of the Kabul inscr., see below). *Daleth* and *Resh* are well distinguished in both inscriptions, and in this place *Resh* (= 200) is clearly inadmissible. The sequence would be no less troublesome in either case.

<sup>3</sup> Written with the ligature mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> = Julian day 2, 156, 696.

252 sqq.; reading greatly improved ■ S. M. Stern, *JA*, 1949, 47 sqq.; on its date W.-J. Fischel, *ibid.*, 299 sqq.).

The last-named monument, although geographically nearest to the inscriptions of Tang-i Azao, is far removed from them in point of time; its year date is written אלף (with the usual ligature<sup>1</sup> for אל), the *kasta* of the final Kaf = 500 being drawn well below the line. Its script differs *toto cuncto* from that of our inscriptions, which rather resembles the script of the Dandan-Uiliq letter, regarded by common consent—rightly or wrongly—as the oldest Jewish Persian document previously discovered. The letter ק, for example, takes the following shapes:

Tang-i Azao	Quilon <sup>2</sup>	Dandan-Uiliq	Hormuzir	Kabul <sup>3</sup>
↑ †	+	× †	‡ ‡	‡

Altogether, the inscriptions of Tang-i Azao exhibit some fairly old forms of letters, e.g. א and ק; but these are matters we prefer to leave to those who are better acquainted with the problems of Hebrew palaeography. There is, however, a point of orthography that helps with the dating of the inscriptions: *kand* 'he inscribed' is spelt קנר with Qof. Of all the Jewish Persian material, it is solely in the Dandan-Uiliq letter that similarly the letter Qof is regularly used to render Persian *k*, Kaf being there reserved for Persian *x*; everywhere else Kaf represents both *k* and *x*, the latter being often distinguished by a diacritical mark.

In inscriptions of this kind one must count on meeting Hebrew or Aramaic words or phrases, in addition to Persian ones; when the engraving is poor, the reading is doubtful, and word-division uncertain (all of which being true of the inscriptions of Tang-i Azao), it becomes difficult to sort out the various elements. In studying the texts I was conscious of my lack of familiarity with Jewish studies generally and felt the need of competent advice. It so happened that just then I learnt that Dr. M. M. Stern, who had dealt so notably well with the Kabul inscription, was living in Oxford. I asked Dr. Stern to help me, and he readily accepted my invitation; together we have worked out most of the remainder of the inscriptions. I wish to thank Dr. Stern warmly for his kind assistance without which I should scarcely have dared to publish them.

Let us begin with the names of the authors of the inscriptions:

B	יזכרא בר סמעל אזק יקובן
A	שמואל (בר) אברהם אז יקובן קי
C	שמואל בר ראמש

<sup>1</sup> So quite clearly according to the independent photographs I owe to the kindness of Dr. Bivar; W.-J. Fischel, however, who was the first to state the correct year-date, speaks of 'le signe ל', *avec ses deux traits horizontaux*.

<sup>2</sup> First letter of the last line (read יזכריה).

<sup>3</sup> Once in קנר (which certainly cannot be read קנר).

The last is easy to explain: Samuel son of *Rāmīs*, a Persian appellative meaning 'joy', here perhaps (Dr. Stern suggested) to be regarded as translation of the Jewish name *Samūhāh* (סמחיה) = *Farah* in Arabic; *Rāmīs* (or *Rāmīāt*), however, occurs otherwise as a personal name in Persian, see Justi *s.v.* In A only the father's name, Abraham, is preserved. In B the middle letters of the first name cannot be made out with certainty: זכרא? זכרא? זכרא? His father's name might be (Dr. Stern proposed) a somewhat shortened spelling of the Arabic name *Isma'il*. This is an ingenious suggestion, and probably the correct explanation, although it imports an Arabic element—the only one—into our inscriptions; I should like, however, to draw attention to a similar form in the Quidon copperplate, line 4 סמיעיל (\**Sm'īl*?),<sup>1</sup> which could be the same name = סמחיה, but more liberally vowelled. The names are followed, in both A and B, by a further definition, which appears to begin with מ = Persian *az* 'from'; in B the second letter is uncertain (it could be נ), but in A the horizontal line is well marked. *Az* precedes קובן in A, presumably a place-name, while there is an additional ק in B; we assume that the scribe of B intended to write אז קובן in line 1, but changed his mind when he had completed אק and began line 2 with קובן, without bothering to destroy the now redundant ק. A has added ק (the second letter is very doubtful) to קובן, probably the Persian relative pronoun *ke* (later *ka*).

There are many places in the world whose names could be spelt קובן, but none of them is reasonably close to Tang-i Azno; after the proposition *az* one would expect the place from which the travellers set out on their journey, rather than their place of origin. Bearing in mind that the immediate point of departure can have been only either Herat or Bamian or Kabul, one is tempted to suggest that *Qubān* may have been a name of the Kabul valley, derived from the old name of the Kabul river, *Kāwḥar* (Kawḥar), Skt. *Kabhar*. The initial *Qis* very likely represents ordinary (Persian) *k* here, as in קנר and ק', so one may not compare Hsüan-tsang's 瞿 悉 那 *Hu-si-na* (Middle Chinese pronunciation *yo-b'jet-nā*), a capital city in the neighbourhood of Kabul, Stan. Julien, *Mémoires*, II, 190.

The formulae concluding the inscriptions have caused us a good deal of worry. In B we seem to have:

אמאכא אמן

*Amen*, at the end, is not very clearly written: in C the last word is אמ, with medial *Mēm*: the scribe forgot, or at any rate omitted, to add *Nūn*. The preceding group can be divided in אמא and אכא, and the latter is best taken as Persian *bād* 'may he [become]' (rather than e.g. באר or באר, all here equally possible); such a word, indicating a hope or pious wish, would be eminently suitable at the end of an inscription. As to אמא, there is no such word in Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, or Aramaic. It resembles Avestan *amāvan-* 'righteous',

<sup>1</sup> The readings previously given (סמחיה, סמחיה) are frankly impossible. One should perhaps transcribe the name as \**Sm'īl*, *Smāh*-form of *Isma'il*.

which subsists in Parsi Persian 'الروم = *asō*, doubtless pronounced *asav* earlier on; but 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 rather demands \**asāv*, while *asāv* or *asō* would have been written 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌.

In the end it occurred to me that **תָּנָן**, the remnant of **תָּנִיבִינָא**, should perhaps be divided once again, that is into **תָּנ** = -as 'his' and **נָא** =  $\delta$  ( $\dot{u}$ ) 'he'. The enclitic pronoun of the 3rd Pers. Sing. is in fact written **נָא** both in the Dandan-Uiliq letter<sup>2</sup> and in the Hormuzir settlement (**נָאִתְנָא** = they said to him). The difficulty, of course, is that **-נָא** is an enclitic pronoun and therefore should have a noun to lean on; yet of that there is no trace in B. However, there is in A a three-letter word between **נָא** and **תָּנָא**, which ends in **נָא**, and in C the last line begins with **נָא**. If we read **נָאִי** in A (which is feasible), we should gain a good word;  $y\ddot{a}i$  'friend, helper'. We should then have to restore **נָאִי** in B at the end of line 2, where the top layer of the rock seems to have broken away; and to assume that the scribe of C, whose hand plainly trembled, left out the first letter of his last line, as he did forget its last letter. Thus the formula reads  $y\ddot{a}r-\dot{u} \delta \dot{u}d$  'may he be his helper',  $\delta$  referring to God (named immediately before) and  $-u$  to the author of the inscription.<sup>3</sup>

The scribe of C borrowed the general sense from A and B (who had copied each other), but employed a simpler wording. He said in 'this' instead of 'this inscription', and instead of the precise *land* 'he incised' he used *נִסָּח* clearly a mistake for *נִסָּחַת* 'he wrote'. His concluding sentence began with *וְכֵן* and had therefore to be construed differently; it probably continued *וְכֵן יֵשׁ בְּיָדֵינוּ*. The *Idiše*-particle seems to have been expressed by a simple *Yod* joined to the following word, as frequently in the Hormuzir settlement,<sup>4</sup> but the reading is doubtful. It is possible that in this early form of Jewish Persian *ô* and *oy* were distributed according to their functions, *ô* as nominative and *oy* as oblique case.

There remains the unexplained word **TM** in the phrase 'in-by/through the . . . of God'. The dictionaries of the relevant languages let us down again; we shall have to guess at its meaning. A non-committal 'by the grace of God' or a colourless 'by the help of God'? Perhaps rather 'in the hope of God (hoping in God)', which might be better suited to the situation in which the authors of the inscriptions probably found themselves. At practically all moments of history a traveller passing through Tang-i Azad must have been in imminent danger of his life. He would not linger there and while away the hours by putting up rock-inscriptions, unless, deprived of the means of reaching safety, he was compelled to stay; in despair, he would put his hope

<sup>1</sup> The appearance of a typical Parā word in Jewish Persian would not be surprising, cf. P. Horn, *Idg. Forsch.*, II, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Iani: 220 y'r 'y pinnede / 'kə qunne (lār i fərmādi-əs sər fənm) 'I deal energetically with the looks you have on'.

<sup>2</sup> cf. the opening of the Dandan Uygur letter:

(767A) ייב ביהא א (אח-א) אה

<sup>4</sup> In the Dardan-Uljiq letter it is usually written as a separate word, 'K.

in divine help. Such may be the *raison d'être* of these inscriptions. מִן faintly recalls Persian *umūd* (*ummēd*) 'hope', which, however, should have been spelt מִיָּד (or even אִמִּיד),<sup>1</sup> in conjunction with the preposition *pa* פֶּאִמִּיד or at the least פֶּאִמִּיד; although -i- was often expressed by Wāw in Jewish Persian,<sup>2</sup> we can scarcely assume such a vagary in the case of an -i- that developed from -ē- and was still pronounced as -i- in the eighth century.<sup>3</sup>

Leaving aside all doubtful points, one would then propose the following reading:

## A

- 1      (ב) אברהם אן  
2      קובן קי אין ניד קנר פא דאלס  
3      פא מר יי יאר אש או באר

'(It was) X the son of Abraham (coming) from Kōhan, who incised this inscription in 1061, hoping in God. May He be his helper.'

## B

- 1      זכרא בר סמעל אוקן  
2      קובן אין ניד קנר פא דאלס  
3      פא מר יי (יאר)  
4      אש או באר אמן

'Zachary the son of Smēl (coming) from Kōhan incised this inscription in 1061, hoping in God. May He be his helper. Amen.'

## C

- 1      אין שמואל בר  
2      ראמש נ-ב-ש  
3      <י> אר יאר באר אמן

'Samuel the son of Rāniš wrote this. May (God) be his helper. Amen.'

It was disappointing to find that these inscriptions are not written in Parthian. Yet, if they are indeed as old as is assumed in this article, we have reason to feel compensated: for they would constitute the oldest monuments of the Persian language. The Parthian gold has eluded us, but we have found a trifle that may be worth keeping.

<sup>1</sup> In the Dandan-Uliq letter initial *Alif* is generally omitted before vowels other than *ā*, e.g. **𐭠𐭣𐭠** - *afšād*, **𐭠𐭣𐭠** - *God* (Pers. *ūd*), **𐭠𐭣𐭠** - *idān*.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in words of Archaic origin, e.g. **𐭠𐭣𐭠** 'tribe' = *qabīlāh*. It has been assumed that the spelling indicates pronunciation with *ā* (*qabīlāt*), see Bacher, *ZDMG*, LI, 401; it could also have been caused by the common change from *ā* to *i* in many Persian dialects, which would tend to provoke inverse spellings.

<sup>3</sup> Support for the assumption that *p'-mūd* = *pa-mūd* may possibly be found in a passage of the Dandan-Uliq letter, line 13, where **𐭠𐭣𐭠** - 'hope' seems to be the correct reading (*p'* = *umēd d'racm*). The continual confusion of *dār* 'far' with *dār* 'long' in Pahlavi may have been provoked by the change to *dār* in the pronunciation of both words.

## A SPURIOUS FOLKTALE

PROFESSOR G. VERNADSKY, well-known as an historian of ancient Russia, recently published an Ossetic folktale,<sup>1</sup> which he had obtained from a Mr. Dzambulal Dzanty, an Ossete by birth,<sup>2</sup> who in his turn stated that he had heard it (and written it down) in his youth, 'in the village of Great Iron (*Bolskoe Osetinskoe*) at the time of hay-making (*zongdrän*), June, 1910', from an 'old white-bearded man' by name of Khulyx [*K'ulix*] 'The Lame One', who 'was a poet himself and in some of his own works followed the pattern of the old Ossetian oral traditions'.<sup>3</sup> As the old gentleman was 'over seventy in 1910',<sup>4</sup> we cannot hope to consult him now about his sources or about the numerous strange words and expressions in the text presented, after an interval of 45 years, by Mr. Dzambulal Dzanty.

The tale, cast in the form of a prose epic, purports to give an independent account of the story, known from the Russian *Annals* (*Poved' Vremenniz Iel*) and alluded to in the *Slovo*, of the fight between Mstislav, Prince of Tmutarokan', and Rodedya, the chief of the *Kavogs* (Circassians); but Rodedya has turned here into a leader of the *Ossetes* and his name is altered to *Iry-Dada*. According to the *Annals* this fight took place in A.D. 1022. That the Ossetes, a nation lacking historical tradition, should have preserved, with fair accuracy, the memory of an isolated historical event as remote as nine centuries ago, is exceedingly improbable. The genuine Ossetic folktales, of which large numbers have been published, deal with spirits and demons, heroes and giants, and the like, not with recognizable historic situations.

Not satisfied with laying the scene of his tale in the early eleventh century, the narrator has painted it on an ethnographic background that, inconsistent in itself, reaches down even further into antiquity. We are not greatly surprised at finding the *Ossetes* generally referred to here as *Alans*, although their present-day name, *Ir/Iron*, occurs also (e.g. line 9).<sup>5</sup> The old term, *Alan-*, was still known, and applied to the ancestors of the *Ossetes*, in the fifteenth century<sup>6</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> G. Vernadsky and Dzambulal Dzanty, 'The Ossetian tale of Iry Dada and Mstislav', *Slavic folktales: a symposium* [*Journal of American Folklore*], 1956, 210-25.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere (*J.A.O.S.* LXXVI, 1956, 189, n. 13) Vernadsky mentions a book by Dzambulal Dzanty, *L'empire des Os-Alans* (Institut d'Orientalisme, Clamart/Seine), 1, 1953, which I have not seen.

<sup>3</sup> *loc. cit.*, 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Supposedly also in the wilful corruption of Rodedya, *Iry-Dada*, which Vernadsky translates as 'Father of the Iron (Ossetians)' (p. 217); but 'Daddy of the Ossetes' would be more adequate.

<sup>6</sup> As proved by Josephat Barbaro, who began his travels in 1426 and spent 16 years at Tana, on the doorstep of the land of the *Alans*: 'the country of Alania is so called of the people *Alani*, which in their tongue they call *As*' (*Travels to Tana and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 5); 'countries of diverse languages . . . to wit, Kirgise, Tatarcoonia, Sobai, Cheuerthoi, As Alani . . .' (p. 22).



it persists in Mingrelian<sup>1</sup>; but from Ossetic itself it has disappeared, except in the compound *allon-billon*, found a single time in a folktale.<sup>2</sup> 'Iry-Dada', however, provides us not merely with this rare term *allon-billon* (apelt *Alon-bilon*, lines 66 and 124), but also with profuse occurrences of the simple *Alon* (pl. *Alanta*),<sup>3</sup> which would appear to have escaped the notice of all the scholars, among them many born Ossetes, who hitherto have investigated their language.

Even if we passed the *Alani*, we must draw the line at the *Raza-Alan* (lines 6, 47, 121, 135), evidently the *Roxolani*. This nation disappeared from the ken of the peoples inhabiting the lands near the Caucasus as early as the second century B.C., when they crossed over to the European side of the Don; having later migrated further westwards they are last heard of in the third century of our era. In time as well as space the *Roxolani* were neatly distinct from the *Alani*; for the latter appear on the scene only about the middle of the first century (A.D.), then still on the Asiatic side of the Don. The close association, in which we are accustomed to think of those two nations, is not so much an historical one as rather the product of modern etymologizing scholarship: since Müllenhoff (1866) and V. F. Miller (1887), who explained *Roxolani* as a compound of an Iranian word for 'light' (exemplified by Ossetic *rūza*) and the name *Alani*, it has acquired the status of a learned dogma. Actually, this etymology is somewhat in doubt; for at the earliest occurrence of the name familiar to us from literary sources as *Ῥωξολανοί*, in an inscription from the closing years of the second century B.C.,<sup>4</sup> its spelling is different altogether: *τὸ τῶν Πρωξολῶν ἔθνος*.<sup>5</sup> At any rate, the place for the *Roxolani* is in the pages of Strabo, Tacitus, and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, not in Ossetic fairy-tales taken down in 1910; and *Raza-Alan* provides a safe *terminus ante quem non*: 1887, the year in which the third part of Miller's *Osetinskie skizny* appeared.

There are a good many further items of antiquarian interest; only some of the pearls can be mentioned here. The first rank is disputed by the *Sarmatae* (lines 48, 51, 143)<sup>6</sup> and the *Tochari*. The latter, however, appear thinly disguised as an appellative, *torar* 'warrior' (for example line 11 *Alon torarta* 'Alan warriors' or line 51 *torar Mstislav*); the narrator composed his 'Iry-Dada' out of books on history—Professor Vernadsky, travelling in the reverse direction, has made this allegedly Ossetic word *torar* the basis of a novel

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Ashov, *Osetinskij yazik i folklor*, I, 1949, 249.

<sup>2</sup> V. F. Miller, *Os-Razsko Nym. slovar*, s.v.: W. Ashov, loc. cit., 240.

<sup>3</sup> If this were an inherited word, its plural should be *\*Alanta*.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Th. Reinach, *Mémoires de l'École des Hautes Études*, 73, n. 1. 1. Zgurin, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzseer Küste*, 1935, 235, unconvincedly tried to separate *Roxolani* and *Praxolani*; that Ptolemy should have both names side by side (the latter perhaps as *Πρωξολαν* or *Πρωξολ*, reflecting possibly *\*Πρωξολαν* in the source) provides no argument whatsoever against their identity.

<sup>5</sup> Inscri. of Diophantus, i. 23 (e.g. apud Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 647); -*arr*- may thus be due to metathesis, and -*rel*- is easily enough explainable, in terms of 'Sarmatian', as from OIr. *serys*-, Oms. *nāl*. Cf. Vasmer, *Iranier in Zentralasien*, 49.

<sup>6</sup> In the last two verses Vernadsky gives a different explanation.

explanation of the name of the mighty *Tochari* (For Roman Jakobson, 1956, 588 sq.).

More recondite yet than the *Sarmatae*, *Roxolani*, and *Tochari* are the *Antes*, who, to judge by Vernadsky's translation, still enjoy a great vogue in Bolshoe Oostinskoe: 'the Antes', 'Antian drinks', 'the Antian prince', 'an Antian horseman', etc. (meaning in effect *Russian*); but here one doubts whether the narrator ever had heard of them. The *Antes*, famous in the sixth century, were a confederacy of Slav tribes; but according to Vernadsky, Slavs organized by *Alani*, or rather by their sub-division, the *As*. This latter opinion appears to have been based on most dubious etymologies of names, in particular of the name *Antes* itself, for which Vernadsky has proposed three different explanations (two of them in the same book), all tending to show connexion with the *As* or their language:

(a) *Antes* = *As*. 'The transmutation of the \**As* into \**Avtes* is in full accord with the phonetic laws of the Greek language, cf. γίγας, plural γίγαντες.' Here the actual name was *As*, distorted by Greeks into *Antes*. However, no Greek would have rendered a foreign tribal name *As* as \**As*, and in any case \**Avtes* does not exist, the Greek form being \**Avrai* in fact.

(b) *As* = *Antes*. 'The contraction of the name *Ant* into *As* may be explained from the phonetical laws of the Greek language (compare πᾶν from παντα).' Here the actual name was *Ant*, out of which the Greeks somehow made *As*; this Greek form, it would seem, was then adopted in the Caucasus and in Central Asia as well (for *As* occurs also in Arabic, Mongolian, Chinese, etc.).

(c) In a note contributed to the *JAOI*, LXXIII, 3, 1953, 182, Vernadsky withdrew explanation (a) and suggested that 'the name is of Iranian origin and should be explained in the light of Sanskrit *anta* "end, limit" and Ossetic *āndā* "outside"'; the *Antes* thus should be the 'outer' tribes of the *Alani-As*. It will be noted that, once the link between the names *Antes* and *As* is withdrawn, no reason remains discernible for deriving the former from an Iranian language; apart from that, an adverb such as *Oss. āndā*, Dig. *āndā* is scarcely fit to serve as the name of a nation, while the appertaining adjective *Oss. āndag*, Dig. *āndag* 'being outside' cannot be represented by \**Avrai*.

On the strength of this last etymology, Vernadsky has rendered as 'Antian' every *āndagon* in the text of 'Iry-Dada'.<sup>4</sup> Yet, *āndagon* is an everyday word in

<sup>1</sup> G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, New Haven, 1943, 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Nothing is said about explanation (b), which V. may not have considered essentially different from (a).

<sup>4</sup> Lines 27, 33, 39, 43, 83; and in *āndagon* lines 54, 82, 85, which (not mentioned in any dictionary) may be intended as an 'elegant variation', but in that case would be an incorrect form (*āndā* being Digor only).

Osetic, and its ordinary meaning ('exterior, wild, strange, foreign, alien') fits the passages admirably, e.g. line 37 *adtagon addmita* 'the strangers, foreigners'. Even in the unlikely event that the narrator had dipped into Procopius and desired to import the 'Avron into his tale, would he have used a harmless adjective of this sort to disguise his intention? for that it was meant to conceal the name of a long-forgotten nation, could not have occurred to anyone of his listeners. Unless indeed he was possessed of second sight and foresaw in 1910 that *adtagon* was going to be claimed as the etymon of *Anies* in 1953.

This tale of 'Iry-Dada' does not spring from the deep well of national remembrance; it is the product of book-learning. If Mr. Dzambulak Dzanty had left in its original statement: *az seqeton* 'I heard (this tale . . .)' (in a prefatory remark, p. 221), we should be free to assume that his memory had played him false. However, in an additional note, quoted in translation from a letter written in Russian to Professor Vornadsky, Mr. Dzambulak Dzanty changed this statement to 'I heard and wrote down the tale . . .' (p. 222); yet, whether any amplifications or other modifications have been introduced, and if so which,<sup>1</sup> since the writing-down in 1910, we are not told, so that there is room for speculation. As to the narrator of the tale, old Khulyx, he must have been more learned than he let on. There is no reason at all for blaming him; for an Osete, as well as anyone else, is entitled to tell or write historical romances and inspire himself by browsing in the Public Library. We, however, should be capable of distinguishing such productions from genuine folktales.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One such modification is the change in transcription, into a new kind of romanisation.

<sup>2</sup> This is not even the first time that the story of Mousier and Ikededy has been supposed to be reflected in Caucasian folklore. Sera-Bekmurzin Nigmatov, the Kabardian author of a history of the Circassians (*istoriya Adygeyskogo naroda*, Tiflis, 1861), incorporated it in his work, but Prince N. S. Trubetskoy proved that it was simply borrowed from the Russian *Annals*. Vornadsky himself gives an outline of the history of this earlier attempt (p. 217), which was unsuccessful and, one should have thought, would prove discouraging.

### NEW PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS ON SILVER VESSELS

Under the title 'Argenterie d'un seigneur sassanide' Dr. Ghirshman describes, in *Asi Orientale*, II, 1957, 77-80, a recent find, made in Mazendaran,<sup>1</sup> of silver-ware, the most important constituent of which is a set of three richly ornamented bowls with Pahlavi inscriptions. Of these inscriptions, throughout in *pointillé*, only feeble traces can be seen in the photographs that accompany the article; for the purpose of reading we depend wholly on a drawing (p. 81). Drawings are useful enough when they supplement photographs; but no student of epigraphy likes being compelled to rely on another man's eyes. In view of their importance for the history of Oriental art, these inscriptions deserved better; for they supply, for the first time, a definite date for specimens of 'Sassanian' silver-ware.

As most Pahlavi inscriptions on objects made of silver,<sup>2</sup> the newly discovered ones consist of two parts, (1) the owner's name followed by *NPSH* 'own' (= 'belongs to N.N.'), and (2) a determination of the weight, usually in the form *MN* (number) *ZWZN* ' (made) from so many drachms ' or *MN* (number)

<sup>1</sup> The precise locality is not indicated.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief survey of relevant material see my 'Mitteliranisch' (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, *Iranistik*, 2<sup>e</sup> 1, 20-130), 40 sq.

ZWZN-ang<sup>1</sup> ' (made) from so many drachma-by-weight'. Bowls 1 and 2 belonged to the same person; his name is:

wndt-šhrmzd (Z)Y k'n'n<sup>2</sup>  
(Windād-šhrmīz ī Kārenān).

Windād-šhrmīz (Windād-hormīz) is a very rare name indeed.<sup>3</sup> In the whole history of Iran but a single bearer of it is known, and he flourished in the part of the country where the bowls were found: Windād-hormīz, the Isfahbad, who expelled the Arab invaders from Tabaristān and restored the ancient religion.<sup>4</sup> He was, according to the family legend, a lineal descendant of Kāren (the son of Sōxwā), who was said to have received a part of Tabaristān in fief from Khosrau I; after its supposed founder, the little dynasty was called Kāren-wand. As the owner is described as Kārenān, i.e. 'descendant of Kāren',<sup>5</sup> in our inscriptions, we may confidently assert that bowls 1 and 2 once were the property of Windād-hormīz, the famous prince of Tabaristān whose exploits filled the closing years of the eighth century.

On the third bowl, which is smaller and less elaborately decorated, the owner's name is:

šarmgk (Z)Y H(š)wryn'n<sup>6</sup>  
(Šarmīg ī Ša(h)wrenān).

No such person is known in history; his father's (or perhaps ancestor's) name, Šarwēn, is known all the better; H(š)wryn-<sup>7</sup> is a historic (or inverse) spelling of Šarwēn: need not be doubted. We may assume that Šarmīg was an otherwise unmentioned son<sup>8</sup> of the Malik al-Jibāl Šarwēn, Windād-hormīz's friend and supporter.

One cannot take it for granted that the man named in an ownership inscription is the first owner, the person for whom the object was made; but, failing argument to the contrary, there is a presumption in favour of that supposition. In the present instance, moreover, the standard of weight derivable from the

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *ang* 'weight', Ghirshman reads *wt*, a reading that we proposed in *BEOAS*, xiv, 4, 1951, 926 seq.; cf. 'Mitteliranisch', 48, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *k'n* is clear in No. 1, 'm' in No. 2, where the first letter is confused and, at any rate in the drawing, joined to the preceding (Z)Y: the resulting jumble of traces has been taken for *h* by Ghirshman (such an *h*, however, as would be incommensurate to the rest of the script). This misunderstanding helps to account for his reading of the name: *Zoraspān hormīz haxarādād*, which courtesy forbids discussing in detail.

<sup>3</sup> It occurs in the list of witnesses in the Quilq copperplate inscription, 'Mitteliranisch', 51.

<sup>4</sup> See M. Minovi's delightful essay on Mānyār, 4-13 (in M. Minovi and Šidiq Bidāyat, *Māziyār*, Tehran, 1312); R. Marquet, *Érinsakr*, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Ordinarily the form in *-ān* designates a man's father, sometimes perhaps his forefather. It is possible that Windād-hormīz's father's name was in fact *Kāren*, and not (as stated in most sources) *Farruxān* (which name may have been attributed to him in an attempt to link Windād-hormīz with the earlier Isfahbads).

<sup>6</sup> The *-r*, to judge by the drawing, is not perfectly executed and thus resembles *-p* (of the *-š* of *wndt* No. 2); but *šwryn* is less likely, though not impossible. According to Ghirshman this name reads *Hormīzād haxarādād*.

<sup>7</sup> Or possibly *šwryn*.

<sup>8</sup> And presumably, in comparison with Windād-hormīz, a less important and wealthy man, who had to be content with a more modest bowl.

second halves of the inscriptions proves that the bowls were not fashioned before the eighth century; Dr. Ghirshman, who uses the figures in order to deduce from them the silversmiths' income, has missed their significance. Bowl No. 1 was made 'from 306 drachms-by-weight' and weighs 880 grammes; bowl No. 2 was made 'from 27½ drachms-by-weight' and weighs 795 grm. These figures are almost proportional; strictly, e.g.,  $880 : 306 = 795 : 278.4$ . The 'drachm-by-weight', accordingly, =  $\frac{880}{306} = 2.876$  grm. and  $\frac{795}{27.4} = 2.901$  grm., say approximately 2.9 grm.; the figure has to  $\frac{1}{100}$  increased by a trifle in order to take account of accidental loss.<sup>1</sup> The resulting weight obviously agrees with the early Muslim weight standard (*dirham* = 2.97 grm.), which was introduced by the Omayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik in about A.H. 75-6 (= A.D. 694-6)<sup>2</sup>;  $\frac{1}{100}$  any rate  $\frac{1}{100}$  corresponds with no Sassanian measure.<sup>3</sup> Strictly, we should not take a coin weight, such as the *dirham* of 2.97 grm.,<sup>4</sup> as point of departure; for the inscriptions speak of *dra(h)m-sang* (= Pers. *diramsang* = Arab. *dirham al-kail*) 'drachms-by-weight', which often differed; yet even if we take as basis the weight given by Hinz<sup>5</sup> for the *mithqāl* as used in Iran in early Muslim times, 4.3 grm., the corresponding figure for the *dirham al-kail* will not differ significantly: 2.87 grm. (=  $\frac{1}{100}$ ) or 3.01 grm. (=  $\frac{1}{100}$ ).

In conclusion, it should not be left unmentioned that ■. Herzfeld once proposed reading the name of *Sorvén* (the *Marmoyén* of Dernaënd) on such a silver bowl; even though his reading has proved unacceptable,<sup>7</sup> his estimate of the period ■ which the object belonged has now gained support.

<sup>1</sup> We cannot rely here on bowl No. 3, because its inscription is not wholly clear in the drawing. Probably: *AN NE ZIT ZS M-iii (2) FIF(N) eng* (made from 202 drachms and) 3 *degas* in weight (i.e. 202 drachms). The bowl weighs 486 grms., hence a drachm 544 = 252.8 = 3.886 grm. This is rather too little; a correct proportion would be 880 : 206 = 582.5 : 202.5. However, we may be justified in assuming considerable loss (about 3 in 14) through wear. M. Ghoshman p. 82 'son état prouve une grande usure'.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. J. Walker, Anglo-Saxon coin, calid.

<sup>2</sup> The Sassanian drachm weighed about a whole gramme more.

<sup>1</sup> Or rather 2-03, if the 18 *midgill* weight mentioned by Hinz (see below), p. 2, is accurate; for 13<sub>4</sub> of 76-23 is 2-9646 (and even of 78-235 merely 2-9647). From the average, 6-231 gm., of smaller glass weights (Hinz, p. 1) one also obtains 2-96.

<sup>6</sup> And thus have answered in advance Dr. Chirkman's question: 'les chiffres qui se rapportent aux drachmes, indiquent-ils le poids des objets ou leur valeur?' (p. 22).

<sup>6</sup> *Palamische Maße und Gewichte*, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> 'Mitteliranisch', 49 sq. Cf. A. Meillet, *Darmstadt Oaks Papers*, xi, 1937, 229.





## A FRAGMENT OF THE MANICHAEAN HYMN-CYCLES IN OLD TURKISH

Every student of Manichaean literature will feel grateful to Dr. Waley for his elucidation of difficult passages in the Chinese version of the first canto of *Hwuidagmān*,<sup>1</sup> the most important of the Manichaean hymn-cycles, which were composed originally in the Parthian language. As a modest tribute to the eminent scholar, it may not be entirely inappropriate to call attention here to a hitherto unnoticed version of the same canto, which played a part in the Manichaean ritual and therefore was translated into several languages.

The new version, of which only a small fragment survives, is in Uyghur Turkish. The fragment, T.M. 278 (in Uyghur script), was published long ago by A. von LeCoq in his *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho* iii (1923), p. 45, No. 34; its text corresponds with verses 326 (65)–331 (70) of the Chinese hymn-scroll.<sup>2</sup> We will not blame the Turcologists for having failed to recognize the identity of the texts. The small extent and incompleteness of the Turkish fragment, the presence of unknown words, the obscurity and wordiness of the Chinese version, and the general repetitiveness of Manichaean imagery and phraseology, combine to make such a recognition a matter of good fortune rather than merit. A further obstacle lies in the presence of a discrepancy in the number of verses. Dr. Boyce had very acutely observed<sup>3</sup> that the Chinese translator must have omitted a whole verse between his verses 60 and 68: the missing verse is actually found in the little Turkish fragment (between 66 and 67; here numbered 66a).<sup>4</sup> Unlike his Chinese colleague, the Turkish translator wisely contented himself with a prose rendering. In the following confrontation of the three versions I reproduce the late Mr. Tsui Chi's translation; for the Turkish I depend largely on von LeCoq's text and translation.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See M. Boyce, *The Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian*, pp. 66–77.

<sup>2</sup> Tsui Chi, *Mo Ni Chien Hsia Pu Tiao*, BSOAS. xi (1943), pp. 206 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *loc. cit.*, 76 n. 7, 77 n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Each verse is separated from the next by two groups of dots (mostly four, sometimes two) and occupies about three lines in the manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> For a thorough revision a photograph of the manuscript would be indispensable, but is not available to me.

## 65

- Parthian: missing.  
 Turkish: (only last word) . . . , *māngigū* "eternally".  
 Chinese: (line c) . . . for evermore . . .

## 66

- Parth.: missing.  
 Turk.: *it ārdūki qul āni, butyaqlı āmgātlıgı yavlaq dı'ūr, yirdā āftibnāz*  
 Barking of dogs, calls of birds, confusing and troublesome  
 evil howling—they are not heard in (that) land.  
 Chin.: Chickens and dogs, pigs and cats (?), and other animals,  
 From these the World of Light is free;  
 Voices and noises of the five kinds of birds and quadrupeds,  
 To say that there they are is not true.

## 66a

- Parth. and Chin.: missing.  
 Turk.: *qorqındıy itin ular a[r]a yoq; kōnūr'ūgli isig yil yiltirmāz,*  
 Frightening jostling (?) is unknown among them; no burning,  
 hot wind blows (there).  
 The unknown *ātin* may be a bad spelling of *itīn* (from *īmāk* "to push").

## 67

- Parth.: missing.  
 Turk.: *qamay tūndrig[dā] tūmanta [*  
*]da aray ar[unlar ?] itrā yoq*  
 From any darkness and fog . . . there is nothing within the  
 pure abodes.  
 Chin.: All kinds of dark shadows, dust and dirt,  
 From them the world of extreme happiness is free:  
 Monasteries of all the Saints are clean and pure.  
 That gloom and dusk exist, is not true.

## 68

- Parth.: *[wōd] hmg pwr rohn [ ] [pō I'd]yft 'wō pdyfjr [*  
 And all full of Light . . . in gladness and honour . . .  
 Turk.: *tolu y(a)ruq tıng āz ol, turqaru dıgūnān fayayl(i)qan amraku*  
*kōrtāh ārūlār,*  
 Full of Light is the(ir) "Living Self"; ever in gladness and  
 honour loving each other they are very beautiful (?)  
 Chin.: Light pervades everywhere and fills things,  
 Life is eternal and permanently peaceful,  
 Estimable, joyful, and happy without intercession,  
 And man's merciful heart is sincere, true, and always at ease.

Dr. Waley has stated<sup>4</sup> that the third line is literally "esteem and joy have no gaps between". The concluding words "have no gaps between" presumably reproduce a single word—it is missing in Parthian—for which the Turkish translator wrote *turqaru* "ever, always". The nouns rendered as "esteem and joy" agree well with Parthian *šādīst ud padīšar* "gladness and honour": accordingly I have ventured to change von LeCoq's *aragīqan*, which could only mean "in purity (= *arīyīqan*)", into *ayay-* "honour".

## 69

- Parth.: [wfmny]d pā fā[y]fī, u r(?)[. . . . .]  
[ ? jmn](y)n pām'n . . . .  
They rejoice in gladness, and . . . .  
. . . . ■■ measure of hours (?) . . . .
- Turk.: *ögi(r)ārlār ögrünčün, †yīdan igdīlürldē, kūnin sanī yoq ular*  
*tirig bāindēg.*  
They rejoice in gladness, they thrive on perfume (?).  
In days—there is no number of their "Living Self"  
(= no limit ■■ their lives).
- Chin.: Always pleased, joyful, and gay without break:  
Freely enjoying, body and mind, ■■ the precious-scented air,  
Counting neither years and months, nor hours and days,  
How will one fear the "Three Exterminations" ■■ the end  
of life?

The Turkish is so obscure that von LeCoq refrained from translating it. In the absence of a photograph any change of ■■ readings is hazardous, yet on the strength of "the precious-scented air" one may emend *z(?) yēdan* to punctuation marks + *yīdan* "by perfume".<sup>5</sup> The construction of the second half of the verse, where I have replaced *kūnin* by *kūnin*, is not very clear.<sup>6</sup>

## 70

- Parth.: missing.
- Turk.: *qamay [tirig] öz ular [ara šīmāz ?] . . . .*  
No "Living Self" dies among them . . . .
- Chin.: All the Saints are void of birth and death,  
And the killing devil of Impermanence will not attack and  
hurt them . . . . .

Having little Turkish and less Chinese I must confine myself to establishing the identity of the texts and leave their further study to more competent hands.

<sup>4</sup> Boyce, *loc. cit.*, p. 77, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> In Parthian one would expect *prwzynd pā bay*, but the traces apparently do not fit; *igdīl-* = Parth. *prwz-* = Sogd. *prwzj-*.

<sup>6</sup> Parth. *\*rāz'n pām'n* = 'at 'w hryn *fyahē*



HENNING, W. B. (London): *Die älteste persische Gedichthandschrift: eine neue Version von Barlaam und Joasaph*

Als älteste persische Handschrift gilt der im Jahre 1055 geschriebene Wiener Codex des *K. al-abniya 'an haqā'iq al-adwiya*. Nicht-muslimisches Material in persischer Sprache übertrifft ihn jedoch an Alter erheblich. So christliche Handschriften in syrischer Schrift aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, wie das von F. W. K. MÖLLER veröffentlichte Psalmenbruchstück (etwa X. Jahrhundert). Wesentlich Älteres gibt es in hebräischer Schrift, in erster Linie das von SIR AUBEL STEIN in Dandan-Uiliq (bei Khotan) gefundene Brieffragment, dessen frühe Ansetzung (VIII. Jahrhundert) durch die kürzlich entdeckten

Inschriften von Tang-i Azad bestätigt worden ist: sie sind ins Jahr 752 n. Chr. datiert und stellen so die absolut ältesten Denkmäler der neupersischen Sprache dar<sup>1</sup>.

Die turkestanischen Manichäer, der Nationalität nach im wesentlichen Soghdier, begannen gegen Ende des IX. Jahrhunderts, sich der persischen Sprache zu bedienen, die sie natürlich mit ihrer eigenen „manichäischen“ Schrift zum Ausdruck brachten; sie empfingen ihre kulturellen Impulse seit jeher von Samarkand, und seit man dort die persische Literatursprache angenommen hatte, schrieb man eben auch in Turfan auf Persisch. Auf die Existenz persisch-manichäischer Fragmente hatte F. W. K. MÜLLER gleich zu Beginn der Turfanstudien, im Jahre 1904, hingewiesen; sie sind bislang unveröffentlicht geblieben, und das umfangreichste Stück, M 106, welches F. W. K. MÜLLER erwähnt hatte, ist leider in den Nachkriegswirren verlorengegangen (doch ist wenigstens eine Abschrift erhalten geblieben).

Die gegenwärtig im Gang befindliche Katalogisierung der manichäischen Handschriften durch Frl. Dr. BOVEZ erbrachte mehrere Fragmente, die sich nach erfolgreicher Zusammensetzung als Bruchstück eines Epos in persischer Sprache erwiesen. Obwohl nur Teile von 27 Doppelversen erhalten sind und dabei nicht eine einzige Zeile vollständig vorliegt, verdient das Stück einiges Interesse; der Schrift nach ist es nicht später als in der ersten Hälfte des X. Jahrhunderts geschrieben worden. Auch dem Inhalt nach ist es von Bedeutung: es gehört zu einer Version von „Bilāhar und Jōsaph“ (Bilāhar und Būdāsa). Die Namen beider Hauptpersonen sind glücklicherweise je einmal erhalten, als *Bylchr* und *Budyf*. Eine Seite des Bruchstücks enthält das Ende der ersten Unterredung (= K. B. wa B., Bombayer Druck S. 69) und den Beginn der zweiten, welche mit Bōdisafs Frage über Bilāhars Lebensalter beginnt (= Bombayer Druck S. 83).

Die Auffindung dieses von Manichäern überlieferten Epos stützt die mehrfach gemachte Annahme einer auf indisch-buddhistisches Material gegründeten manichäischen Urversion der Legende<sup>2</sup>; F. W. K. MÜLLER z. B. schlug ein „manichäisches Prototyp vielleicht in soghdischer Sprache“ vor. Die Namensformen, besonders *Budyf*, beweisen, daß der neue Text am Anfang der Überlieferung steht:

Indisches Original:	<i>Bodhisattva</i>
Soghdisch:	<i>Bōdisaf</i> ( <i>Pictysf</i> )
Persisch:	<i>Bōdīanf</i> ( <i>Budyf</i> )
Arabisch:	<i>Būdāsa</i>
Arabische Corruptel:	<i>Yūdāsa</i>
Georgisch:	<i>Yodasap</i>
Griechisch:	<i>Ἰωδάσας</i>
Lateinisch usw.:	<i>Josephat</i>

<sup>1</sup> Siehe jetzt *BSOAS*, XX (1957), 335sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe jetzt D. M. LANG, *BSOAS*, XX, 389sqq.

Man wird annehmen, daß das persische Epos im Samarkand oder Buchara, wo die persische Literatur ihre erste Blütezeit genoß, entstanden ist. Wenn auch der Stoff den Manichäern seit langem lieb und vertraut war, ist ein manichäischer Verfasser nicht unbedingt vorauszusetzen; angesichts der religiösen Neutralität des Themas ist es möglich, daß ein Gedicht eines muslimischen Autors von Manichäern übernommen und aus der arabischen in die manichäische Schrift umgesetzt worden ist. Vielleicht ist es nicht zu kühn, zu vermuten, daß der Verfasser der größte persische Dichter jener Zeit, Rūdakī, war; zwei positive Gründe für diese Annahme:

1. Schon NÖLDEKE hat bewiesen, daß Rūdakī nicht nur *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, sondern auch *Sindbād* episch behandelt hat; dazu gehört „*Bilauhar* und *Bōdīasf*“ als Dritter im Bunde. Der des Manichäertums verdächtige ältere arabische Dichter Abān al-Lāhīqī hat ja auch diese drei Themata behandelt.

2. Rūdakī's *Kalīla wa-Dimna* und *Sindbād* sind in demselben Metrum (in kurzem Ramal) geschrieben wie die neue persische Version von *Bilauhar* und *Bōdīasf*.

Falls aber die weitere Untersuchung, etwa aus stilistischen Gründen, ergeben sollte, daß das Gedicht Rūdakī nicht zugeschrieben werden darf, so kann der Verfasser nur ein Nachahmer und Zeitgenosse von ihm gewesen sein; die Handschrift selber ist ja noch zu Rūdakī's Lebzeiten geschrieben worden.





## THE BACTRIAN INSCRIPTION

THE long-awaited Greek-letter inscription discovered, on 6 May 1937, by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan in the course of their excavations at 'Surkh-Kotal', the ancient Bagolango,<sup>1</sup> has now been made public by M. André Marion under the title of 'La grande inscription du Kaniska et l'éteo-tokharien, l'ancienne langue de la Bactriane', *J.A.*, cxxlvi, 4, 1938, 345-440.<sup>2</sup> It is wonderfully well-preserved and, once one gets accustomed to the somewhat barbaric forms of certain letters, offers not the slightest difficulty to the reading. The difficulties lie elsewhere: this is the first substantial, and at the same time readable, document of the Iranian language once spoken in Bactria and, appropriately to a text in an unknown language, is slow in yielding its meaning to the scholar, who inevitably has to be guided partly by often contradictory internal evidence, partly by uncertain comparisons with related languages. All those devoted to Central Asian history and languages will be grateful to M. Marion for his painstaking work and for his unselfishness in publishing this superb monument before being able to submit more than a partial interpretation.

The language of the inscription occupies an intermediary position between Pashto and Yidgha-Munji on the one hand, Sogdian, Khwarezmian, and Parthian on the other: it is thus in its natural and rightful place in Bactria: this is also the opinion expressed by M. Marion (pp. 395 sqq.). It would then be best to call it *Bactrian*. Such a long time has passed since that term fell into disuse, as the name of the Avestan language, that it is available again; there is no reason why we should avoid it. Surprisingly, M. Marion prefers *éteo-tokharien* as the name of the new language, largely on the ground that in much later times (eleventh century) al-Beruni used *Tokharian* (*ṭuxārīy* in Arabic) for the dialect spoken in Bactria, then called *Ṭuxāristān*. We cannot well follow al-Beruni's example and simply say *Tokharian*; for that would increase the great confusion already associated with that term. Yet, having some authority in its favour, it could be defended, while *éteo-tokharien* seems inappropriate altogether; for it implies a claim, not made by M. Marion himself nor indeed tenable,<sup>3</sup> that the new language is that of the genuine *Ṭuxarai* (as against the people of Qarashahr) who, coming from Kan-su, conquered Bactria in the second century A.C. and caused that country to be renamed. The invaders, as is so often the case, adopted the native language in the course of time; it is possible, even probable, that they imported some

<sup>1</sup> cf. *BSOAS*, xvm, 2, 1936, 386 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This issue of the *Journal Asiatique* reached London on 10 October 1938.

<sup>3</sup> An intruding language (even if it was also an Iranian one by origin) would not fall so neatly in position.

words into it from their own form of speech, and such words could indeed properly called *śloka-toḥarica*.

It is not at all likely that the inscription, as M. Maricq believes and already suggests by the title of his publication, can be attributed to Kaniška (I). True, his name is mentioned in the opening sentence, as that of the founder of the sanctuary; and no other royal name occurs. Yet, if we consider the contents of the inscription<sup>1</sup> as a whole, we can hardly fail to get the impression that it was set up a long time after Kaniška's death. We may not yet be able to produce a full translation, but the general drift of its message seems clear: after its foundation by Kaniška, the sanctuary fell into disrepair and was abandoned, until in the *kṛpā*-year 32 one Nokonzoko, a high official, came there and repaired and adorned the place; three other officials, of equal rank, were associated with Nokonzoko's work; the inscription itself was 'written', i.e. composed, by Mīhrānān and Burzmihrpūr, who signed it and caused their heraldic devices<sup>2</sup> to be incised after their names.

The purpose of the inscription, therefore, is to celebrate Nokonzoko's restoration; we shall hardly go wrong if we take it that it was by his orders that the inscription was written. It mentions at some length his devotion to the king (lines 7-9); there is a similar phrase about him and his three colleagues at the end (lines 23-24). As the king's name is stated in neither passage, one would assume that the then ruling king is meant, the only one whose name may be taken for granted. The *kṛpā*-year 31 is mentioned merely incidentally, as the year in which Nokonzoko 'came here' (*muḥa ayaḥo*). It has caused great perplexity to M. Maricq; the latest year attested for Kaniška being 30, he advances two hypotheses (p. 364 sq.): either that Kaniška continued to live in Bactria beyond 23, leaving the rule of Gandhara and India to others; or that the era of the inscription differs from that universally used in monuments belonging to the period of the Kaniška dynasty. Once we have recognized that the inscription was not set up by Kaniška at all, we can dispense with such cumbrous hypotheses. The date is 31-4 x, in the early part of Huvīška's reign.

In his chapter 'La destination du sanctuaire' (pp. 368-72) M. Maricq has laid stress on certain words in the opening lines which he renders as 'un sanctuaire appelé Dieu. Roi Kaniška'. Before we can discuss this translation, which is *a priori* improbable, we have to consider some problems of orthography and word-division. The first point to be noticed is the apparent absence of affricates, see Maricq, p. 401. A Middle Iranian language lacking affricates or

<sup>1</sup> It is to be regretted that M. Maricq has not supplied a summary of the contents.

<sup>2</sup> As far as I see, M. Maricq has not alluded in his article to these interesting monograms, which are personal or family devices of the kind called *amyo* by some scholars (in Western Iran, where they were exceedingly common in Sasanian times, they were known as *nishān*).

<sup>3</sup> i.e. regnal year; the ordinary word for 'year' may occur in Fragment G of the *inscriptions parthiques*: *anpā[?]*, see Gauthier, *J.A. et Ind.* 2, 1904, 191 (the last letter is unfortunately in doubt; it might be *anpā[?]*).

sounds representing the ancient affricates, particularly *č*, is frankly impossible. In Bactrian, as in certain related languages, *av.* Pashto and Khwarezmian, the ancient palatal affricates (*č*, *š*) probably became dental affricates (*c*, *š*): in Greek script these could well be represented by *c* and *š*; they might even have developed further to *s* and *z* (as happened in some Pashto dialects). The inscription does indeed contain words in which *c* = Old Ir. *č*; none of them has been recognized by M. Maricq. For example, *acc* 'from', lines 4, 5, etc., from *hacū*, which may be part of the compound *asaścuma* 17, possible \**hacū-skumha* 'buttressed'; *šopšama* 2 'at first', the Sogd. suffix *-(y)* beside *-čyk*, and Sogd. \**prtmēyk*; *aišo* line 1, and perhaps *aišo* 2 = *oišo* with prefixed *ai* 'from', = 'which, what', the neuter relative-interrogative combined with the particle (familiar from Sogdian [šw-Z], *šw(y)*; it forms a pair with *aišo* 'who' 7, 9 (as e.g. Parthian *cy: ky*), cf. Sogd. [šy-ZY, [šyty].

M. Maricq assumes that the letters *iç* in combination denoted *z* in *maçūza*, a frequent word in the inscription, obviously an appellative describing the whole complex of 'Surkh-Kotal', and that this word and its orthography had been borrowed from a Saka dialect (353 sqq., 407 sq.). In face of the fact that *z* in other words is invariably expressed by plain *ç* in the inscription, such a borrowing of an orthographic device (which owes its invention to the lack of a sign for *z* in the Brāhmī script) is as unlikely as it would have been needless. Moreover, the presumed Saka \**maçyu* 'house' does not even exist.<sup>1</sup> Since *maçūza* should represent earlier *m-ā-d-i-z-a*, with possible elision of some sounds, it could be a compound with Old Ir. *maç* 'fortress'; provisionally we will translate it as 'acropolis'. A difficult case is that of *çohço* 20, where the consonant cluster may denote some variation of *z*, possibly *ç* (in which case Parth. *çwç*, i.e. *çwç*, could be compared). Yet are we wise to transcribe ypsilon as *h* in all cases? The study of the coin has shown long ago that ypsilon was used for *h*, and it is true that it is so used in the inscription. Nevertheless, in cases where there would otherwise be a heaping of omicrons, it may perhaps serve as *u*. For example, *çouca* 4, 14/5, surely = *çouca* from Old Ir. *drucā-*,<sup>2</sup> which otherwise might have been spelt *çouca* *Apocampo* = *Lruçap* 'the awkwardness was less great'; probably *çouca* *maçūza* 19/20 = 'the whole acropolis', with *çouca* from *çouca*<sup>3</sup>; thus possibly in *çouca* = *çouca* or *çouca* (if = Parth. *çwç*), so that *ç* may also serve for *z*. The origin of *çouca* 8, probably 'beneficent', is unfortunately in doubt.<sup>4</sup>

The first task that faces the editor of a document of this nature is to divide

<sup>1</sup> An unsatisfying explanation of *maç* has been given by M. Maricq, 357 sq. Note that the Bactrian equivalent of Sogd. *čy* would be \**ca*, and that Khot. *kañe* contains *-d-* from *-ri-*. It may be better to regard *maç* as a relative adverb, different from *maç*.

<sup>2</sup> It has been inferred from Khot. *maçyaka* = *grahapati*, but a *-maç-* suffix does not usually involve so great a change in meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Not recognized by M. Maricq.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps = *çouca*; no connexion with Sogd. *çouca* etc. seems possible.

the words correctly: this difficult task has been resolved successfully on the whole by M. Maricq, whose text provides a sound basis for further study. It appears to be the rule that all words must end in a vocalic letter.<sup>1</sup> If a word in fact ended in a consonant, an omicron was added to it, except if the closing consonant was  $\eta$  expressed by omicron ( $\beta\alpha\omicron$  'king' =  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\eta$ ); no exception was made in the case of consonantic iota, e.g. final  $\epsilon\iota$  was spelt  $\eta\iota\omicron$ . It is possible that here and there a closing omicron expressed a vowel actually pronounced in speech at the time of the inscription; in most cases it functioned virtually as a word-divider. The prepositions  $\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron$  =  $\pi\acute{\iota}\delta$  from  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota$ ,  $\alpha\beta\omicron$  =  $\alpha\beta$  from  $\alpha\beta\iota$ ,<sup>2</sup>  $\alpha\sigma\omicron$  =  $\alpha\tau$  from  $\alpha\delta\alpha\iota$  show that clearly; the omicron even appears in composition:  $\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\gamma\delta\omicron$ ;  $\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron$  11.12 and  $\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha$  20 with  $\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$  from  $\mu\omicron\mu\iota$ ;  $\omicron\zeta\omicron\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$  12 with  $\alpha\zeta\omicron$  =  $\mu\zeta$ ;  $\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron$  =  $\mu$  for ancient  $\mu\epsilon$  in  $\mu\epsilon\beta\iota\chi\tau\omicron$ , and  $\mu\omicron\beta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron$  5, 15/6 'seat' =  $\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\mu$  from  $\mu\beta\alpha\delta\mu\alpha\iota$ . If an inflexional ending or a suffix is added to the word, the final omicron disappears, e.g.  $\beta\alpha\gamma\omicron$  1;  $\beta\alpha\gamma\epsilon$  4,  $\sigma\tau\alpha$ ;  $\sigma\tau\eta\mu\omicron$   $\sigma\tau\eta\mu\omicron$   $\mu\omicron\mu\iota\sigma\iota\mu$ . On these facts, a spelling  $\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$  8 as inflected form of  $\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$  25 is extremely unlikely. This type of form has induced M. Maricq to assume (359 sq.) a three-case inflexion, with nominative-accusative, genitive, and 'oblique case', the latter being derived from the genitive (as in the plural gen.  $\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$ , obl.  $\mu\omicron\mu\iota$ ). This hypothesis is not in conformity with what we know of Middle Iranian generally and should be discarded. The difficulties that have led to it disappear if we assume the existence of a word expressed by a single iota: a relative/article  $\acute{\iota}$ , identical in origin with Khwarezmian  $\acute{\iota}$  and Middle Persian  $\acute{\iota}$ (g); the occurrence of  $\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron$  (i.e.  $\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron$  +  $\acute{\iota}$ ) suffices to demand it. Examples:

(1) (Attributes joined to preceding noun)  $\tau\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$   $\text{Nokonzoko}$ ;  $\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\mu\gamma\gamma\omicron$ ;  $\phi\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\delta\eta\gamma\omicron$   $\kappa\iota\delta\omicron$   $\phi\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron$   $\alpha\beta\iota$   $\beta\alpha\omicron$ ;  $\beta\alpha\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$ ;  $\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\beta\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron$ ;  $\mu\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\alpha\gamma\mu$ ;  $\alpha\lambda\eta\beta\chi\alpha\lambda\omicron$   $\kappa\iota\delta\omicron$  . . . (6.9) 'until (the time) when \*Nokonzoko the lord of the matches, loyal-to-the-emperor,<sup>3</sup> who (is) most devoted<sup>4</sup> to the king, the *devaputra*, the . . .<sup>5</sup>, the \*beneficent one, the merciful<sup>6</sup> one, who . . .'. The absence of the iota from the last of a series of epithets confirms our analysis.<sup>7</sup>  $\text{Kapa}\lambda\mu\gamma\gamma\omicron$  is the same word as Pers. *kāpārang*, *Καπαράγγης*, a title of the

<sup>1</sup> Therefore  $\alpha\lambda$   $\beta\alpha\gamma\omicron$  18 should be a single word,  $\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha\gamma\omicron$ , perhaps belonging to OPers. \**haidahira*, MEIran *hdb'l*, Pers. *yār* 'helper' (rather than a relative of Sogd.  $\delta\beta\epsilon$ , Oia. *šāvar* 'present(s)').

<sup>2</sup> The uncompounded preposition hardly reflects also  $\mu\mu$  and  $\mu\mu$ , as M. Maricq supposes.

<sup>3</sup> Not recognized by M. Maricq.

<sup>4</sup>  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$  regarded as a noun by M. Maricq as a conjunction, from OIr. *kalā* + *da* as in  $\alpha\delta\omicron$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron$ , and  $\tau\alpha\delta\omicron$  'so, then'; cf. Sogd. *šāwty*, *awt*, for *raδo*, Sogd. *šāwty* (if its first part belongs to the demonstrative stem *ta*: cf. Gershevitch, *Gronum*, p. 307).

<sup>5</sup> Instead of an appellative adjective, this could be a patronymic, 'son of  $\phi\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\delta\eta\gamma\omicron$ '.

<sup>6</sup> cf. Sogd. *špāt*, Gershevitch, *Gronum*, § 129; Parth. *špāt*(š) *špāt*.

<sup>7</sup> Second part of the compound probably OIr. *apadāra* (Aram. *apār*, Pers. *apār*).

<sup>8</sup> From  $\kappa\alpha\delta\omicron$  'with' + the noun attested by Parth. *šād*.

<sup>9</sup> A similar list of epithets connected by the iota in the first line of the Palamedes inscription (Curiel, *J.A.*, CCLXII, 2, 1934, 194; cf. *BSOAS*, LVII, 2, 1936, 367). Two of them end in  $\beta\alpha\delta\omicron$  from  $\mu\omicron\mu$ ; the second should probably be read  $\zeta\mu\omicron\beta\alpha\delta\omicron$  (rather than  $\mu\omicron\mu\beta\alpha\delta\omicron$ ) = Parth. *špāt* (Eibl. *špāt*) in the Grem inscription of Shapur (Parth. line 24).

governor of the provinces bordering on the lands of the former Kū-ān empire,<sup>1</sup> and supplies its etymology: \*kūnār-drang beside \*kanān-drang.<sup>2</sup>

(2) (Introducing preceding attribute) . . . ωσαυδομην γυν πιδο ι ιωγα οδο υρου χρονο . . . μαλο αγαδο (9-11) ' (when) with a pure heart<sup>3</sup> (N.) came here<sup>4</sup> in the regnal year 31<sup>5</sup> '.

(3) (Direct article) ταδο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβαλμο φροχορτιουδο (4/5) ' then the gods \*withdrew from the seat<sup>6</sup> '.

(4) (Introducing preceding genitive) κοραλαραγγε μαρηγα πιδο ι χαοδηο φρομανο στο ευομανο (23/4) ' (Buzzinikhe et al.) the lords 'of the marches, subservient<sup>7</sup> to the emperor's command and acquiescent<sup>8</sup> ' . The interpretation depends on φρομανο, which could be = OIr. *framānā* 'command' or Av. *framaṇuh*, MPers. *frmayn* 'joyfully willing'. If the latter, the iota would be a direct article, 'serving unto the emperor willingly and wholeheartedly'. In either case the passage suggests that στο means 'and' and therefore is not different from οδο; M. Marić regards στο as a relative pronoun, but as such it would be inexplicable.

Χαοδηο has been correctly recognized as the outcome of \*xwādān by M. Marić, who translates 'seigneur': it surely deserved some notice in his discussion of the royal titles (pp. 372-84), where it is not even mentioned<sup>9</sup>; for it clearly denotes the Kūšān emperor.<sup>10</sup> It is also of interest for Persian *xidfu*, in which we can now see a loan from Bactria.<sup>11</sup>

We are now prepared to resume the consideration of the opening sentence:

Εδο μαλιζομο Κανηρκα Οικυδο βαυλαγγε σιδω ι βαγυ βοο Κανηρκει ιαμο-βαργο κιδω ταδ . . .

M. Marić's translation 'Ceci est un édifice de moi, Kaniska le Victorieux. Un sanctuaire s'étend appelé "dieu, roi Kaniska". Un rempart a été construit . . . ' is based on a sentence-division that runs counter (in the spirit of all Middle Iranian languages). Clearly there is a relative clause σιδω . . . κιδω, and ταδ . . . resumes the principal sentence. μο is regarded by M. Marić as a separate word, the genitive of the personal pronoun of the 1st person. Apart from the

<sup>1</sup> Probably borrowed from the neighbours.

<sup>2</sup> 'Who secures the borders (Av. *karas-*)'. At a brief talk I had with Dr. Gershoritch I learned that he had found the same explanation of *koralaγγe*, and that we were in agreement also on several other points concerning the interpretation of the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Scgd. 'asayim'iky' (abstr.); M. Marić oddly 'de chanvre (?) fut brûlé'.

<sup>4</sup> From *imada*; cf. Scgd. *mδy*.

<sup>5</sup> One does not see why M. Marić declines to regard this form as a plural.

<sup>6</sup> So, if the derivation proposed by M. Marić is correct; a different meaning, 'mindful' (from *mar-* 'remember'), seems not impossible.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'unanimous', from Av. \**ācōmraśah* (cf. Av. *ācōmraśah*, Skt. *cakṛamāṇa*, Pers. *yakmanā*, etc.); also developed differently from *aiṣāh* (ωγο). cf. e.g. MPers. *γw* and *γt*; *aw*. perhaps = *aiṣ*.

<sup>8</sup> *banu* *ba*, on the other hand, does not occur in the inscription (a remarkable fact).

<sup>9</sup> It does here actually agree in meaning with *αὐτοκράτωρ* = emperor, as demanded by Meillet's etymology.

<sup>10</sup> *Χαοδηο* also on Hephthalite coins, e.g. *wpod* Junker, *SB.P.A.W.*, 1930, 844, top of page, and of obverse (*βαγο* *χουδηο*).

awkwardness of attributing to the inscription (wherein 3rd persons only are used throughout) an isolated form of the 1st person, *μo* cannot easily belong to the accented pronoun (of which the genitive should be \**μανο*); nor even to the enclitic pronoun, which should be \**μo* acc. (if it existed) and \**μηo* gen.-dat.<sup>1</sup> (since *-ηo* = 3rd pers. sing. encl.). In my opinion *μo* is an enclitic particle, a short form of *αμo* 'same, also, and'. In line 20 *αμομο σαδο* is not perceptibly different from *αμο σαδο*, line 13; and *μαλιζομο . . . βαγολαγγο* compares with *μαλο αγαδο αμο βαγολαγγο* 11 (end of a clause) 'came here to the sanctuary', where the full form, used after a verb, serves merely to express the identity of the two terms *μαλο* and *βαγολαγγο*.

One might expect that it would be advantageous to read Middle Iranian in a fully vocalized script; in practice, the lack of distinction of long and short vowels is a great hindrance. Is *ναμο* 'name' (*nām*) or 'homage' (*nām*)? *βαγγο* = *βārg*, which could be 'fruit, result' (Sogd. *βr'kō*),<sup>2</sup> or = *βārg*, which might have a variety of meanings ranging from 'riding animal' to 'dress' and (perhaps) 'wall'.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, *ναμοβαγγο* may well be a compound, either *nāmβārg* 'offering homage' (Parth. *nāmbr*, etc.) or *nāmβārg* 'bearing a name'. M. Marić has chosen 'name' and 'wall'.<sup>4</sup> Even if one accepted this division of words and sentences, one would have to insist that *βαγο παo Καμηκι νημο* could only mean 'the lord, king named Kaniska'. Putting aside M. Marić's interpretation, and preferring 'name' and 'bearing', we are still troubled by the function of the iota, which may fall within categories 3 or 4 above. Thus there would be two alternative translations:

either 'This acropolis, the Kaniska-Nicator<sup>5</sup> sanctuary, which the lord, king Kaniska made name-bearing (= to which he gave this name), . . .'

or 'This acropolis, the Kaniska-Nicator sanctuary, which was made bearing the name of the lord,<sup>6</sup> king K. (= which was given the name of K.), . . .'

In either case, *Καμηκι* is necessarily a genitive, either as possessive gen., or as the agent of a transitive verb in the past<sup>7</sup>; and therefore *Καμηκο* cannot also be a genitive, but must be a 'direct case' (= nom.-acc.).<sup>8</sup> Hence, *Καμηκο*

<sup>1</sup> Or \**μo* at the least, if *καμηκι* in the Palmyrene inscription (Carrick, *J.A.* cccxiii, 2, 1934, 194; cf. *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1936, 387) is correctly formed acc. to the rules of the 'passive construction' and not due to confusion with the intransitive past (with \**μo* from *αμο*).

<sup>2</sup> Thus probably in line 9 (*βαγο* = pl.).

<sup>3</sup> This is the least likely of all possible meanings.

<sup>4</sup> M. Marić is presumably right in regarding *Οσαδο* as an epithet of Kaniska; he may have chosen it in imitation of Seleucus Nicator.

<sup>5</sup> The customary translation of *βαγο*, Sogd. *βγ*, MPers. *by*, etc., as 'god' even when preceding a man's name is grossly misleading. Every gentleman was entitled to it as a prefix, though hardly regarded as a divinity.

<sup>6</sup> The 'passive construction' is observed throughout the inscription.

<sup>7</sup> So is *Νεσοζαο* in line 7, as the subject of an intransitive verb. The forms in lines 22-23 were felt to be agents of the preceding transitive verbs, but the following *καμολαγγο* owing to its remoteness was allowed the ending of the direct case; *Κολυμβη ουνο* is 'K.'s son', not a compound proper. *Καμηκι* on the coins should therefore be regarded as a genitive (as it was assumed to be e.g. by Whithead, *Cat. Panjab Mus.*, 1, 187). With regard to the inflexion of these proper names M. Marić takes the opposite view.



*Οαννδα βαρολαγγο* is an open compound and should not be rendered by 'the sanctuary of K.-N'.

The most difficult part of the inscription is that which deals with the abandonment of the sanctuary and its restoration; its obscurity may be due to the presence of technical terms, unknown to us, relating to buildings. Yet one point is clear: the abandonment was largely caused by a breakdown in the water-supply. M. Maricq failed to recognize this, principally because he took *αβ* persistently for a preposition, while it is not only a preposition (= *αβ*) but also the word for 'water' (*āb*); manifestly the latter in lines 12—before a verb with the preverb *αβ*—and 14—before a negative particle. He approached the correct understanding by seeing that *αβαβγο* 3/4 must mean 'waterless'; but his translation of *μαλιζο αβαβγο σπαδο* 3/4 *𐎡𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎡* 'l'édifice fut asséché' gives a wrong slant; it should be '(whereby) the acropolis came to be waterless'. The preceding words are not clear. Perhaps . . . then after (?) he (?) had first completed the acropolis, then its . . . water . . . dried up (?). There is not sufficient material to show whether we may assume that intervocalic *-m-* developed to *t* (or *ʃ*),<sup>2</sup> so that *χατο* 3 could represent \**hustā*.<sup>3</sup> 'dried'; some such meaning seems required in view of the following 'whereby'.

It is in accordance with this hypothesis that the restoration of the water-supply was Nokonsoko's preoccupation *ταδηιο μαλιζο πορογγο ταδηιο εινω σπαδο καιδο στηιο αβω οζοοαοτε στηιο πιδο ασαγγε αβω οιλυρδο ατανο αβω μαλιζο φαρα καρανω αβω μα γαοστη* (11-14) '(when N. came here, to the sanctuary,) then he \*circumvallated the acropolis, then he dug a (1) well and conducted its water out (of it), and *𐎡𐎠* set up \*pillars on (with!) stones, so that through them pure water shall not *𐎡𐎠* lacking to the acropolis'. This translation, which is deliberately literal, is merely tentative and will doubtless have to be improved; unless it is misleading altogether, it would seem to imply that Nokonsoko built an aqueduct. It is based on the following interpretation of words<sup>4</sup>:

- (1) *ταδηιο* from *ταδο* 'so, then' with the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. (Av. *hā*, Pashto *ē*, Khw. *(h)l*, etc.).
- (2) *πορογγο* perhaps = Sogd. *prklt*, with *-t* from *-lt*.<sup>5</sup>
- (3) *εινω* may well *𐎡𐎠* different from the first part of *εισαμανω*.
- (4) *σπαδο* (which M. Maricq equated with Sogd. *s't* 'all') is here clearly = *σῶδ* = Sogd. *š't* 'well'.
- (5) *οτηιο* 'and of him/it' from *οτο* 'and'.

<sup>1</sup> = *σπαδο*.

<sup>2</sup> If *μαβγο* 20/21 means 'hacked' (as related languages may induce one to suppose), such an assumption cannot be maintained. M. Maricq's explanation of *τοβαγγε*, which I accept, affords some support. See also below p. 83, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Against Av. *hustā*.

<sup>4</sup> Those correctly explained by M. Maricq are omitted.

<sup>5</sup> Another possible case of this kind is *ποροοαοτε* 20, if from \**poru(r)at* 'nursed, looked after', cf. Parth. *prwz*, Sogd. *prwz*.

- (6) *oζooaato* = Parth. 'zw'st, Av. *uzōdāyāt*.<sup>1</sup>  
 (7) *oθo* is obviously a noun, the object of the action expressed by *oιλιρδο*.<sup>2</sup> Possibly from Av. *qibya* 'post'. A meaning 'post' or 'pillar' is recommended by the verb, cf. Av. *stund* *ōdārayēti*.  
 (8) *oιλιρδο* from 'widya,' from *dar-* 'hold'. The form of the participle agrees with Parth. *dyrd*.  
 (9) *arava* from *aro* III, a conjunction, probably 'so that', from Av. *ar* + *κ*; to which the enclitic pronoun III the 2nd pers. plur. has been added (from \**aan-*, cf. Sogd. *in*, Khw. *-na-*, etc.). This III is found also in *oravo* 'and of them', *καλδavo*, and *ταδavo*.  
 (10) The first *avo* in this clause = prep. 'to', the second = 'water'.  
 (11) *φαρα* postposition referring to *-avo*; preposition<sup>4</sup> in line 9; prob. from *frā*.  
 (12) *καρavo* 'pure', Sogd. *kr'n*.  
 (13) *μα* prohibitive negative.  
 (14) *γαρηvo* = *γαρη*, opt. 3rd sing. from *gay-* 'to lack, want, fail', Sogd. *gar-*, etc.<sup>5</sup>

When the lack of water had made itself felt, *ταδο ι βαγς avo ι νηβαλμο φροχορτινδο . . . οτο μαλιζο πιδοριγδο τα . . . 4.6* 'then \*the gods \*withdrew from the seat . . . and the acropolis was abandoned until \* (N. came . . .)'. M. Marić has rightly drawn a parallel between this statement and a sentence embedded, in the corresponding place, in the report on Nokenzoko's activities, *ταδαιν ι βαγς avo ι νηβαλμο μη φροχορτοινηται οτανυ μαλιζο μη πιδοριχτηvo* 15/7 'may then the gods not \*withdraw from their seat and may their acropolis not become abandoned'. The various conclusions M. Marić has drawn from this parallelism have already been examined here. The verbal forms in the second passage are optatives, *-ονηται* 3rd pers. plural<sup>6</sup> and *-τηvo* 3rd pers. singular.<sup>7</sup> The meaning of *φροχορτ-/φροχορδ-* arises from the context, but neither the relation of the stems to each other nor the nature of the base is clear.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the same base *oostado* *š* = 'they were led' (Parth. *w'n* *hwa'd*). M. Marić, comparing *axwānā*, needlessly assumes a change of *š* into *st*, similarly in the case of *φροχορται*, where his derivation (*\*frayā*) is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> (he does not see how M. Marić arrived at the meaning 'here').

<sup>3</sup> M. Marić gives the correct Old Ir. form, but a wrong meaning.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably; but it might be 'Tyro' there = *φαιον*, *φαο* on coins (it depends on the meaning of *avavooado*: the relative clause *αδο . . . βαγavο* probably expresses a pious wish for the king).

<sup>5</sup> M. Marić has recognised that this is a form of a present stem, but, since the meaning of *μα* escaped him, could not define it clearly enough and referred it to the wrong base, Av. *gar-*.

<sup>6</sup> Apodosis beginning with *ταδο*; the protasis opened with *αδο καλδο*; correspondingly in the sentence to be discussed next, *αδο καλδαν . . . ταδαν*.

<sup>7</sup> cf. MPers. (Man.) *d'*, Pers. *is*.

<sup>8</sup> Based on 3rd pl. indic. pres. (which presumably ended in *-oθo*), cf. the generalized Parthian optative in *-yady(y)*.

<sup>9</sup> Sogd. 15 = *βουδ* is another opt. 3rd sing. = Sogd. *buγ*, *uβγy*, MPers. *buγy*.

<sup>10</sup> One might make bold to emend *φροχορδ-* into *φροχορ-*, if a suitable base *xwar* were known; perhaps Khwar. *xwār* 'free' (see my 'Mitteliranisch', p. 113) is a derivative of it.

In the concluding paragraph (17-21) Nokonzoko describes further improvements carried out by him and his colleagues (names in 21-22) and sums up his work. Several unknown or uncertain words, such as *παρκαρμα*,<sup>1</sup> *αχθραρμα*,<sup>2</sup> *αλθαρμα*,<sup>3</sup> *αθα*,<sup>4</sup> *χαυζα*,<sup>5</sup> *παρκαρμα*,<sup>6</sup> *χρυσμαρμα*,<sup>7</sup> compel us to leave this part aside for the present: some words and short phrases in the main body of the text have also been left for further consideration.

At the end of this largely critical article it is but fitting that we should pay a tribute to the acumen and sureness of judgment displayed by Professor D. Schlumberger, the excavator of the Sanctuary, who from the beginning not only attributed its foundation to Kaniska, but also postulated a measure of rebuilding (Period II) at a time well before the end of Huviska. The inscription beautifully confirms his views on both points: foundation by Kaniska, restoration by Nokonzoko in the early part of Huviska's reign.\*

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps = MPers. or Parth. *šyryz* (itself of unknown meaning), *Sogdiana*, pp. 21 sq., 33.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 40, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 63, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps = Pers. *zieman* 'hale, *ziērahlog*-door', hence possibly 'the great forecourt', if *nebro* should reflect OIr. *maika* (cf. above p. 63, n. 2).

\* I have had the advantage of being acquainted with a document written in a closely related language, which Mr. M. Boyce and I are preparing for publication. It would not have been proper to anticipate our joint results; and had I done so, I should have betrayed the trust the owners of the document have reposed in me. It affords a little help in determining phonetical forms, such as *αδο*, *αδο*, *αδο*, *αδο*, *αδο*, *αδο*, but otherwise is itself in need of elucidation.







## A SASSANIAN SILVER BOWL FROM GEORGIA

In discussing some Pahlavi inscriptions on silver vessels I recently drew attention to the importance of their determinations of weight for the dating of the objects (*BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 132-4). In the specimens then investigated the standard of weight, a drachm of a little under 3 grammes, sufficed to prove that the silver vessels, supposedly Sassanian, had in fact not been made before the eighth century.

An altogether different case is presented by a silver bowl found, in the course of scientifically conducted excavations, in a tomb (No. 2) at Armazi, the ancient capital of Georgia. Its Pahlavi inscription was first mentioned, with a tentative reading, by G. Tsereteli in the course of his article in *Vestnik Drevney Istarii*, 1948, part 2, p. 221. The reading was repeated in the monumental work on the excavations at Armazi, which contains a full description of the various objects found, *Muzei*, 1, Georgian edition, 1953, pp. 45 sq., especially p. 46, col. A top; Russian edition, 1958, pp. 52 sq., especially p. 52, col. B below; with pl. xlix (in both editions) showing the inscription on the rim of the bowl. The Russian edition carries an additional annotation, p. 53, n. 1, in which the existence of an alternative reading by Sh. Amiranashvili is mentioned. This has now been supplied by that scholar in his article 'Une coupe en argent du début de l'époque sassanide provenant des fouilles d'Armaviskhevi (Géorgie)', *Rev. degli Studi Or.*, xxxiv, 3-4, 1959, 149-62 (with better photographs of the inscription, on plate iii). Dr. Lang very kindly brought this article to my notice.

The inscription is badly damaged by corrosion in various places, but its final portion, which contains the determination of the weight, is beautifully clear:

'xymy +    in ZWZN-i

This passage has not been entirely understood by the Georgian scholars. 'xymy was combined with the following *s*, misread as 'xymys, and regarded as a personal name by Amiranashvili; in fact it is the Pahlavi word for 'silver' (from *ἄσημον*; *Book Pahlavi and Manichaean Middle Persian 'sym*). Both disregarded the important figure '1' after ZWZN, the ideogram for 'drachm', and so Tsereteli assumed that the weight was stated to be 53 drachms; in this  was followed by Amiranashvili, who, however, apparently unfamiliar with Pahlavi figures, regarded the sign for '10' as one for '50' and read the two signs for '20' as letters (*dd*). It should be remembered that figures frequently follow denominations of weight in Pahlavi, therefore ZWZN-i can only mean 'one drachm' and the figure '33' (which Tsereteli correctly recognized) necessarily refers to the preceding *s*, clearly an abbreviation of the name of a weight.

We need not search long for a multiple of the drachm expressed by the

letter *s*: it is evidently *ovatriš* (in Pahlavi pronounced *satš*), i.e. tetradrachm.<sup>1</sup> The weight of the bowl is therefore given as  $53 \times 4 + 1 = 213$  drachms. It actually weighs 850 grammes. Hence a drachm was  $\frac{850}{213} = 3.99$  gm.; the fact that the author of the inscription was not satisfied with a round figure in staters, shows that the weight was accurately determined.<sup>2</sup> The drachm thus found agrees perfectly with the Sassanian drachm; the maximum average weight of the coins issued by the early Sassanian kings from Šāpūr 1 to Bahrām V never falls below 3.90 nor rises above 4.05 gm. (only the coins of the founder of the dynasty, Artashir, are slightly lighter, having a maximum average of 3.86 according to Montmann).

The remainder of the inscription tells us who the owner of the bowl was. His name, as recognized by Amiranashvili, was *p'ply* = *Pāpak*. It is followed, according to Tsereteli, *𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 b[š]y bgy 'rštšr B[RRH] bgy . . .* 'the *b[š]y* of the divine Artaxšašr, son 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 the divine . . .'. While this reading is substantially correct, I cannot accept the second word (*bgy*), which in fact is *BRH* 'son'; all the published photographs (especially *Muscat*, 1, pl. XLIX, no. 1) indicate that the concluding letter of this word is *H*. After *'rštšr* the photographs show merely an area of corrosion, then an isolated *p*, then a space of about four letters, then again the word *b[š]y*. Doubtless more traces can be seen on the original, so we should follow Tsereteli in assuming that two words, each beginning with *b*, stand after *'rštšr*; as, however, the first *bgy* proved to be *BRH*, it seems likely that the second *bgy*, too, should be read as *BRH*,<sup>3</sup> in which case the other word beginning with 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 may have been *b[š]y*. The subsequent *-p* has been restored *p[']p[ly]* 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 Amiranashvili (this was envisaged first by Tsereteli), plainly because the father of 'the divine Artaxšašr' (if this referred to the Persian king of kings)<sup>4</sup> was Pāpak. Having corrected *bgy* into *BRH* and thereby excluded a reference to the Persian king, we have no cause for adopting this restoration and, partly for reasons of space,<sup>5</sup> would prefer *[š]p[š]y* instead. The whole name may therefore have been:

*p'ply b[š]y BRH 'rštšr b[š]y BRH (1) šp[š]y b[š]y* 'Pāpak the *b[š]y*, the son of Artaxšašr the *b[š]y*, the son of Šāpūr the *b[š]y*'.

The bowl-inscription thus yields a 'dynasty' of the *b[š]y*-s of Georgia during the first century of Sassanian rule. With the help of the Pahlavi inscriptions known to-day it can be supplemented, and approximate dates can be established for its members. In the list following here the second column

<sup>1</sup> In Artael's times, the coin we call *tetradrachm* was presumably known under the name *ovatriš* in Persia.

<sup>2</sup> The value of the drachm, therefore, must have been significantly below  $\frac{850}{213} = 4.000$  gm. (a difference of 18 thousandths of a gramme); provided, of course, that the weight of the bowl has not been materially altered by corrosion, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The ideal word here would be *BRH*.

<sup>4</sup> It seems to me impossible that a Persian official should not have added *MLK*'s *MLK*' after the king's name in an inscription of this type.

<sup>5</sup> Which have induced Amiranashvili to read an additional letter (*R*-) before the next word (*R[š]y*) and regard it as a preposition, a usage unknown to Pahlavi.

names the Persian king as whose servant the *bitaxš* is mentioned and the third column states the evidence (Šhāpūr = Great Inscription of Šhāpūr):

<i>Bitaxš</i>	<i>Persian king</i>	<i>Evidence</i>	<i>Approx. date</i>
Artaxšaθr	Ardashir	Šhāpūr Pahl. 29	230-247
Šāhpuhr	Šhāpūr	Šhāpūr Pahl. 31; bowl	248-285
Artaxšaθr	—	Bowl <sup>1</sup>	266-283
Pūpak	Narseh	Paikuli; bowl	284-300

The function of the *bitaxš* of Georgia was presumably that of a Viceroy or 'Resident', who represented the Persian suzerain's interests and supervised the local ruler who was allowed to exist beside him. The name of the king of Georgia at the time of the Great Inscription of Šhāpūr (about A.D. 262) is known: *Hamazasp*,<sup>2</sup> with the epithet *dasthrt-Šāhpuhr* (which by itself shows that he had been installed by Šhāpūr); he is mentioned shortly before the *bitaxš* then officiating.

Between the owner's name and the determination of weight there intervenes a word that cannot be deciphered with certainty. The Georgian scholars sought in it the name of the country ('*bitaxš* of Iberia'). In Pahlavi, however, *bitaxš* was invariably used without a definition of the country over which he ruled; in the third century it was apparently understood that *bitaxš* ordinarily meant '*bitaxš* of Iberia'.<sup>3</sup> Apart from that, the forms read by the Georgian scholars do not agree with the actual Pahlavi name of Iberia, which was *weršn*.<sup>4</sup> The most one can see in the published photographs is *[(t) . . .]*; relying on the drawing given by Amiranashvili, p. 156, one could perhaps read *tg(h)wn*.<sup>5</sup> The ending suggests a verbal ideogram; *TGLWN* may be the same as Book Pahlavi *TALWN* (Aramaic *tg(h)*), i.e. *past participle* *sart* 'weighed'. This, immediately preceding *syng* 'silver', would be suitable as introducing the determination of weight; cf. the related word *sang* 'weight' in other inscriptions of this kind.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also referred to Šhāpūr Pahl. 31 (under Šhāpūr), before his accession to the dignity of *bitaxš*, as 'Artaxšaθr, the son of the *bitaxš* (*bitaxš*)'.

<sup>2</sup> His Parthian name indicates that he belonged to the Arsacid line previously ruling in Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> An exception is *Kludaby ZY* (*bitaxš* Šhāpūr Pahl. 33), mentioned among the *weršn* dignitaries. He cannot well have been the *bitaxš* of Iberia, because under Šhāpūr that official was *thpary* ZY *thpary* (who, as is known, the case with the Viceroy of Iberia, is named among the highest officials, immediately after the prince of the royal blood); even here no country is mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> That *weršn* (a form inappropriate to the third century) cannot be read is shown by comparing *weršn* ZY ZY.

<sup>5</sup> If merely the bottom of the letter *t* was preserved.

<sup>6</sup> Only a re-examination of the object can show whether there was a word before the owner's name. From one of the photographs (*Journal*, t. pl. XLIX, no. 3) one gains the impression that it was preceded by *ty(h)*, which would be the appropriate word for 'bowl'. It occurs on a similar bowl mentioned by P. K. Kokortsov, *Materialy po Arakelovskii*, XXXVII, 1918, *bitaxš* *Arakelovskii* (= 'city' 'trident'). I owe my acquaintance with Kokortsov's note to M. Dvar.



The mention of Pâpak the *bizanti* as owner of the bowl supplies its approximate date,  $\pm$  A.D. 290. It is difficult to see why Amiranashvili<sup>1</sup> attributes the bowl (p. 157) and indeed the whole tomb (p. 149) to the first half of the third century. As an *aureus* of Valerian was found in the tomb, inside the very bowl here discussed,<sup>2</sup> so early a date seems altogether impossible.

<sup>1</sup> Who recognized that this Pâpak was the one named in the inscription of Paikuli (of about A.D. 293). He was one of Narseh's principal supporters.

<sup>2</sup> *Akrota*, I, Russian III, p. 38 II.

## PERSIAN POETICAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE TIME OF RŪDAKĪ

It may not be wholly inappropriate if in a volume dedicated to an eminent Persian scholar, whose contribution to the study of early Persian literature has been outstanding in range and quality, some account is given of certain manuscripts that, although insignificant in extent, full of gaps—one could almost say: consisting of gaps—and written in a non-Persian alphabet, have the great virtue of having been written at the very beginning of Persian literature, actually in the lifetime of Rūdakī himself. In a paper read at the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists, Munich 1957, I described one of these manuscripts, a fragment of a Persian version of *Bilauhar u Būdīnaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat); see *Akten des 24sten . . . Kongresses*, 305–7 (summary) and *Qadīmtarīn nūxe-yi h-r-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337<sup>1</sup> (full text in Dr Yarshater's translation). This fragment is presented here (I) for the first time, together with a later-discovered piece of a Persian *Qasīde* (II), also from the great collection of Manichaean manuscripts in the Berlin Academy.<sup>2</sup>

Before laying the texts before the reader, it will be useful to describe briefly the orthography used in Manichaean Persian.<sup>3</sup> It is both bizarre and erratic. The scribes, accustomed to writing Middle Persian (and Parthian and Sogdian as well), applied the old familiar spellings also to Persian words, however much their forms had

<sup>1</sup> Also in *Mafalls-e-yi Dānīshade-yi Adabīyyat*, V, 4.

<sup>2</sup> It gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften and in particular to Professor Dr H. Grapow, the Director of its Institut für Orientforschung, for the permission to make use of the precious materials preserved in the Institut.

<sup>3</sup> The remarks following here are concerned with the whole of the Manichaean Persian material, not merely with the manuscripts published in this article.

changed, but did so without system and allowed adequate representations of current speech to stand beside antiquated forms. The Middle Persian disguise is sometimes so perfect that only an occasional Arabic word betrays the true character of the language. The word for "and", pronounced *u*, is still written 'ud (اد), the *Idāfe*-particle *l* appears as 'yg (عـي) or 'y, the abstract ending -ī is -yh or -yyh, the 3rd singular of presents ends in -yd but was pronounced in -ād (or perhaps -ēd), words in final -e and -ā are still spelt in -g and -g, and this on occasion even affects Arabic loan-words, e.g. *jumlg* = جملة. Influence of Sogdian orthography may be detected in *x'n'g* "house" (for the expected *x'ng*), *kren'nd* "they do" (beside *krennd*), *nes'ndg* "burning", and the like. Quite modern forms abound, e.g. *z*, in *zto*, *z'yn* "from him, from this" beside 'c (and 's) "from", *f'y* or *f* "place" (MPers. *gy'g*), *δ* "with" beside 'd'g, *k* = *ke* for MPers. *ka*, *ku*, and *kē*, etc.

In metrical passages the spelling takes little notice of the form of the words required by the verse: the metre is not meant for the eye. Thus 'ud 'yn *guj* (اد عـين گوجا) suggests four syllables *ud in gujā*, but is proved to be trisyllabic (— — —) by the metre and thus has to be read *ūngujā* "and this which", = classical *ūinkujā* (وینکجا), with a noteworthy voicing of *k* after -n-; contrariwise, *w'ncy* = *wānte* represents the true speech-form. There are cases of the licence, occasionally found in classical Persian poetry, combining the *Idāfe*-particle with a preceding -e into a single long syllable (-ei from -ēi), but the orthography is not conducive to their detection; e.g. *rylg 'yg* (رـي عـي) "the root of" counts as a disyllable, *rīri* (— —). This mode of spelling makes it virtually impossible to establish the metre in broken passages.

The history of Manichaean Persian was too brief to permit the fixing of spelling rules, such as are created by a long tradition of schooling. Each scribe, it seems, had a method of his own. There are thus some differences between the two texts published here. The one scribe writes *pd* for the preposition *pa* (later *ba*) and *ny* for the negative particle, the other prefers single letters, *p*- and *n*-, joined to the following words. The scribe of the Qasīde allows an occasional -δ- for postvocalic -d- ('ryδ "he brings", *nhrēδm* "I was not"), but mostly writes -d-; the other has -d- throughout. The verb "to open" is spelt with *g*- in the one text (*guf'y*), with *k*- in the other: *bkrēf'dmt* "I opened it for you" (which the metre shows to have been read as *bukīdāmas*). The latter conforms to the general Central Asian (and

Indian) pronunciation of the word (*kufūdan*, etc.), yet *gwī'y* need not be considered a West-Persian form but may represent a late Middle Persian spelling (cf. *grf'd* beside normal *myf'd*).<sup>1</sup>

The alphabet used is the ordinary Manichaean one in its Central Asian form, i.e. the basic stock of 22 Aramaic letters, transliterated (in Abjad order) as ' b g d h w z h t y k l m n s ' p c q r k t, plus various accretions: *β γ δ f j x* (𐭪 𐭫 𐭬 𐭭 𐭮 𐭯). A letter previously found only in Manichaean Turkish is *k* or *q* with two dots, here used for Arabic *q*.<sup>2</sup> A new letter = 'Ain with two dots to represent Arabic 'Ain;<sup>3</sup> for this we write *ē*. The scribe of the *Qaṣīde*, adhering to classical Middle Persian tradition, tends to disregard the letter *f* and render the sound *f* by *p*, but only in Persian words; for *f* in Arabic words he sometimes employs a *p* with two dots.<sup>4</sup> The Manichaean letter *δ*, which had been borrowed from Sogdian, had two values, *δ* and *θ* (𐭩 and 𐭪); it is here sometimes used for Arabic *θ*, e.g. in *mδl*=*maṭal* "proverbial saying", but ordinarily that sound is expressed by a double *δ*,<sup>5</sup> often with intertwined tops, which we transliterate = *θ*, e.g. *ṭṭlyθ*=*taṭliθ* "trine".<sup>6</sup> Finally, the enclitic -*ē* "one" is expressed sometimes by the numeral sign "1" (reproduced as "-1"), sometimes by the letter -*y* with two dots; this may also serve generally to render final -*ē* (occasionally -*ai*) and to distinguish it from -*i*, e.g. *yky*=*yakē* "a single", *hmy* (also *hmyy*)=*hamē* "always", *wyy*=*wai* "he".<sup>7</sup>

Letters that are partially destroyed, faded, or otherwise doubtful are enclosed in round brackets ( ); those in square brackets [ ] have been added by me to fill gaps in the manuscripts.

# I. BILAUHAR U BGDLSAF

The principal fragment (its reconstruction has been described in the paper mentioned above, p. 89) consists of a sheet (*Doppelblatt*)

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, the -*k*- may have been due to assimilation (*bukf*- from *bugf*-) and the spellings may reflect a genuine distinction (*gufdy*- : *bukdy*-) in the living language, which 𐭪 analogy led to the generalized Eastern form with *k*-.

<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered that the letter *q* (without dots) expresses ordinary *k* (occasionally *g*); similarly *f* expresses *t* (sometimes *d*).

<sup>3</sup> Undotted 'Ain, of course, has the value 𐭪 *Alif* before front vowels.

<sup>4</sup> One could infer from this that Arabic *f*, even in Persian pronunciation, was markedly different from Persian *f*.

<sup>5</sup> Double *δ* was already used in Sogdian, with preference for *θ* (but also for *δ*).

<sup>6</sup> It would be awkward to write *ṭṭlyδδ* instead.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps pronounced *me*?

damaged at the bottom and outside margins; see Dr Boyce's *Catalogue* under M 581. Which of its two leaves (A and B) preceded the other it is in the nature of things impossible to say, except by the contents; in the same way the contents alone can tell which position the sheet occupied within its section (*Lage*), how many pages therefore are missing between the two leaves.

On the verso of A a chapter heading speaks of Bilauhar's separation from Būdisaf and his return (next night). This I originally took to agree with §. 69 of the Bombay print, but in fact it corresponds far more closely with the similar passage Bombay p. 83, line 1 "on this they parted that night; then [ ] came back to him next night (*al-qābilah*), greeted him, was greeted in return, and sat down"; which passage is followed immediately, in the Bombay text as in our fragment, by the question about Bilauhar's age. The preceding page is an elaborate version of Bombay p. 82, lines 11-15, admonitions to Būdisaf to examine his mind and free himself from doubt. The whole of A thus corresponds with a single page of the Bombay print, 82 line 11-83 line 10. Leaf B refers to Bilauhar's personal spiritual experience (verse 14, cf. Bombay 89 pu.—91), sums up his discussions with Būdisaf (verses 15, 19, 22, 23), advises him against rashness (24, 26), viz. in his plan to join Bilauhar as an ascetic, announces that [ ] is on the point of leaving him (verse 20, cf. Bombay 123, line 2 sqq.) and entrusts the hope of meeting him again to God (20 and 21). These passages, unless I grossly misunderstand their purport (which in view of the broken text is perfectly possible), indicate that Bilauhar is speaking of his final departure (Bombay 135, line 12), certainly not of another meeting "next night", and therefore exclude the possibility of placing B before A. Thus B forms part of the long sermon that follows upon the question about Bilauhar's age, Bombay [ ] sqq. A couple of sheets (= 8 pages), perhaps a single sheet (4 pages), may suffice to cover the gap between A and B.

That this Persian version of *Bilauhar u Būdisaf* did not lack the tales that are so essential a part of the whole composition, is proved by an additional small fragment of the same manuscript (C) that Dr Boyce kindly brought to my notice (= M 9130). It is unfortunately too insignificant to allow of further inferences. It would be tempting to restore [g]r byh[ ] (verse 32) = [j'dw]gr byh[ ]<sup>1</sup> and discover here

<sup>1</sup> *Jādāgar Bihān* would fit neatly into the verse.

the sorcerer whose name is spelt *الجهن* in the Bombay text,<sup>1</sup> but this may be too adventurous and the verse in question more likely belonged to one of the tales.

A metrical fault is the case of *fā'ilātun* in the first foot of 16b, since otherwise *fā'ilātun* alone occurs. Elision ■ of an unusual kind has to be assumed in 8 (*pa andīle 'ndarā* ~ ~ ~ ~ ~, or even *pa'ndīle 'ndarā* ~ ~ ~ ~ ~, see below) and 27 (q.v.). Frequently a word beginning with a vowel is not tied with the preceding consonant, e.g. *hm* 'c 26 is measured as ~ ~, hence *ham* 'az, not *hamaz*. This, a matter of syllabification, is regarded as permissible; nevertheless, *pd 'yn my'n* 12 (the reading, however, is doubtful) as ~ ~ ~ ~ is intolerable; for this was surely pronounced *padīn* (*badīn*), not *pa'd* 'in. A graver fault is the excessive use of ornamental -d at the end of lines; while each separate case could ■ excused (thus *raūānā* and *andarā* occur in the *Sāhndme*, and -d after a 2nd sing. is fairly common, cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 152), it is impossible that a good poet should have employed such an artifice ■ three out of four successive verses (24, 26, 27). This by itself suffices to compel me to withdraw my altogether too hasty suggestion that Rūdaki might have been the author of our work. We shall have ■ attribute it to a contemporary imitator of him, and not too skilful a one at that.

This ■ a good opportunity to draw attention ■ the Manichaean character<sup>2</sup> ■ an important part ■ the "wisdom" of the book as it appears in the Arabic texts, in spite of superficial islamisation. Most striking is the prophetology in the Bombay print, pp. 60-1 (in Rehatsek's translation of the abridgement, *JRAS*, 1890, p. 140), where the very wording compellingly recalls authentic Manichaean writings:

أَنْ أَمَلْ دَعْوَةَ الْحَقِّ لَمْ تَزَلْ تَأْتِي عَلَى مَرِّ الزَّمَانِ وَيُظْهِرُ الْمَحَقُّ بِحِ انْبِيَاءِ  
 إِلَهِهِ وَرَسُولِهِ فِي الْقُرُونِ الْمَاضِيَةِ الْأُولَى عَلَى أَسْنَةِ مَشْرِقَةٍ

and further on with regard to the deterioration of earlier religions:

مِنْ بَقِيَّةِ مَا فِي أَيْدِيهِمْ مِنَ الْكُتُبِ وَالْفَنِّ الَّتِي يَقْرَأُونَ بِهَا

<sup>1</sup> It has invariably been emended, cf. Kuhn, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> On the general question see the excellent introduction to D. M. Lang's *The Wisdom of Bahá'u'lláh*, 1957, especially pp. 24 sqq.





## Translation

- 1 Before  $\square$  will be clear  $\square$  . . . . when your heart has become free of doubt . . . .
- 2 If you do as [you] said (to me),<sup>1</sup> the word will take hold in your heart.
- 3 [Plant] the root and stock of wisdom in [the heart, then there will grow its] trunk<sup>2</sup> and branch, [its leaves and fruit].
- 4 Any saying or question and . . . . anything from which doubt comes  $\square$  you in . . . .
- 5 Again a question . . . . the fruit of . . . . whatever you want to say<sup>3</sup> . . . .
- $\square$  If there has come out your . . . . with a heart of . . . .
- 7 Good, rather . . . . the fruit  $\square$  [wisdom] . . . .

[Gap of 1-3 verses]

- 8 . . . . he<sup>4</sup> went out by the door . . . . he<sup>5</sup> [lay down] troubled in  $\square$ 's mind.

Heading: . . . . Bilsuher parted . . . . the return of Bilsuher.

- 9 [At nightfall] thereafter he did indeed<sup>6</sup> come back, made . . . . and bowed to him.
- 10 He seated himself [before him] and Bûdisaf<sup>7</sup> said to him: . . . .  $\square$  not hidden from you.
- 11 . . . . and apart from this, consider<sup>8</sup> . . . . passed how many years?
- 12 . . . . a single . . . . meanwhile (?) . . . . from this period . . . .
- 13 . . . . will be . . . . becomes a child<sup>9</sup> . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Or: as [I] said [. . . .]:<sup>2</sup> *nard*, on which see *Sogdica*, p. 4, is a fairly uncommon word. Asadi quotes Kisi's for it; it occurs in the *Salmâna*.<sup>3</sup> Or: you want me to say.<sup>4</sup> = Bilsuher.<sup>5</sup> = Bûdisaf.<sup>6</sup> *niz* harks back to Bilsuher's announcement (= ed. Bombay, p. 82, lines 10-11) that  $\square$  would leave but return.<sup>7</sup> Strictly one should perhaps write *Bûdisaf*. I have generally avoided *naf*-vowels, partly because they serve  $\square$  confer an outlandish look on quite familiar Persian words, and partly because their use has degenerated into a mere mannerism.<sup>8</sup> *s(i)kâl* = later *sigd*.<sup>9</sup> Corresponding with *yft*  $\square$ . Bombay, p. 83, line 4, therefore part of Bûdisaf's remonstrance against Bilsuher's assertion that  $\square$  was twelve years of age.

## ■ Recto [Plate IV]

- 14 z'nk' d'nystm [ ]  
 'mdm nzdyk dy(dm)[ ]  
 15 'wd 'yn gwj<sup>(a)</sup> gw(f)(zmb)<sup>(b)</sup> [ ]  
 k'yn (n)h'd(y)st(nd)[ ]  
 16 s'n [']wd 'y(yn) [ ]  
 axwn 'yg d(')[nyš ]  
 17 nw gwz(yn)'n d.[ ]  
 j' axwn pd [ ]  
 ■ cwn (šwy)dc<sup>(c)</sup> mš(d) [ ]  
 xwd (q)wn(y)[d]<sup>(e)</sup> q[ ]  
 19 'yn (gwj')<sup>(d)</sup> gwftm ' [ ]  
 w'n (cy)<sup>(d)</sup> m'nd ('')c (k)[ ]  
 20 rftm ('')kwn rn(j) b(wr)d(m) [ ]  
 zwd m['n]<sup>(e)</sup> dyd'r b'yd [ ]

[1-3 verses missing]

(a) = *plngzjd*.—(b) Cf. 19.—(c) = *šwzd*, *šwnad*.—(d) Very faint, but hardly in doubt.—(e) A tear in the paper makes it difficult to estimate the gap; hardly m[n].

## B Verso

- 21 [ ]yd yzd<sup>(a)</sup> zm'n  
 [ ]šwyd<sup>(b)</sup> dyd'rm'n  
 22 [ ] 'yg mn d'nyy cy cyz  
 [ ] ny fr'mwšy<sup>(c)</sup> bnyz  
 23 [ p]šwx d'dm  
 [ ]bkwš'dm]<sup>(d)</sup>  
 24 [ ]xwd r'yy<sup>(e)</sup>  
 [ ]y'd 'ry'  
 25 [ ]bd dr mnyyš  
 [ ]y'bd ka bwnš<sup>(f)</sup>  
 26 [ ]byh k' xwd prhyzy'  
 [ ]('w)d hm 'c tyzyy'  
 27 [ ]' s(xwn)š]<sup>(g)</sup> (m)ngwšn'h  
 [ s](x)wn pd (xrd)<sup>(h)</sup> (šw)[yd] xwd rwšn'

(a) = *šzad*.—(b) = *šwzad*.—(c) = *šf*.—(d) = *bukš*.—(e) = *šwad-šwyrd* (-ra'y-t-d).—(f) = *šwn-šf*.—(g) Illegible, but no other reading probable (the last two letters suggest -yd or -yr = first sight).—(h) Hardly 'ng-.—(i) Doubtful; feeble traces. Metrically *pa-xrad* with elision (cf. *ša-bšft* in the *Sāhnāme*, Nöldeke, *Nationalgeogr.*, p. 96, line 5) as in the (etymologically identical) compound *šaxrad* 'wise', which is apparently not meant here.

Translation

- 14 Since I realised . . . . , I came close (and) saw . . . .  
 15 And this which I said . . . . ; for they (?) have established<sup>1</sup>  
 this . . . .  
 16 Fashion and custom . . . . the word of wisdom . . . .  
 17 Those newly chosen\* . . . . until the word through . . . .  
 18 When a man becomes . . . . , he himself makes . . . .  
 19 This which I said . . . . and that which remained from . . . .  
 20 I am on my way now, I have undergone troubles . . . . Soon  
 [another] meeting will come<sup>2</sup> for us . . . .

[Gap of 1-3 verses]

- 21 . . . . God will [determine] the time [when]<sup>3</sup> . . . we shall see  
 each other [again].  
 22 . . . . [if] you know what is my . . . . you will never forget . . . .  
 23 . . . . I have given answers to your [questions], I have undone  
 your [puzzles] . . . .  
 24 . . . . [if] you are wilful . . . . you will call to mind . . . .  
 25 . . . . in disposition . . . . [no] one will reach its ground.  
 26 . . . . you should [seek] to restrain yourself . . . . also from  
 rashness.  
 27 . . . . speech [devoid of Reason] is guile and blandishment (?).<sup>4</sup>  
 . . . . just by Reason speech becomes luminous.

C

First page<sup>5</sup>

- |    |                   |                |   |
|----|-------------------|----------------|---|
| 28 | [                 | ]z u x(m)[     | ] |
|    | [                 | ]gw)ā = (zb)[n | ] |
| 29 | [ 'z h]mg sxytḡ [ |                | ] |
|    | (c')rg 'yg ra[tn  |                | ] |

<sup>1</sup> *nihādustand* (the ending is doubtful), a perfect with -ūt-, a type of form that acc. to Maqdisi, *B.G.A.* iii, 334, 8-9, was peculiar to Nīkābūr. It is common enough in classical Persian, but is usually read with -ast-. Cf. Horn, *Ord. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 154, who quotes *nihādastī* from *Vīs u Rāmīn*.

<sup>2</sup> Hardly "those choosing the new".

<sup>3</sup> *bāyad* = *bi-bāyad* rather than "it is required".

<sup>4</sup> No Persian word ending in -*ngafn* is known to me; the first letter is uncertain, but was probably m-. Provisionally I assume that *mngafn* = *mang-ā-san* (-*av-* of *roulānd* need not rhyme), a collocation of *mang* "fraud", *ā* "and", and *san*, a word that according to the lexicographers means *nās va karīma* (the verse in Vulliamy is found in the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*). Or else "hembane and hemp" (meaning "poisonous nonsense").

- 30 d'st'n 'yg [ ]  
 hr (k)s-I r' (h)[ ]  
*Second page*
- 31 [ ](r)ft g'(h)[ ]  
 [ ]hr qs (k)[ ]
- 32 } . hr aḡ g(w)[ . . ]<sup>b)</sup>  
 }gr byh[ . . ]<sup>b)</sup>
- 33 }bwd-l zw jwd'g  
 }bš "[šn](\*)g<sup>c)</sup>

(a) The order of the pages cannot be ascertained.—(b) Of *tu* in *g(w)* only a tiny fraction is preserved, but enough to make all other letters improbable. The *h* of *byh* is drawn out, indicating that very little is missing at the end: one or two small letters, or a medium-sized letter and a small one at the most. Without knowing whether the vowel of *byh* was short or long, whether therefore *byh* is the penult or the antepenult, no safe restoration is possible; *sh*, of course, may be either short or long. One might consider, e.g., *gūn* : *ḡhūn*; or *gūwā* : *ḡl-hayd*, etc.—(c) No other word apparently fits; rhyme in mere -d is permitted.

#### Translation

- 28<sup>1</sup> . . . . ear and tongue . . . .  
 29 'The means of escaping . . . . from all hardships . . . .  
 30 The fable of . . . . for every one . . . .
- 
- 31 . . . . went at a time (?) . . . . every one . . . .  
 32 . . . . all three . . . .<sup>2</sup> . . . .<sup>3</sup>  
 33 . . . . a jar (?)<sup>4</sup> separate from it<sup>5</sup> . . . . familiar [with] its . . . .

#### III. A QASĪDE

This fragment of a *Qasīde* in Manichaean writing may not merely claim a place among the many singularities in the Berlin collection.

<sup>1</sup> 28-30 may precede or follow 31-3. Thus 31-3 could be part of the fable announced in 30.

<sup>2</sup> witnesses? modes?

<sup>3</sup> shameless? sorcerer *Bihūn*?

<sup>4</sup> If [ ]bwd-l is the remains of [r]bwd-l (and not, e.g., of [q]bwd-l 'a blue . . .'), *Subūd* (strictly *soḡōd*) is an old form (classical *soḡūy*) used e.g. by Asadi. That its -d- is original is shown by the Armenian loanword (not hitherto recognized as such) *soḡ'or* (hence Old Iranian \**soḡauda*).

<sup>5</sup> Of all the Barlaam stories there is only one into which these words fit: the fifth of the additional tales of Ibn Bābūye. As the fourth is already known in a Manichaean version (von LeCoq, *Türkische Manichaica*, I, 5-7), it is possible that these tales formed part of our Persian work. However, what is left of verse III fails to agree with this supposition (perhaps there were three thieves!).



fanciful, will, I hope, not be regarded as deviating unreasonably far from its basis. To enable the reader to form an opinion of his own, I am giving first the text as it stands, without embellishments; ■ is unbiased, except that ■ one or two places opinions may vary on the true reading of faded or half destroyed letters (enclosed ■ round brackets).

As reconstructed, the poem<sup>1</sup> appears to ■ an elegy put into the mouth of a man already in his grave. His spirit complains (verse 2) in general terms of the bad times (verse 3) and the spoiling of virtuous effort through evil forces (verse 5), but chiefly of the callous and hypocritical manner in which his companions have abandoned him to his fate and forgotten him (7-13). The whole abounds with Muslimic phrases and imagery (*Hôrûn*, *Nûh*, *Yûsuf*, *Dhulfaqûr*, *Jawâb* in the grave). Yet although on the face of ■ no Muslimic censor could have found fault with it, we should remember that this is a Manichaean poem and realize that the apparent meaning conceals a hidden sense. Then the speaker becomes the *trîa anima*, *grîw aîndag*, the "Living Soul", that is ever suffering through malice and neglect, cast aside and trampled on, a stranger in this evil world. ■ understood, the poem may ■ regarded as a witness to the adaptability of Manichaean propaganda, to its readiness to assume ever fresh disguises in order to meet the demands ■ the times. Just as in earlier centuries Christians and Buddhists had complained ■ Manichaean unscrupulousness, so the adherents of Islam were justified ■ being on their guard against crypto-Manichaean *aîndiqs*, who concealed their true thoughts behind an impenetrable hedge of familiar phrases.

## Text

## Recto [Plate V]

- 1 [ . . . ]syrr'b 'bd'r oo oo rîd'a)
- 2 [ . . . ](l)(g) k' pr[ . ] m'nyd 'z jw'b
- 3 [ . . . ](ð)[ . ](l)p'k'r . (k)b' gw'y swn
- 4 [ . . . . . ] . r[ . ]' [ . ] 'z 'yn (z)m'ng
- 5 [ . . . . . ]hr (m)r . [ . . . ]n oo pry'd 'z
- 6 [ . . . . . ](m'ng) z(m)[ . ](n)g 'y sty[ . . . . ]
- 7 [ . . . . . ] u . . (w'ry) . [ . . . . . ]

<sup>1</sup> It is a "qasîde" only in form; in several ways it calls ■ mind the poetry found ■ the *Dîwân* of Nâsîr-i Khusrû.

- 8 [ (h'rw)ne] [ . . ](z)[ . . ]  
 9 [ ] oo b'd 'yg  
 10 hw(nr)d) (p)y(š) 'y mn 'ryš šr'b 'y  
 11 [ . . . . . ] swwm 'ygd) [ ]  
 12 [ . . . . . ](st) zhr u m'r oo oo (hr)  
 13 [ . . . . . ] w'dm) d'nyatm drwa[ . . ]  
 14 [ . . . . . ]c(h')r mrkb hyyzyn kwnd  
 15 [ . . ]'dš) oo oo cwn nwb (mr) mr'  
 16 [ . . . . k . ]šyy pjwr o "(n)k"  
 17 [ ] prw m'ndgtr s[ . . ]dh) oo oo

(a) Mistake for *d'd'*.—(b) Two dots above first letter, (■) may have been the first or second letter of the word.—(c) or (šyr')n?—(d) Text up to *mn* on a thin, elongated tongue of paper showing just the letters. Words written above the line would have disappeared. Not certain, but probable that the line began with *hrc(mr)* (the *R-dot* is not visible, so *m* could have been *hrc(nd)*). One can hardly read *hzu'* instead.—(e) Either 'y + 𐎠 . . ] or 'yg with the remainder of the line left blank.—(f) The bottom stroke of *k* only visible; the precise place of *k* (or, equally possible, *x*) cannot be determined.—(g) Or *h* or *h'* or *h'* or *h'*. The preceding letter either *p* or *s*.—(h) Or *r*.—(i) Or *r* or *r* or *r*.

Verto

- 18 cwn ywšm pšhr prwd 'bg[ . . . ]  
 19 pč'b o c'hyy k' br ny{ . . . . }  
 20 'w cwzghyy šm'r oo {oo . . . . }  
 21 zyrr 'y txt [ . ]rw xw'b[ . . . . o]  
 22 k'pwr brg '[ . . ](w)rd) kw(n)[ . . . . ]  
 23 [ . . ](m)n nθ'r oo oo 'nb(')[ . . . . ]  
 24 [ . . . . ] ng jwšt mn k(w)[ . . ](nd)[ . . . . ]  
 25 [ 1:4 ](w)y 'y mn<sup>b</sup>) ndh[ ]  
 26 oo oo brgštg[ ]  
 27 'z gwr mn pd drd oo mn (zyrr) '■  
 28 [ . . ](k)c) frd ny ka[ ]  
 29 [ . . . ]d) 'wrdg pwšt (awy) (')[ . . . . ]  
 30 [ 1:4 ]wy 'y r'h d'dg m(d){e} . . . . ]  
 31 u pxrpwštg zr pnh'd(f) . . . . ]  
 32 oo oo yk b(')rē) y' d[ . . . . . ]  
 33 kwn'nd bs ■ "nk[ . . . . . ]  
 34 šwwm k' nbwšm 'z by.h)[ . . . . ]

(a) Or *h* or *h'*.—(b) *wn* added above the line.—(c) A dot visible above the first letter of this word.—(d) Perhaps merely punctuation marks.—(e) Or *m* or *r*.—(f) Or *p* or *h*. NB. not *p* or *h*.—(g) Or *b* or *h*.—(h) Perhaps *šy(h)*?



Reconstruction<sup>1</sup>

- 1b - - - - - ~ sirāb ābdār  
 2 dardā \*sirište[-i] <sup>2</sup> Bā furū mānad az jawāb  
 \*bā ḡulfaqār[-i] <sup>3</sup> \*aql gušāyi sax<sup>4</sup>van \*pa-zār<sup>5</sup>  
 3 faryād azin zamāne \*azin \*qahr[-i] <sup>6</sup> mardumān  
 faryād azin zamāne zamāne-i<sup>7</sup> sitizgār<sup>8</sup>  
 4 - - - - - u marwānīd - - - - -  
 - - - - - Hārūn - - - - -  
 5 bād-i hunar [ēu] <sup>9</sup> pī-i man āraē šarāb-i \*ḡaqq<sup>10</sup>  
 - - samūm-i - ~ - k. st zahr \*i mār<sup>11</sup>  
 6 har - - - - - aswār-am dānistam<sup>12</sup> durust  
 - - ḡahār markab bizin kunand<sup>13</sup> \*f(a)sār<sup>14</sup>  
 7 ċun Nūh<sup>15</sup> mar marā ~ - kašūy-i pa-Jaur  
 ānke - - - - - furū-mānde-tar \*sanār<sup>16</sup>  
 8 ċun Yūsuf-am pa-qahr furūd abganand<sup>17</sup> pa-ġāh

<sup>1</sup> Square brackets here enclose words which the scribe left out by mistake. Words added by me to fill gaps in the manuscript are marked by an asterisk, if they are not sufficiently supported by evidence. Trifling restorations are left unmarked.

<sup>2</sup> The *lāfe*-particle, omitted by the transcriber, seems wholly necessary; the object *ḡulfaqār* should be *sax<sup>4</sup>van*, not *'aql*.

<sup>3</sup> The obvious restoration; what follows is indeed a "complaint".

<sup>4</sup> *lāfe*-particle again omitted.

<sup>5</sup> -e-i as a single long syllable.

<sup>6</sup> *T* pronunciation with -ā- is recent.

<sup>7</sup> Such a word may have stood above the line; see text.

<sup>8</sup> Or similarly.

<sup>9</sup> Ms. zahr = mār, which cannot be right.

<sup>10</sup> *dānistam* treated as - - -, therefore pronounced *dānistam*? Less likely as *\*dānistam*, cf. *paratār* once in the *Sāknāme* as - - -, i.e. *paratār* (acc. to Nöldeke, *Nationalgeogr.*, 97).

<sup>11</sup> On the metrical treatment of *kunand* see below n. 14. One could, however, restore *kunand* \**bdr* instead.

<sup>12</sup> Written like the Persian word for "nine". Manichaean orthography did not permit *h* (by origin = Arabic *h*) at the end of words; it had to be replaced by *h* (by origin = Arabic *h*).

<sup>13</sup> *s[. . .]r* is best restored as *sandr*, a rare but well-attested word; *sandr* is less likely.

<sup>14</sup> Here, and similarly twice in verse 9, I have restored a 3rd pers. pl. in preference to a 2nd or sing., although either of these would fit more comfortably into the metre. The sense seems to demand an "impersonal" 3rd pl., such as occurs in verses 11 and 13. There is no serious difficulty metricaly, since the use of -and as a simple long syllable (not -) is well-established, see Nöldeke *loc. cit.*, 102.—*abgan*—old-fashioned spelling of *afgan*.

- 9 *ġāh-i ke bar-ney-āyam azū juz gāh-i<sup>1</sup> ġumār*  
 --- zīr-i taxt furū x<sup>2</sup>ābanand \*marā  
*kāfūr [u] barg-i mūrđ kunand \*rūy-i man niār*  
 10 *anbāx --- -ne juft[-i]<sup>3</sup> man kunand*  
 --- sūy-i man ne-dīhand ---  
 11 *bargašte --- az gūr[-i]<sup>4</sup> man pa-dard*  
 man zīr-i xāk fard ne kas ---  
 12 *āwarde pušt<sup>5</sup> sūy-i \*to<sup>6</sup> sūy-i rāh-dāde mard*  
 --- pa-xarpušte[-i] zar-nihāde<sup>7</sup> \*xār<sup>8</sup>  
 13 *yak bār yā do bār --- kunand bas*  
*uānke --- ġūm ke ne-būdam az bi -<sup>9</sup>*

*Translation*

- 1 . . . . sated with water and juicy.  
 2 Piteous [the creature] that is incapable of giving the Answer<sup>1</sup>  
 [With the help of] the Dhulsaqār of Reason do open your speech  
 [in plaint]!  
 3 I cry for help against this age, [against this tyranny of] mankind.  
 I cry for help against this age, the age of quarrels and strife.  
 4 . . . . and pearls . . . . Aaron . . . .  
 5 [Whenever] the wind of Virtue brings before me the wine of  
 [Truth?].  
 The sinroom of [Passion mingles with in illusion-creating] snake-  
 poison.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *caxg'hyy*, incomprehensible as it stands, has been altered by ms into *juz gāh-i*, which should have been written *juz* 𐭪𐭭 *'yāg*, or *g'h* with the usual neglect of metrical shortening in spelling. A meaning equivalent to *juz* (*dar*) *rūz-i ġūm* seems required.

<sup>2</sup> *Idāfe*-particle omitted in the MS.

<sup>3</sup> *pušt* treated as *pu*, cf. *dānistam* above verse 6, and Noldeke, *loc. cit.*, 103.

<sup>4</sup> A word depending on *rūy-i* and consisting of a single open, short syllable is required. The restoration 𐭪𐭭 to thus seems unavoidable, in spite of the awkwardness of a change in person, at least in form; for in verse 10 equals *man* in the preceding verses (cf. verse 2).

<sup>5</sup> MS. *xx pnh'd*. The line lacks both sense and metre, and has been emended drastically; *-s-i* (*-i* restored) again taken as a single syllable.

<sup>6</sup> Possible; the choice is small.

<sup>7</sup> If *by(h)*, one would have to restore as *biādr* = "Buddhist monastery" (usually read *ba-* or *bu-*, but originally *bi-*). The meaning eludes me.

<sup>8</sup> Demanded by the examining angels in the grave.

<sup>9</sup> Emended from "poison and snake(s)".

- 6 Ever [since] . . . . I was a horseman, I came to know for certain  
 . . . . they bridle (?) four horses unsaddled.<sup>1</sup>
- 7 [They put] me, Noah-like, into an ark<sup>2</sup> by force —  
 That (ark) which [is] . . . . more helplessly cast down (on)  
 shallows.
- 8 They throw me, Joseph-like, into the pit<sup>3</sup> with violence —  
 That pit whence I shall only rise at the time of (the last) reckon-  
 ing.
- 9 [When they] lay [me] to sleep down under the plank . . . .  
 They scatter [upon] me camphor and myrtle-leaves.
- 10 [No] companion . . . , they join with me,  
 Towards me they do not give . . . .
- 11 [The mourners have] returned from my grave in pain:  
 I (am) left alone under the soil, no one . . . .
- 12 (They have) turned their backs upon [you?]<sup>4</sup>, upon the man who  
 has been sent on his way<sup>5</sup>:  
 . . . . over the gilded crest of the tomb [brambles are growing  
 already].<sup>6</sup>
- 13 Once perhaps or twice they will [think of me]—that is all.  
 And that . . . , an ill omen that I was not from . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Reference (possibly to the manner of carrying the coffin to the burial?) not clear (on the use of horses in funeral processions in Persia, see e.g. M. Massé, *Croyances et Coutumes Persanes*, i, 99-101).

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the coffin.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. the grave.

<sup>4</sup> An odd change of person.



<sup>5</sup> *rdh-ddde* = "someone to whom the road has been given", usually = "allowed to enter, admitted".

<sup>6</sup> The line is not in order; meaning doubtful.

## A BACTRIAN SEAL-INSCRIPTION

Professor O. Maenchen kindly draws my attention to a paper by H. Staviskiy (*Sobornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaza*, xx, 1901, 54-6) on a hitherto unpublished Kushan-type seal with a cursive inscription in Bactrian. It consists of a single word:



which Staviskiy transcribes as *OXBOPOBOO* and interprets as *Aspurubox*, "the seal-owner's name". There are two objections to the proposed reading: (1) it suppresses the down-stroke that clings to the second *β*; this is the normal form of the letter *α* in the cursive script (  ), (2) it neglects the distinction between *α* and *β* on the one hand and *ο* on the other: the former are joined to a following letter, but the latter is not. Thus the first and fourth letters are *α*, but the sixth is *ο*. At the end one should read *do*, because in the group *αο* the second letter is generally attached from below (  ).

The whole word, therefore, is *ΑΞΒΑΡΟΒΙΔΟ*; the spelling expresses \**Asβārβiδ*. *Ξ* has been noticed before. *βiδo* is the Bactrian representative of Old Iranian *-patē* 'master' (Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian *-byd*). And *asβār* is the Middle Persian word for 'horseman, knight' (OPers. *asabāra*, Pahl. *asabār*, Persian *asavār*). *Asβār* is necessarily a loan-word in Bactrian; *βiδ* may be a loan-word but need not be, and that applies also to the compound as a whole.<sup>1</sup> The evident meaning of *ΑΞΒΑΡΟΒΙΔΟ*, 'chief of cavalry', suggests that this was the seal-owner's title rather than his name.

<sup>1</sup> The combination, as far as I know, was not used in Sassanian Persia (Arm. *asparapet* being generally considered as an *asparapet*).



## THE KURDISH ELM

Dedicated to Dr. Bruno Schindler\*  
on the occasion of his 80th birthday

Anyone who has ever taken an interest in the prehistory of the Indo-European nations is sure to have come across the Great Beech Argument: the Indo-Europeans (so it runs) possessed a common word for *Fagus silvatica* L., \*bhāgo-, and therefore lived where that tree grew in its wild state, hence to the west of a line from the south-eastern corner of the Baltic to the Crimea. Critics have invariably been disturbed by the fact that the beech is found also beyond the *Buchengrenze*, in north-eastern Turkey, in the Caucasus, and in the mountains fringing the north of Persia.<sup>1</sup> The assumption that it grew once also in some of the valleys joining the mountainous localities where it now subsists is a reasonable one, and is supported by the knowledge that over large parts of Western Asia all wild trees of any size have been exterminated as far as man could reach, sacrificed to the need for fuel and the activities of the charcoal-burner.

The chief criticism has been directed against the postulate of \*bhāgo- as a common Indo-European word; for if (as seemed to be the case) it belonged merely to the European branches of the Indo-European family of nations, its history would be of little or no concern to those who seek to determine the Indo-European *Urheimat*.<sup>2</sup> That postulate was essentially

\* This article arrived too late to be included in Volume IX, part 2.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Parsa, *Flore de l'Iran*, iv, p. 1332; H. Sabeti, *Diraxtān-i jangāl-i Irān* [The native trees of Persia], p. 104. These authors quote a number of local names of the beech, among them *rdī* (Gilan, etc.), *ahīl*, *āhīl* (Tāhīl, etc.), *āhar*, *āhar* (Nār), *mīr* (Mazenderan); none of them even faintly resembles \*bhāgo-. The Gilani *rdī*, which has now been adopted as standard Persian, presumably derives from *raxi* "red" (as does *āhīl* which Wollaston gave as the Persian name for the beech in the large edition of his English-Persian dictionary, 1889), cf. *qizilayaj* "red tree" used in Kārgānrūd, Germ. *Rothbuche*; the variation *rīl*, indicating original *l*-, supports the connection with Skt. *lākṣā*, etc.—Mazenderani *mi(r)* was mentioned long ago by Meigounof, ZDMG., xxii, 299, but with vague definition.

<sup>2</sup> The whole card-house would collapse if the Indo-Europeans had failed to distinguish between *Rothbuche* and *Weissbuche* verbally. In relying on the Persian botanists (see preceding annotation) we are guarding against any such confusion. For the hornbeam Sabeti, p. 88, gives three lots of local names: for (a) *Carpinus betulus* L., (b) *Carpinus orientalis* Mill., and (c) *Carpinus* generally (for such dialects as do not possess specific names for the various species). In the third group the Gilani term

—Continued on following page

grounded on a Kurdish word, *bûz* "elm". Since its vowel plainly failed to agree with that of \**bhāgo-*, that form was conveniently altered to \**bhāgō-* (with ablaut \**bhūg-*), in a spirit of accommodation that militates against conviction. A second defect: that the Kurdish word was the name of the elm, was easily smoothed out: in a country devoid of beeches the Kurds are supposed to have transferred the inherited name to some other large tree; one wonders uneasily why they should have dropped the inherited name of the elm simultaneously.<sup>3</sup>

A curious circumstance is that no one has recorded the Kurdish word either before or after Houtum-Schindler (a military man) noticed it. The numerous professional linguists who have studied the various forms of Kurdish have uniformly passed it by, and it is not listed in any dictionary (including those published by native speakers). This is not said in order to cast doubt on Houtum-Schindler's report; but rather to praise that gifted amateur's power of observation and eye for the important. His entry in full reads:—

*bûz*, M[kur], eine Art Ulme ohne Früchte; sehr hartes Holz; Schmuck der kurd. Friedhöfe; G[urani], L[uri], Z[angana] *wîz*; der im np. *qarahâyûl* genannte Baum (russ. *vojaz*, J[usti]).

One sees that he noticed the word in as many as four different dialects.

The relationship of *bûz* and *wîz* is plain, except for the vowels: original Iranian initial *b-* does not become *w-* in those three dialects; but original *w-* is preserved in them and regularly turns into *b-* in Mukri. Therefore, this word began with *sc-* originally and thus cannot be connected with an Indo-European term whose initial was *bh-*. This argument, which is conclusive, has been well put by Nehring,<sup>4</sup> and one would have thought it unnecessary to resume it, if *bûz* did not continue to play its old rôle in the quest for the *Urheimat*.<sup>5</sup>

A proposal to separate *bûz* from *wîz* etymologically cannot be seriously entertained in any case. These words are used in adjoining villages for the selfsame species of tree, the rare large tree gracing the local cemeteries and supplying material for the turner's craft. That the tree is an elm is ensured by Houtum-Schindler's expressions. In speaking of an "*Ulme ohne Früchte*"

*Continued from previous page—*

deserves notice: *faqlfey* (Sabeti actually wrote *faql/fq*, but presumably did not distinguish *q* from *y*). Since I.-E. *bh* does sometimes appear as *f* in Iranian, and *-g(o)-* (not, of course, *-g(o)-*) normally results in *-y-* in Persian dialects, it is not impossible that Gilani here continues a form ultimately related to \**bhāgo-*.—M. Sotodeh, *Farhang-i Gilaki*, p. 170, has the word (with vague definition), spells it *faq* in Roman, but with *y* in Persian letters.

<sup>3</sup> The situation is thus not parallel to that of *qyyet* in which a previously unknown tree (similar to the beech in having an edible fruit) is involved.

<sup>4</sup> Schrader-Nehring, *Reallexikon*, i, 171 (with full references, here not repeated).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Thieme, *Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache*, 53, pp. 15 (with reference to a work by Wismanin, *Name der Buche*, which I have not seen), 30, 32.



he did not mean to announce the discovery of a botanical unicum, but simply echoed the villagers who may have told him *bār nā-dāra* (in Persian), i.e., "it has no fruit (useful to man)". His phrase *eine Art Ulme* suggests that it was not the elm that must have been familiar to him from his home-country; were it otherwise he would just have said *Ulme* or *die Ulme*. This might be taken as indicating that the tree in question was *Ulmus montana* Smith rather than *Ulmus procera* Salisb. (the two principal species of elm in Persia), the *wych elm* rather than the *common elm*; the Persian equivalent supplied by Houtum-Schindler, *qara-ayaf* "black tree",<sup>4</sup> may denote either (more often the common elm, see Sabetti, pp. 150-52).

There is plentiful information about the elm in the Middle East and many names are recorded for it in many languages. Unlike the beech, it figured as an item in the pharmacopoeia, a circumstance that ensured frequent mention. In literary Persian one reads often of the tree, not because its beauty stimulated the imagination but because its classical name, *nārvan*, provoked the pun-loving poets; for to the casual eye this seems composed of *nār* "pomegranate" and *van* "tree"—what Persian poet could pass up such a heaven-sent gift? The following verse by Farrukhi is typical:—

tā na-buvaš bār-i sipidār sib  
tā na-buvaš nār bar-i nārvan  
Till poplars bear apples  
Till elms bear pomegranates.<sup>5</sup>

We have now cleared the decks to enable us to tackle the central problem posed by *bār*: its long vowel. To account for it is a prime necessity; without a satisfactory answer we cannot be sure that the claimed etymological identity of *bār* with *ar* is true, and thus cannot remove *bār* from the Great Beech Argument in a conclusive fashion. On the face of it no way leads from *ā* to *i*, and none from *i* to *ū*; nor is there an obvious derivation of both from a third entity. If only Houtum-Schindler had produced the word without the circumflex, there would have been no difficulty; but to attribute negligence or incapacity to him now would be churlish and facile

<sup>4</sup> This name, as I learned from Dr. MacKenzie, is used also in various Kurdish dialects, partly (*qaradār*) or wholly translated (Socane: *qasadār*; Sul: *dérotaf*; Kurd. *sal* = black).

<sup>5</sup> Western scholars have on occasion been deceived by the seemingly obvious, E.g., Wetzstein, in his edition of Zarnakshari's *Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab*, (translated Arab. *daufah* = *punica granatum*, because it was glossed *dirax-i nārvan*; even E. G. Browne, in the translation of the *Tārīx-i Tabaristān* p. 16, rendered *bile-i nārvan* "elm jungle" by "wild pomegranates". Radloff's remarkable "*Tempel der Lichte*" should not be forgotten (see F. W. K. Möller, *Uigurica* [i], 52).

<sup>6</sup> P. Horn, normally so well-instructed, in a singular lapse translated the second half as "*so lange die Orange nicht auf dem Sauerkirchensbaum wächst*" (see his edition of Asadi, preface p. 36).

<sup>7</sup> The alternation *ū* : *i* is, of course, common; and so is *ā* : *i*.

as well. We have to abide by *būz* : *wīz* and to admit that with our present means there is no accounting for the difference: we need additional evidence.

It was only a few years ago that I actually produced that needed new evidence myself, without realizing its relevance to the *būz*-problem. In writing on plant-names that al-Biruni, in his book on drugs, had quoted from unknown or little-known Iranian languages,<sup>10</sup> I chose as an example his names for the elm, and added various related forms to them, gaining this series:—

<i>yuzbe</i> :	Zabulistan
<i>guam</i> :	eastern Persian, <sup>11</sup> also Samarkand, Siatān
<i>vīzim</i> :	Talish, Āstārā
<i>vīzmadu</i> :	Talishi dialect
<i>vīzm</i> :	Īlām

■ which we add now:—

<i>vīz</i> (— <i>vīz</i> ):	Gurani, etc.
<i>būz</i> :	Mukri (Central Kurdish).

Evidently, there was an element that followed upon *z* in the word, disappeared in some languages, but in disappearing could leave a lengthened first vowel as a trace of its former existence. That element which could become *u* or *o* or disappear or lengthen a vowel can have been only a consonantic *w*; *būz* thus represents earlier \**yūz*, developing through \**bīz* and \**buw*.

The word thus contained the rare cluster *lr. sz* = IE. *ǵy* (or *ǵ'g*). For that we have a splendid case in the word for "tongue", the Iranian examples of which have been elucidated by E. Benveniste, in a brilliant note devoted to Old Persian *hizānam*.<sup>12</sup> It provides an even wider range of clusters (sometimes split by intrusive vowels), from *sb* (as in Parthian 'sb'n) and *zm* (Kurd. *zimūn*, *azmān*) through *zv* (Sogd., Khvar. *zβ'k*) and *zy* (MPers. 'aw'n, cf. Zaza *zawān*)<sup>13</sup> to *va* (Oss. *dozag*), perhaps also *ya* (Gazi etc. *ayūn*), and finally plain *z* (OP. *hizānam*) and *z* (Khot. *hīdā*).

<sup>10</sup> *Mittelliranisch* (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik: Iranistik*), pp. 84-6.

<sup>11</sup> *Lexica guām* (prob. wrongly).

<sup>12</sup> *BSt.*, xlvii (1951), 22 sq.; cf. *Ariatico* (*Festschrift F. Weller*), 30 sq.

<sup>13</sup> To explain MPers. 'aw'n (supported by Pahlavi 'aw'n) as reflecting an antecedent \**hizān* is in my opinion impossible (whether *Zāzā zawān* Gurani *zūn*, etc. can be so explained it is difficult to say). Yet it would be unnatural to claim differing original forms for 'aw'n and e.g. Parth. 'sb'n, \**hizayānam* here and \**hizyānam* there. Why then should we assume that Ir. *sz* (and *zy*) should necessarily become either *sb* (*sp*) or *z* Khot. *z* (r Khot. *z* Wakhi *z*) and exclude the possibility of other developments? Even Sogdian *zβ* is not accountable to previous *sb*, because that would have resulted in *zβ*. Parthian 'aw'n 'iron' is a case in point. The modern Persian *sz* = *sp* seems to be confined to words with original *sz*: *asfīd*, *asfand*, *isfarūd*, *isfardiyān*, etc. (barring a few arabicized forms) and could be attributed to the influence of a dialect in which *sz* resulted directly in *sf* (parallel with *zβ* from *zy*).

If we can say with some assurance that the word for "elm" began with \**uiru-* in Old Iranian, we cannot safely determine its final: it may have been \**uirya-* (or \**uiryā-*), or \**uiru-* may have been the antesonantic form of \**uiru-* (or \**uirū-*). Who can doubt now that Justi recognized the truth when at first sight he compared Houtum-Schindler's Kurdish words with Russian *o'az* (аз) "elm"? Further related words from various Indo-European languages are listed by Pokorny, *Étym. Wb.*, 1177 under '*uiru-* und *geig-* (*uiḡ-*?) *Ulme*'. ■ In short, the English relative of Mukri *bās* "elm" (perhaps "wych elm") is *wych* (elm), not *beech*; which is not very surprising.

ADDENDUM. A student of mine at Berkeley tells me that she has learned from her husband, who hails from *Khuzdār* (in Central Persia), that the tree known to Persians as *ndroen* is called *virōd* in his dialect. This new form is perfectly consonant with the derivation proposed above.

<sup>14</sup> Iranian would tolerate the assumption of a nasal in the first syllable; the word for "tongue" should ■ compared once again.



## CORIANDER

And differing judgements serve but to declare  
The truth lies somewhere, if we knew but where  
(Cotopex)

Among the problems touched on by E. H. Pulleyblank in his comprehensive study of Old Chinese phonology is the origin of 胡荽 (胡 1) *hu-suei* "coriander",<sup>1</sup> long suspected of concealing an Iranian word and connected by Laufer with Middle Persian "gafniz", Persian "kifniz", "kufniz", etc.<sup>2</sup> The origin of that Iranian word, in its turn, has remained obscure; Pulleyblank has made some progress towards its elucidation with the help of H. W. Bailey and I. Gershevitch, who supplied some related forms, especially Armenian *ginj* and Baluchi *gēnēl* (*kīnēl*), and proposed *gafnēl* as the reading of the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) term.

In view of Laufer's argumentation<sup>3</sup> it must be maintained that the correct Persian form is *gīfniz*: the word is given with *g-* in all indigenous Persian dictionaries of repute, with *-i-* (rather than *-a-*) in most, and it is pronounced *gīfniz* nowadays.<sup>4</sup> That the vowel of the first syllable was *-i-* from the beginning is guaranteed by the vocalization in the oldest Persian manuscript (*K. al-abnihyah*, 46<sup>10</sup>, 87<sup>6</sup>, 14, 199<sup>10</sup>, 202<sup>10</sup>, 212<sup>5</sup>).<sup>5</sup> Beside *gīfniz* an older or dialect form *gūfniz* is occasionally<sup>6</sup> found, and for this some dictionaries do indicate *kifniz*: that pronunciation is doubtless due to Turkish influence; for the word was widely adopted and spread by speakers of Turkish who, as often in such cases, substituted *k-* for *g-*: hence<sup>7</sup> Turkish

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Major*, ix, 132 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Sino-Iranica*, 298 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *īūniz* (with its equivalent *būyān*) = *Nigella arvensis* should not have been mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Heim, Wollaston, and Schlömer. There is a strong tendency towards replacing short *-i-* and *-u-* in unstressed syllables by *-a-* in modern Persian; *gafniz* is therefore secondary in *gīl*.—The Syriac lexicographer Bar Bahlūl (10th century) had, it seems, *gēfniz*, cf. Löw, *Armen. Pflanz.*, 233.

<sup>5</sup> The single occurrence with *-u-* (202<sup>7</sup>) is probably due to the immediately preceding *kushbarah*; three lines further with *-i-*.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. *Muqaddamat al-Adab*, 168<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Characteristically, Achundow (whose mother-tongue was Azerbaijanian Turkish) in his German translation of the *K. al-abnihyah* transcribed the Persian word as *Kesch-niz* (p. 258). E. Castellus, *Lex. heptaglotton* (1669), 459 sq., gave *gafniz/gīfniz* = Persian (with citations from the Jewish translation of the Pentateuch) and, incorrectly, *gafniz/kafniz* = Turkish.

*kīnīš*, *kīnīj*, *kīnīz* (Zenker), Russian *kīnec*, Kurdish *kīnīš* (Jabu-Justi), Tajiki *kānīš*, *kānīz* (beside *gānīz*; Bertel's), Hindustani *kīnīz* (Platts), and also Baluchi *kīnīč*. A genuine Persian dialect form, unaffected by foreign influence, is Rīšāhī *gēni*.

As the Persian word is *gīnīz*, there is no good reason why one should interpret the Pahlavi (Middle Persian) spelling *gīnyč*<sup>9</sup> other than as *gīnīč*. A short -i- would not be expressed in that situation; e.g., Pahl. *npītn* is universally read as *nīpītan*, not \**nāpītan*. Pahlavi orthography is reticent, one has to call in outside evidence. It is clear that Baluchi *gēnīč* (etc.) derives from the Middle Persian word, with simplification of the internal consonant cluster and balancing lengthening of the preceding vowel. Thus we have only two mutually independent forms: Armenian *ginj* and Middle Pers. *gīnīč*; all others descend from the latter.

To account for this opposition Arm. *ginj*: MPers. *gīnīč* is by no means easy.<sup>10</sup> We should first discard the final *ī* the MPers. term and recognize in it the common diminutive suffix -īč; the seeds of coriander are small enough to deserve such an enlargement. That leaves us with *ginj*: *gīn*. In loanwords from Iranian Arm. -nj (= *nda*) generally reflects Middle Ir. -na, which was presumably produced or apprehended as -n<sup>2</sup>z (with a gliding consonant). An example is Arm. *anjuk* "narrow", from Mlr. \**anzūk*, testified to by Man. MPers. *hazog* = *hanzūg*- and Parthian \**nzog* = *anzūg*;<sup>11</sup> here -na-, unusual in Parthian, has been replaced by the common group -nj-, but there is no doubt that -na- is original (Skt. *amhu*, Slav. *qzūhū*, cf. Av. *qzah*- etc.). A similar replacement has occurred in Persian in a series of words (*ganj* "treasure", *birinj* "bronze", *birinj/gurinj* "rice") where the Armenian loans (*ganj*, *plinj*, *brinj*) presuppose Middle Iranian forms with -na.<sup>12</sup> Some of them are attested, notably *gnz*, possibly *brnzn* and *gwrznc* = \**gurinz*.<sup>13</sup>

Of such words there is only one that possesses cognates in which the sibilant precedes the nasal: that is Armenian *ganj* "treasure". Middle Pers. (etc.) *gnz* = *ganz* contrasts with Parthian (etc.) *gan* = *ganz*. Indeed, the forms with -zn- are widely distributed; they are found, beside in Parthian, in Sogdian (*yan-*), in the unknown Eastern Iranian language that was responsible for the name of *Ghazna*, and by inference, if H. W. Bailey's

<sup>9</sup> An unambiguous occurrence in *Pahlavi Texts* 30<sup>41</sup> (= *Khorrou* and page 440).

<sup>10</sup> A noteworthy, but unsuccessful, effort was made by de Lagarde, *Ger. Abh.*, 57. Bailey and Gershevitch, *loc. cit.*, considered a loss *ī* (similar to that in the Baluchi form). However, any derivation from MPers. would leave Arm. -j unexplained (MPers. -īč would appear as -īč in Arm.).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *BSOAS.*, x, 510.

<sup>12</sup> Hübnermann, *Pers. Stud.* 231 19; cf. Bolognec, *Fonti dial. d. imprēstīti irānīci in arm.*, 49.

<sup>13</sup> See *Sogdica*, 39, 45. In an unpublished fragment of MS. h (pp. 38-39), M 4264, occurs *brnc* = *ryz*, clearly "rice" (cf. *Sogd. ryz* 'kh', *BSOAS.*, xi, 724).

suggestion (*Arca. Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 15) is accepted,<sup>12</sup> in Khwarezmian (*yādk* "rich" with *-zd-* < *-zn-*) and Ossetic (*yāzduk*). *Ganz*, in contrast, belongs only to the western edge of the Iranian field. The distribution compels the assumption that *ganz-* is the general Iranian form, but *gana* a product of metathesis in some Western dialect. It is remarkable that both E. Benveniste (*J.A.*, 1935, 141 sq.) and H. W. Bailey (*Arca.*, 15) have expressed precisely the contrary opinion. Possibly the great currency of *ganz-* and its derivatives in foreign languages has produced that presumption of its originality. It was caused by the adoption of *ganz-* into the language of the Achaemenian administration, by whose agency it migrated far and wide into almost all Semitic languages (*ganzā*, *ginzā*, *ganzā*, *kanz*, etc.), into Armenian, Greek (γᾶζα, γαζοῦμαζ),<sup>13</sup> Sanskrit (*gañja*), even as far as Krorayin (*gañji* = *gañji*). One should consider the following points: (1) Sogd. etc. *γ-* attests ancient possession; (2) *-nz-* is not altered in Sogd. (e.g., *šβ'nz*, *'nz'n-*), where in the corresponding voiceless group *n* on the contrary tends to precede (see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, 66 § 435 on *-nz-* from *-sn-*); (3) *-nz-* in Parthian may be replaced by *-nj-* (see 'njng- above); (4) a metathesis of *-nz-* into *-sn-* is unknown in Iranian; (5) a metathesis of *-sn-* into *-nz-* is known, e.g., in Ossetic (Digor *yāvanz* : general Ir. *gavanzn-*).<sup>14</sup>

The presence of *ganz* in Manichaean Middle Persian, dialectologically the purest type of "Persian", should not delude us into attributing the metathesis of *-sn-* to *-nz-* to the Persian branch of the Western Iranian languages; for it is long established that in that branch Ir. *-zn-* appears as *-šn-*. Middle Persian naturally inherited the word from Old Persian, where *ganza-* must have been a loanword. As is well known, the administrative vocabulary of Old Persian was largely borrowed from Median. It is, therefore, likely that *ganza-* originated in Media. This conclusion was reached long ago by Hübschmann,<sup>15</sup> on the basis of (far less evidence than we have now) our disposal; he rightly pointed to the name of the famous city of Atropatenian Media: *Ganzaca*.<sup>17</sup> We may, therefore, add the metathesis

<sup>12</sup> In *Mitteliranisch*, 109, n.1, I expressed dissent, on the ground that this word for "rich" was not confined to Ossetic; yet there is no reason why the development of *-sn-* to *-zd-* should not have been common to several Eastern Ir. languages.

<sup>13</sup> γαζοῦμαζ instead in the Greek text of the Great Inscription of Shapur I (line 66), doubtless under the influence of the Pahlavi version, in which *ganzabr*; here the Parthian version, too, has *ganbr* (line 28), against *ganbr* in uninfluenced Parthian (*BSOS.*, ix, 83). On the alleged *gnz* in the inscr. of Paikuli see *Mitteliranisch*, 71 n. 3.

<sup>14</sup> And probably Dig. *anz* "year" from *\*azna-*, see Miller, *Ostisch*, 36 sq., Benveniste, *Et. Ori.*, 42. The objections raised by Abarv, *Etim. Slor.*, are not cogent.

<sup>15</sup> *Pers. Stud.*, 232.

<sup>17</sup> Occasional forms with *-zn-* instead show that the metathesis was not universal in Media. M. Benveniste's assumption (*J.A.*, 1935, 142) that Arab historians had been induced by la célébrité de Ghazna to generalize *-zn-* comme pour affirmer l'identité onomastique des deux capitales hardly accords with their mood. At the time when *Ganzak* was familiar to the Arab conquerors they had not heard of *Ghazna*.



-sn- > -ns- to the short list of special features of the ancient Median<sup>18</sup> language.<sup>19</sup>

An incidental advantage of positing *gasn(a)-* as common Iranian is that the outcome of -sn- in most of the separate languages is well explored, thus Avestan -sn-, Old Pers. -fn-, etc. There can, therefore, be no doubt that we are entitled to claim classical Persian *gāsn* (with a secondary form *gāsan*) as the strictly Persian development of *gasn(a)-*. True, *gāsn* does not mean "treasure", but "plentiful, numerous" (so we say "a whole treasury full of"); yet this very deviation in meaning may account for its survival by the side of the imported *ganz*.

This excursus will, I hope, have justified itself now: the word for "treasure" is a guide to the history of the word for "coriander": Arm. *ganj*; Pers. *gāsn* as Arm. *ginj*; (M)Pers. *gīsn(-)*. The common Iranian form of the latter must have been *\*gīsn-*.

In order to restore the Old Iranian ancestral form of *\*gīsn-* we have to bear in mind that *g-* may not precede a front vowel in Old Ir. Most likely would be *\*grana-*; for an *r*-sonant later became -*ir* after velars (in most languages), and -*r-* tended to disappear before clusters of consonants: cf. e.g., MPers., Parth. *batn* from OIr. *barfn-* for loss of -*r-*, and MPers. *gyft* = *gift* "tied" from *\*grsta(graß-)*<sup>20</sup> for *gi-* from *gr-*. The Avestan equivalent of *\*grana-* would necessarily be *\*garana-*, and that may confidently be allied with the actual word *garana-*,<sup>21</sup> the initial sibilant of which has ever been regarded as adventitious and detachable by etymologists, who have compared with such words as Persian *gird* and Sogd. *ywrs*. All these words mean "round", "spherical" rather than "circular". The word for "coriander" is thus a simple adjective by origin, "round",<sup>22</sup> i.e., "the round (seed)", or, more expressively, with a diminutive suffix (as in *gīsnē*) "the little round (seed)". The name naturally envisages not the plant, but the seed; it is appropriate enough, for few things in nature are as determinedly spherical as the fresh fruit of coriander.

<sup>18</sup> Attention should be drawn here to the existence of -ns in final position in the later language of Azerbaijan. Among dialect verses by the mystic poet *Maghrībī*, of Tabriz, and half of 14th century, there is a quatrain which has *ans* as rhyme-word. Its meaning is regrettably not clear to me (possibly = "origin", from *\*dm-?*).—I owe my acquaintance with the *Maghrībī* verses to the kindness of Professor H. Ritter; their language resembles that used by Shaikh Sāfi (cf. *Transact. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 176).

<sup>19</sup> *madyan* (etc.) is, therefore, not Median in the narrow sense.

<sup>20</sup> *Le Muséon*, 50 (1937), 377.

<sup>21</sup> In view of the uncertainty of its origin (Bartholomae's explanation of its -*sn-* as from -*tim-* being generally favoured), we must reserve the possibility that *\*grana-* is secondary to *\*grma-*, such voicing of -(n)- being well-attested (e.g. Khot. *haymāta* from *framāta-*; Sogd. *ziādayd*, Parth. *zayf(h)r* from *zm-*, *BSOAS.* xiv, 447, n. 2; Pers. *zāyīdan* "to whine"; Av. *maōdant-*).

<sup>22</sup> In Middle Persian *\*gīsn-* "round" collided awkwardly with *gīsnak* "short, small" (read, almost correctly, *gāsnak*, cf. Zaeheer, *BSOS.* x, 616 sq.), which is represented by *gyfng* = *gīfng* in Man. Parthian and therefore cannot have yielded Median *\*gim-*.

The immediate source of the Chinese word, as Pulleyblank, *loc. cit.* 133, justly remarked, was probably Sogdian. In that language *grana-* should have become \**γr̥ani* (Nom.), tending to \**γr̥ni*.<sup>23</sup> This agrees well enough with the Old Chinese pronunciation assumed by Pulleyblank (hgh-snhwǝǝ). In particular, the existence of a cluster of consonants at the beginning of the second character has been confirmed; it had been postulated also by Karlgren, *Gramm. Ser. Rec.*, *g'o-snjwar* (49 a' or k' + 345 g). However, the posited Sogdian form shows no trace of the closing consonant claimed for Old Chinese; which may well have been lost by the time when the word for "coriander" entered the Chinese language.

*Postscript.* After completing this article I saw Professor Bailey's *Arya* in (*BSOAS.*, xxvi/1, 1963), the first section of which (pp. 69-72) deals with the same subject-matter. Our interpretations of some of the basic word-forms differ in a seemingly trifling, but actually essential point (*gañ-* or *giñ-* ?), hence our conclusions are also different; this circumstance has emboldened me to proceed with the publication of this article without introducing fresh changes. (A similarly awkward coincidence occurred with my last-preceding contribution in *Asia Major*, x/1, "The Kurdish Elm", which was closely paralleled by a long article by W. Eilers and M. Mayrhofer, "Kurdisch bür und die indogermanische 'Buchen'-Sippe", *Mitt. d. Anthropologischen Ges. in Wien*, xcii, 1962, 61-92; as I learn from Professor Mayrhofer it was published in July, 1963, the very month in which *Asia Major* x/1 was ready for publication, although it was distributed only on 11 September 1963.)

<sup>23</sup> On the fate of Old Ir. *r*-sonant in Sogdian see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, 19 sq. On account of the uncertainty alluded to above p. 198 n. 21 we may have to expect *γr̥(ʰ)ni* instead.



### The survival of an ancient term

Personal circumstances – chief among them a temporary lack of books – prevent me from writing for this volume a contribution that I could regard as a tribute sufficient to convey my feeling of admiration for G. Morgenstierne. His fine explanations of unknown or misunderstood Ancient Iranian terms from recondite modern dialect words would alone have secured him a place of honour among the leaders of Iranian studies; while in truth they form but a trifling side-line to his principal work. A casual annotation to his latest article (*A Loquist's Leg, Studies* ... Taqizadeh 208 n. 3 – the proofs of that volume constitute virtually the whole of the Iranistic literature in my disposal at present), in which the remarkable word *anya-zāta* 'a child begotten by a man other than a woman's husband' is added to the ancient Iranian vocabulary, furnishes a fresh and striking example of his powers.

In the same article, entitled "Feminine nouns in -a in Western Iranian dialects", Morgenstierne has the following entry: –

"Husband's sister: *resita* Sagzābād; *sesida* Ibrāhīmābād; *v'site* Tākištān, Vafā. – Etymology unknown. A reconstruction \**v'salabisi*/fā gives no useful associations" (205).

This strange word I had noticed once before, in the comprehensive material assembled by Dr. Yarshater on Tākištān and the related dialects spoken to the south and south-east of Qazvin, but had likewise not succeeded in finding its origin. A term of relationship of this rare kind would naturally be expected to yield its secret at the first glance: either it should continue an ancient word (which, however altered, would be immediately recognizable) or it should be a modern composition (which could not fail to be obvious).

It was only on meeting *v'site* again in Morgenstierne's article that it suddenly struck me that the word could well continue the Middle Iranian *visduxt* 'princess', or rather its ancient equivalent \**visā* *daxdā*. Phonologically there is no difficulty: 'daughter' appears variously as *titi*, *tele*, *titiye*, *titiā* etc. in that dialect group, and the expected compound \**visite* was likely to be simplified to *v'site* (by the replacement of -st- by -s(s)- common in Persian dialects and elaborately discussed by Bartholomae in a long paper in an early volume of ZII). The difficulty lies in the development of the meaning: 'princess' and 'husband's sister'.

Before discussing that problem it may not come amiss to cast a glance at the semantic change that has affected certain derivatives of the *visduxt*'s brother, of *vispuhr* 'prince'. After *visā* *puhra* had melted into a single word, and almost certainly only at the early Middle Iranian stage, a *v'pddhi*-adjective<sup>1</sup> was formed

<sup>1</sup> In favour of the assumption that the capacity of *v'pddhi*-formation survived into Middle Iranian, *špistān* 'eunuch' from *špistān* 'harem' has been cited, see Mittel-

■ Western Iran, \**vāspuhr*\*, later *vāspuhr*. This occurs in the Pahlavi *Sūr Sarran*, in the expression *pus ig vāspuhr* which designates the heir to the throne. It has been claimed that *vāspuhr* here means the same (or more or less the same) as *vīspuhr*. That is impossible because the phrase would then mean either 'the prince's son' (which would be absurd) or (less likely) 'the son who (is) (a) prince' (which could not well be used to single out the crown-prince from the multitude of rival princes); moreover, in Sassanian practice<sup>2</sup> ■ least *vīspuhr* was never used of the sons of the king while he was living, but only of his uncles, cousins etc. (the precise limitation being as yet unknown). Clearly, *vāspuhr* was an adjective and must have had a meaning of its own. The obvious meaning would be 'principal', in the sense of 'first in rank and importance' (*vāspuhr* : *vīspuhr* as principal : princeps/prince). When a speaker at a formal dinner party, after praising the ruling king, lauds ■ 'principal son', no one will doubt that he is talking of the 'crown-prince'.

From *vāspuhr* 'principal' a further adjective, of relation or reference, in *-akān* (i.e. *-aka-* + *-ana-*) was formed, *vāspuhrakān*\* (later *vāspuhragān*), which is common in Pahlavi and means 'special, particular'. This has further produced denominative verbs, *vāspuhrakān(ēn)ītan*, best rendered by the old-fashioned 'specificate', and the corresponding intransitive-passive *vāspuhrakānīhīstan*. The natural habitat of ■ these words is the semi-philosophical language of certain ninth-century Pahlavi works. Although *vāspuhrakān*, in its ordinary meaning, has left the sphere ■ princeliness altogether, ■ is capable of returning ■ in two instances; in both of them it appears 'substantivized'. Firstly, it may denote the 'special' friends of a king, his intimate associates; thus King Ardavan tells young Ardschir to go hunting with 'his sons and specials'. Here *vāspuhrakān* has universally been supposed to have the meaning of 'prince(s)' or 'sons(s)'

iranisch 45<sup>3</sup> (my reading of the seal-inscription discussed there has been adopted by V. G. Lukonin, *Iran v epoxy pervix sasanidov*, 1961, 47 - he describes it as "analogical" to his own -, but the two terms have once again been confused with each other).

<sup>2</sup> I find it difficult to accept Eilers' contention (*A Locust's Leg*, 55 sqq.) that such a fused form could have existed as early as the 5th century B.C. and therefore could underlie Babylonian *u-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ú*. The creation of Aramaic *br-byt* presupposes that the Iranian equivalent was still recognizable as a genitive-construction with two clearly separable elements. Furthermore, the second half, *-pi-it-ru-ú*, seems remote from the *-puhri* or *-puhriya* envisaged by Eilers (p. 60). By normal rules, such a Babylonian spelling, if rendering an Iranian term, would be expected to represent (approximately) \**hrdapidrāva*.

<sup>3</sup> Differently in Sogdiana. - The Sassanians presumably followed the model established in Persia in Achaemenian times. *Arānna*, the *br-byt*, e.g., was probably a grandson of Darius, a cousin to Artaxerxes I under whom he is first mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> It is on the whole less likely that this was directly derived from *vīspuhr*, because the existence of two mutually independent *vddhi*-formations from a single word is against probability. Nevertheless, it is possible, in view of the parallel Armenian *sep'akan* 'special' derived from *sepuh* 'prince' (from \**vāspuhr* from \**vīspuhr* with *-e-* from *-ah* as in Eastern Iranian), clearly on the model of *vāspuhrakān*; *vīspuhr*. The correct explanation of *sep'akan* was, I believe, first presented by H. S. Nyberg in ■ *Texte zum Mazdayasnischen Kalender*.

of noble houses<sup>5</sup>, but actually the ordinary meaning 'special' applies here as everywhere else (that a king's 'specials' are usually noblemen is another matter). Secondly, *vāspuhrakān* is used for the 'special', i.e. 'private', property of the king; this explains the name *Vaspurakan* of a province in Persarmenia, which thus proclaims itself a royal demesne of the Sassanian crown. It is possible that this last-mentioned sense is intended in a famous passage in the inscription by Kartir, which more than anything else has been responsible for the confusion in the study of this group of words: *PWN w'spuṭik'n*<sup>6</sup> perhaps = 'as crown-land'<sup>7</sup>.

It may be regarded as a confirmation of the opinion presented here on *vāspuhrakān* that in early Islamic times the Arabic word *khāṣṣ* 'special' came to be used for both the ruler's intimates (in Persian usually *khāṣṣān*, a hybrid plural of *khāṣṣ*) and his private property (Persian *māl-i khāṣṣ*). Evidently *khāṣṣ* is an adaptation of *vāspuhrakān* which equalled in its ordinary meaning, the replacement of a clumsy, obsolescent term, and was introduced to describe institutions of the Iranian state that were new to the Arab invaders.

To return now to the problem posed by Tākieštān *visite*, while it has proved possible to derive the meaning of *vāspuhr* and *vāspuhrakān* from that of 'prince', there seems to be no way to account for the devaluation of a 'princess' to a 'husband's sister'. To explain the curious differentiation we have to fall back on the original meaning of the group *visa duxtā*. Before those words came to designate a 'princess' - and this must have happened in Achaemenian times - the latest - they meant simply 'the daughter of the house'. To the bride entering her husband's family, his sister naturally was 'the daughter of the house' - *visite*; the term would be used only by the bride or by a person viewing her situation through her eyes. While all over Iran that phrase had long been restricted in sense to a title of royal ladies, the ancestors of those villagers, unaffected by cultural change and as if set apart from the flow of history, continued with its primordial meaning and preserved it intact to the present day, nearly a millennium beyond the time when both the ancient words for 'prince' and 'princess' had disappeared from all other Iranian languages<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> The same misunderstanding as that which affected the interpretation of *vāspuhr*.

<sup>6</sup> One of the mistakes provoked by this spelling was the inference that the word for 'prince' itself should be read with -š- in the first syllable (e.g. Hertzfeld, *Altper. Inschriften*, 354); and this in spite of contrary orthographs in many languages, among them Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian. As was pointed out in *Mitteliranisch*, 46, a nonideographic spelling occurs occasionally in inscriptional Pahlavi itself (*vāspuṭik*).

<sup>7</sup> Instead of 'in particular', as I translated in the preface to *The Inscription of Naqš-e Rostam*.

<sup>8</sup> D. N. MacKenzie, in his recent *Kurdish Dialect Studies*, ii, 376sq., has established *bişpôr* (*pişpôr*) as 'a child old enough to help about the house etc.'. This 'house-boy' who is a 'son of the house' at the same time is a further descendant of *visa puštra*; here, too, the aboriginal meaning has maintained itself. - *Korrekturnote*.





## A FORGOTTEN AVESTAN WORD

The principal witness for Bartholomae's rule that the Indo-Iranian voiceless palatal aspirate (*č'*) became *š* in Iranian was Avestan *šənam* "(etwa) Grabscheit", which he allocated to the Indo-Iranian base *k'an-* "to dig" and compared with Sanskrit *khanitra-* "shovel"; his other examples were either dubious or open to a different explanation (*Grundriss Ir. Phil.*, i/1, p. 8 § 12). The weakness of the rule was pointed out at once by Hübschmann in his review of Bartholomae's *Vorgeschichte der iranischen Sprachen: Indogerm. Forsch.*, Anzeiger 6, p. 32.

The trouble with *šənam* is that such a word does not exist at all. What exists is merely a form *šənm*, and that is found, not in any Avestan text, but only in the Avestan-Pahlavi glossary, *Frahang-i Oim*, ch. 5. Since no Avestan word may end in *-nm*, the first editors of that glossary felt impelled to improve on nature and gave a look of respectability to the form by inserting a vowel between *n* and *m*: hence *šənam*, Hosheng-Jamasp and Haug, *Zand-Pahl. Gloss.*, p. 59. The true spelling was restored by Reichelt in his edition (p. 21) and accepted by Bartholomae for his dictionary (col. 1708).

Not only the form of *šənm*, but its supposed meaning, too, was wrong. In the *Frahang-i Oim* *šənm* is translated by Pahl. *təg* (*təγ*): in saying that we have produced all the evidence there is for the meaning of that word. Since *təg* does not designate digging tools, the meaning "Grabscheit" is baseless and consequently the combination with *khan-* cannot be maintained: so already Hübschmann, *loc. cit.* The double disappointment made Bartholomae print so restrained an entry for *šənm* in his dictionary that the word has been lost from sight ever since.

The usual meaning of *təγ* (*tīγ*) in Persian is "sword", but originally it must have been "the blade (of the sword)".

The derivative *tāya* (*tīya*) does indeed mean "blade"; *tāy* (*tīy*) is now used also of a "razor". In earlier days the word designated a cutting edge generally, cf. Av. *bitāya* "two-edged". In Middle Iranian it referred with preference to the sharp edge of the lance or spear: that is indicated by the Armenian loanword *tīg* "spearhead" and was justly assumed for Pahlavi by the late J. C. Tavadia in his work on the *Šāyist-nišāyist*, x 8, p. 129.

It may then be regarded as established that the glossator of the *Prahang-i Oim* attributed to *šnum* the meaning "cutting edge/blade/spearhead". While one has to bear in mind the possibility that the glossator obtained the word from an Avestan text now lost, it is not necessary to make such an assumption. We have already seen that *šnum* is not a correct Avestan word: yet it is perfectly possible as part of a word. It is well-known that the ancient interpreters of the Avesta frequently differed from their modern successors in the division of words; the *Prahang-i Oim* is particularly full of cases of that kind. Indeed, *šnum* can only be understood as an incomplete word: "emending" it merely destroys the recognition of the truth.

If we look now for an Avestan passage from which *šnum* can have been abstracted, we shall find it at once; and we shall also find that there is but one such passage in the whole of Avestan scripture: that is *Mihr Yasht* 24 :-

*nōit dim arštōiš huxšnulayā*

*nōit išaoš para padwatū*

*ava ašnaviti šanmaoyō...*

The glossator, or his authority, had a variant reading \**šnumaoyō* (which is permissible, cf. Bartholomae, *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, i/1, p. 173 § 2:8 i/1 a) in his text, which, it must be remembered, preceded the date of our Yasht manuscripts by many centuries, and divided it, wrongly from our point of view, into *šnum* and *aoyō*.

Applying a meaning consonant with Pahl. *tā*; ■ *šanmaoyō*, as recommended by traditional scholarship, one obtains the following translation of the lines in the *Mihr Yasht* :—

"No one will hit him—

With the edge(s) of the well-whetted spear (head),

With the edge(s) of the barbed (?) arrow (head).....".

Hitherto, in the absence of other evidence, translators have had to rely on guessing from the context, aided by the murky light of etymology; none of the various proposals (thrust, throw, blow) seems ■ have brought entire satisfaction, see the discussion by I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan hymn to Mithra*, 178 sq., 183, 192. However critical one may be towards the Tradition, as contained in Pahlavi translations, there ■ no denying that it has often preserved the true meaning of word-stems even where it failed (as it did here) in the grammatical analysis. Purely on the basis of experience I should claim that a Pahlavi translation sets up a presumption of verity that holds until ■ is displaced by argument. The sovereign attitude advocated by P. Thieme, *BSOAS*, xxiii, 270, seems to me to leave too much room for individual preference.

The mind of the prospective victim of a spear (or arrow) is understandably fastened on the razor-sharp edge of its warhead: *arštōiē* *\*šanmana* (*šanmaoyō*) corresponds precisely with the common Armenian phrase *i tēg (tāg) nizaki (nizakac)*. The epithet of *aršti*, *huzēnuta-* "well-whetted", shows already that the author was thinking more of the spear-head than of the spear as a whole; cf. also verse 130 in the same *Yasht*, where *aršti-* is accompanied by *brōiθrō-tāzēa-* "sharp at the cutting edge", which conveys a similar idea.

It is an axiom that questions of etymology must not be broached till meaning be established. On *šanman-* Bartholomae (*Air. Wb.*, s.v.) confined himself to pointing out that *-um-* reflected earlier *-dm-*. That was sound and should have been retained; but it was neglected by all proponents of etymologies, including (I regret to say) myself (*Sogdica*, p. 24). Initial

ś- normally represents earlier ṣ- = Sanskrit kṣ-. Thus, if one were to construct a Sanskrit equivalent of śanman-, one would obtain \*kṣadman-. It is pleasurable to discover that no asterisk is needed for that form: it exists and has a meaning close enough to that of its Avestan counterpart. The word was evidently as obsolescent in India in ancient times as it was in Iran; it is confined to the Rigveda. In the Avesta śanman- is a part of a spear or arrow; in the clearest of the three Rigvedic occurrences of kṣadman-, i 130. 4, it elucidates the nature of a supernatural weapon, Indra's terrible vajra:—

*dādrhāno vajram indro gabhastyoḥ  
kṣadmaneva tigmam asanīya san-tyat*

"Holding the vajra firmly in both hands  
Indra whetted it for throwing,  
Sharp as a kṣadman ....."

Translators give "knife" or "carving knife". The vajra-becomes, to say, *kuxānuta-*. As śanman- was defined by *tāy* in the Pahlavi translation, so kṣadman- is described by the related word *tigma-* "sharp" in the Rigveda.

*Addendum.* Too late I discover, through a notice by I. Gershevitch, *BSOAS.*, xxvi/1, 1963, 196, that H. Humbach in *Die Kaniška-Inschrift von Surkh-Kotal*, 26 (a book I must confess I did not read beyond its first pages) has already drawn a comparison between Av. śanman- and Vedic kṣadman- (on purely etymological grounds). It is a pleasure to find myself for once in agreement with the German scholar, with whom otherwise I seem to have little common ground.—Gershevitch, *loc. cit.*, doubts the proposed equation on account of Ossetic *āxiādyn*. Yet that Oss. verb ("to winnow, weed, clean") and the Sanskrit verb kṣad- ("to eat or drink, feed") are remote from each other in their meanings; and the meaning of kṣadman- (usually derived from the Sanskrit verb by semantic artifice) is remote from either.

## A GRAIN OF MUSTARD

*In memoriam*  
Dr. B. Schindler

## I.

Some years ago the strange-looking Sogdian word *lyuṣpōn*, a *hapax* occurring in a fragment of the *Padmacintāmañdhārāṇī-sūtra* (ed. F. W. K. Müller, *Sb. P. A. W.* 6, 1926, p. 4 line 29), was identified with 白芥 'white mustard' and compared with Khotanese Saka *taṣṭm*, *B.S.O.A.S.* 6, xi, 724'. Further study has brought to light an apparent cognate in the Parthian language; it is found in a hitherto neglected Manichaean fragment, T ii D 162<sup>1</sup>; one of its two pages (i) is published here in full, in order to give a clear idea of the context in which the word stands. The page has as headline: (verso) *knjft jydg'n* (recto) *rxwn*, probably 'Completed: the discourse on the lives'; it thus contains the closing portion of a chapter or homily.

T ii D 162 i

(recto, 1st col.)<sup>2</sup> (1) 'wd 'c tmyg 'dwr

[A line left blank]

<sup>1</sup> *rya'kh*, discussed there, has now been confirmed as 'rice', see *Asia Major* 6, x, 176 n. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Now numbered M 6020, see H. Boyce, *Catalogue*, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *jydg* occurs several times, as a rule in hendiadys with *jywh*; cf. Av. *jiti-*, Ardabili *žyr*, *Tr. Phil. Soc.* 9, 1954, 176 n. 4. There is, however, an ornamented point just above -d-, which recommends reading *jyrg'n* instead (as indeed assumed by Dr. Boyce, loc. cit.); yet *jyrg* 'wise' has not been met with elsewhere, in Parthian.

<sup>4</sup> {Uncertain letters}, [restored letters].

(2) ['wð hw mrdwh]m ky pd (3) [dyn]bryft '3tyd 'wð<sup>ic</sup> (4) z'nyndyb kw cw'gwn (5) 'stym pd rw'n [.....] (6) hw 'sp's cy 'w (7) dyn'br'n pw'g'n kryd (8) oo 'wð z'nyndyb hw b'r (9) cy 'c d'hw'n z'yyd (10) 'b'w ■ hmg qdg (11) zmyn 'wd mwrgr'rydyyn (13) bwyndyb 'wð rw'n r'■ (13) dhyndyb 'b'wð ny (14) c'r 'bxð'h'd oo '[wð 'g?]' (15) 'wb kwð pyd cy [pd] (16) tnb'r 'st ngn p[wxt] (17) kryd šhyndyb 'wð [pd] (18) wxybyb dñt fr[jnyndyb] (19) 'wð 'w dy[n'br'n] (20) dhyndyb [(21) c'r z'n'd (22) cy p[ (23) šh[

[Remainder of column lost]

(recto, 2nd col.) (24) pwnw'r 'st'nyndyb (25) cw'gwn qwf 'yw wzrg (26) 'wð bwj'd šhyndyb (27) 'b'wð wxrd c'r oo hm (28) wxd bwxsyd 'wð 'w (29) hw[yc] (b)wjyd kyð pwnw'r (30) d'd oo 'wð 'hy wzynd y'dyd (31) 'w (b)g'n 'r'm oo oo (32) 'wð ky pwnw'r 'st'ndy<sup>ic</sup> (33) cwad šyfð'n 'yw š (34) bwj'd ny šhyn[dyyb] (35) 'b'wð 'frdr (g)[.....] (36) 'wð nw[ (37) 'dw(r) |

[Remainder of column lost]

(verso, 1st col.) (38) ky wxybyb twxmn pd (39) hz'r 'db'g wynd'b

[Two lines left blank]

(40) 'wð hw mrdwhm ky (41) kryd drwg p[ (bwt) ('wð (42) fryðtg 'wð dyn 'nd'syd (43) 'wð cxs'byd '(m)xyyd (44) p[ wzrg šrm 'wð trs (45) w'st bwyd prw'n (46) [d'db]r r'štygr 'wð (47) [.....]yd 'rws'd oo 'wð (48) ].tw 'yy (49) [sxwn

[Remainder of column lost]

(verso, 2nd col.) (50) tnb'r wxrd oo 'wð (51) b'd b'd gwð frjnynd (52) 'wð b'd [b'd] ('z)[b'n] (53) pšqsg ' hnjy[nynd oo] (54) pd hm 'bdyn wysp (55) [hnd'] (m) frjnynd oo 'wð (56) b'd b'd rwd (w)dxgtg 'w (57) rwm b t'cynd u 'swn (58) tftg wxrdn dhynd 'wð (59) 'swyn myx 'w gwð (60) jnynd oo 'wð ky šhyyd (61) w'xtn 'spwr bzg (62) gñt tn(n)g = dyjw'ryft (63) cy wyd'ry(d) hw dwðfr (64) ['wð] 'w'wryg mrdwhm (65) [ky dy](n) (p)w'g 'gwdyd oo oo (66)

\* Possibly two words, *pf qg*.

[hyc?] frwx hw mrdwhm (67) [ky dy](n) pw'g u ccs'byd (68)  
[.....] 'spwr d'r'h oo (69) [(m) cy ny (70) ]ny y'wd'n (71) ](p)wn  
qryd (72) 'w]rjwg (73) ]yd

*Translation*

\*....and from the fire of Hell.

And the man<sup>1</sup> who is in the Dēnāvariyya<sup>2</sup> should<sup>3</sup> know how the service that he performs for the pure Dēnāvars<sup>4</sup> ultimately [accrues?] to the Soul; and should understand the fruits that are born out of the gifts: then, even if his whole house were of gold and pearls and he gave it (to the Church) for the sake of the Soul, he would not necessarily receive forgiveness. And [if it were] so that he could [bake] the flesh that is on his body into bread and would [cut] it with his own hand and give it to the Dēnāvars,...he should know ... what...<sup>5</sup>.

[Half = column missing]

....[he who] would take \*alms-food as (much as) a big mountain and could redeem it, should eat it: he himself will be saved, he will also save him who gave him the \*alms-food, and it<sup>6</sup> will reach the home of the gods unharmed. And he who would take

<sup>1</sup> The *auditor* (lay member of the church).

<sup>2</sup> The (Eastern) Manichaean church.

<sup>3</sup> Preceded by 'wd' and ', which may be an error for 'wd' 'so'.

<sup>4</sup> The *electi* (clerics).

<sup>5</sup> The passage illustrates the Manichaean ἀντιπαρβολία (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, 7, 1465 C): not even the greatest gifts or sacrifices extinguish sins against the 'Living Soul' (i.e., the divine substance scattered in the world). Actions are followed by retribution, which is governed by a mechanical law of cause and effect. Yet Mani found himself compelled to allow several exceptions: joining the Manichaean church cancelled all previous sins (merely suspended them in case of relapse); and up to four fifths of the minor sins committed by laymen could be forgiven in return for faithful service (see *Det- und Brichbuch*, 12 sq.; *Kephalaia*, 231 sqq.). In chapter 115 of the *Kephalaia* Mani even concedes the effectiveness of prayers for the souls of the dead, provided they are accompanied by generous gifts to the church.

<sup>6</sup> Or: he. The implied subject is probably the 'Living Soul' contained in the food.



\*alms-food as much as a single \*grain of mustard but could not redeem it, then...better for him...fire....

[Two thirds of a column missing]

....who will find his seed-grain multiplied a thousandfold<sup>1</sup>.

And the man who breaks faith<sup>2</sup> with the Buddha and Apostle and leaves the Church and violates<sup>3</sup> the commandments will be led, in great shame and fear, before the Just Judge, and he [cannot] turn [aside]. To him [the Judge will say:] you are.... the word....

[Two thirds of a column missing]

....to eat his body. And time and again they cut off<sup>4</sup> his ears, and time and again they hack<sup>1</sup> his tongue (?) into \*slices, and in the same manner they cut all his limbs. And time and again they pour molten copper into his mouth and give him glowing-hot iron to eat and drive iron nails into his ears—who can wholly describe the wicked, horrible distress and suffering which that unfortunate unbeliever who soils<sup>5</sup> the pure religion must undergo?

<sup>1</sup> \**db'g* (a new word), cf. Khwar. *db'g*, \**db'g* 'fold' (mostly preceded by numerals, as *ty db'g* 'treble'). Hence, Sogd. *aydb'g* 'exposition' means 'unfolding' by etymology, in best accord with *aydb'g* 'unfolding (as a flower)' (BBB, p. 87). Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag' may belong here (as something that can be folded and unfolded), and Av. *-dhwata-* may mean 'fold and unfold' in *Vt.*, 14, 45, just as well as 'flatten'.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. 'who does lies' (*drōy*) *in/at*, with an ancient turn *in* phrase.

<sup>3</sup> \**me-* at last supplies the present of the common Parthian verb \**mšn* 'to break'. Cf. Orm. *maz-* *malt-*, Khwar. *miz* *mat-*, etc., see *Z. Velidi Tegan* *Vol.*, 435.

<sup>4</sup> The close agreement in meaning with Old Persian *frajan-* is noteworthy.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling of *hnyj[n]* = MPers. *hnyrn-* (\*Z.I.1. v. ix, 202<sup>as</sup>) = Pers. *anjrn-* *anjrd* 'cut into pieces' disproves the derivation from *\*i-*. The meaning does not favour connection with OIr. *fyā-* 'diminish, end'. More likely from *ayd-* 'deprive, violate' (*zind-* *zita-*), with secondary *-nyj-* as explained in 'Asia Major', x, 196.

<sup>6</sup> \**gud-* (another new word) should mean 'to soil' and constitute the present of *\*gust*, which hitherto has been translated as 'suspended' (like MPers. *\*gust*, Pahl. *\*gust*); but in Parthian 'suspended' is actually *\*gust* ('*\*gust*). The true meaning of *\*gust* is shown by the abstract *\*gusteyst*, the sixth of the

Fortunate is the man that can completely keep...the pure religion and the commandments...because not...not ever... he does *puṇya*,...lust....

## 11.

We have first to determine the meaning of *puṇw'r*, which occurs here three times (lines 24, 29, 32), but nowhere else. It appears to be a special term for the principal part of the gifts which the Manichaean laymen had to supply to the clerics. Those gifts, generally referred to as 'soul-work, soul-service' (*raḍ-nagōn*, Turk. *ñisütlüg is*, cf. \* J.R.A.S. 9, 1944, 143 n. 6) or 'alms' (as Turk. *puṣi*) or just 'gifts', consisted of (1) food, (2) clothing, and (3) shelter. *Puṇw'r*, it seems, is restricted to the 'food', which the laymen had to select and prepare with great care and to serve ■ the cleric with some circumstance at his sole daily meal, at nightfall; in the Coptic Manichaica we have sometimes τρῶφι for this, in the Sogdian confession book the Middle Persian term *xw'nyad'n* 'God's table'.

Only that was selected as fit food which was deemed to be full of the 'Living Soul'—especially those cucumbers Mani so frequently mentions with evident tenderness; for the 'Living Soul' in the ground, ever striving upward, used the vegetation as avenue of escape from bondage and concentrated ■ the tips of the branches in golden fruit. It was the function of the Manichaean cleric to complete the good work by eating the fruit: in his own person he was, as it were, ■ filter, capable of separating

twelve dark *šakrdārīst*: it corresponds with *l'impureté* ■ the Chinese *Traité*, Chavannes-Pelliot 540 [44], line 10. The word also existed in Sogdian: "ywnst Dhyāna 397, which, as F. Weller has shown, translates 𐰽𐰺𐰍 'muddy, dirty' (not to be confused with "ywnst- 'to cover', pres. "ywnst- to which "y'wst belongs as noun, cf. *BBB.*, p. 76). We can now recognize MPers. 'grā- 'in soil' (wrongly explained \*Z.I.I., ix, 169) ■ the MPers. equivalent ■ Parthian 'grōd-.

' The origin of *puṇw'r* is obscure. Conceivably a compound of *puṇ* = *puṇya* and *w'r* 'food' (which, although not attested in Parthian, may ■ safely presumed), with simplification of the resulting three-consonant cluster (*puw*; similarly in Parth. *dyjw'r*; cf. also *niṣaw'r*, the arabicized form of Pers. *niṣṣaw'r*); the meaning would be 'merit-food' (food given ■ acquire merit).

the last impurities and sending the «Living Soul», together with his prayers, up to the higher regions, to its place of origin.

The task of thus «redeeming» (or «releasing») the «Living Soul» embedded in his food could be accomplished by the cleric only if he himself was a fit vessel: if he was not, but nevertheless accepted the proffered gift, he was guilty of the gravest crime; for he became the instrument of turning the «Living Soul» back from its ascent, just when after cycles of suffering it was about to throw off the shackles of restraint. The Manichaean layman was considered an accomplice in that crime, and thus tended to exercise circumspection in his charity (thereby providing the enemies of his creed with ammunition). The responsibilities and considerations involved are known from other texts, see especially Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, 573 [77], 582 [86] sq.; van Le Coq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 29; Türk. *Xwâstwadnîst*, ch. xi, and Bang's note «Le Muséon», xxxvi, 215; *Kephalaia*, 217; *Bet- und Beichtbuch*, 16, 41, 50 sq.; Baur, 286-88.

The amount of the *pumw'r*, our text tells us, is of no true importance: what matters is the purity of the recipient. Here we find contrasting statements of quantity: «as much as a big mountain» on the one hand, «a single *fyfîd'n*» on the other. Evidently *fyfîd'n* functions as «the smallest measurable thing»; from ancient times, that was popularly held to be, with preference, a grain of mustard. Mark 4, 31 ὡς κόκκος σινάπεως . . . μικρότερον ὅν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Alcoran xxi 48 «We shall make ready true scales against the day of resurrection that none suffer injustice in anything; and ■ it be the measure of a grain of mustard-seed we shall bring in and suffice as accountant». Even in Chinese Buddhist works, ■ the formula «who puts the smallest imaginable relic of the Buddha into the smallest imaginable *stûpa* etc.», we sometimes find the «grain of mustard» (for the relic); thus F. W. K. Müller in his *Zwei Pfahlschriften*, 1915, p. 14, quoted two passages, both texts translated from Sanskrit, one in A.D. 557, the other still in Han times (in each 芥子). A verse by the Persian poet Sa'dî (13th century):

*z-ân ganjâ-yi ni'mat u xarvârâ-yi mâl*  
*bâ x'êstan ba-gôr na-burdand xardat-ê*  
 «Of those treasures of wealth,

those ass-loads of riches,  
not one grain of mustard-seed  
have they brought into their graves \*'.

### III.

The meaning being established, we can now confidently compare *šyšd'n* with Sogd. *šywšpōn* and Khot. *šasvūm*. The Parthian manifestly contains *-dān* 'grain', which is reflected in Sogd. by *-ōn*, with regular shortening, and in Khot. by *-ām*, with loss of *-d-* in (former) intervocalic position<sup>1</sup>. Hence, 'mustard' by itself was *šyšt-*, *šywšp-*, and *šasv-* respectively. Essentially, these words consist of two identical sibilants and a labial; plainly we can associate with them Sanskrit *saṛṣapa-*<sup>2</sup>, which is distinguished merely by an additional *-r-*, an element of lesser import. These words are not necessarily cognates in the usual sense, as sharing a common origin in Indo-Iranian; nor is any one of them a loanword borrowed from any one of the others.

Sogdian indicates that the labial in Iranian was *-p-*, Khotanese that it was once preceded by a vowel; thus the second syllable was *-sap-* (disregarding the nature of the sibilant), agreeing with Sanskrit. In Parthian, the vowel of the second syllable was lost, through the effect of a stress accent on the first, so that contact between the sibilant and *-p-* was established, and *-šp-* was transposed into *-št-* (*\*ššap > ššp > ššt*). This type of transposition, sibilant + labial (plosive): labial (spirant) + sibilant, is common in many Iranian languages, in either direction. E.g., Oss. *ššdān*

<sup>1</sup> *Maund's* ed. Furughi (1320), p. 11 line 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 8, 1952, 64, quotes *šānōdān* 'hemp' as from *\*šānōdān-*, so that *-dān* would be represented by *-vām*. There is no need for such an assumption in the case of *šasvūm* where a labial was present in any case. If the proposed meaning of *šānōdān* is confirmed, one would compare Persian *šā(h)dāne* 'hemp-seed' in the first place.

<sup>3</sup> Also used in Sogdian, in translated texts of Indian origin (*P* 14, 5; = *Padm.* 43); Pers. *šaršāp*, hardly used outside of Indian Persian, is a very recent lw. from Skt.

'iron': Khwar. *ispani* < \**ansuan(i)-*¹; Pers. *xuspa* 'sleep': Av. *xʷafsa*; Sogd. 'rōyīp' 'banner': Av. *drafta-*; Khwar. *sprēm* 'shame': Av. *fšarəma-*². On occasion it is not easily possible to say which the original group is; an example is the Sogdian word for 'wedding', which appears with both *-fš-* and *-pt-* in one and the same language³. To account for the sibilants we have to assume earlier initial dental *s-* which became palatal through the effect of a front vowel and assimilated the second sibilant: hence \**sisap/* *sīsap*, or the like, may provisionally serve as the prototype from which the three Iranian forms descended.

Those belonged to languages spoken in the east (or north-east) of the Caspian Gates. To the west, in Persian, we find *ripanddn* for 'mustard'. It is used also for \**Lepidium sativum*\* (garden cress, garden pepper-grass) which the Persians regarded

¹ Cf. Kucheian *ācuwa* 'iron', *ācuwāne* 'of iron' (with *ācu-* from \**end-*). These have already been compared by W. Bailey with the Iranian word, which he posits as \**aruanya-*, \* B.S.O.A.S. i, xix, sq., and further allied with Sogd. 'yntyynē (and a Khot. term), which is found but once in an obscure context (P 119). One doubts whether *kyt* there can mean 'knife'; for the text speaks of the preparation of an eye-lotion. Until further evidence comes to hand, I prefer taking 'yntyynē as an adjective of substance from \**yntku =* \**ingu* from OIr. \**hingu*, which was borrowed by Skt. as *hingu-* and became *angu-* in Mlr. by normal development (Pers. *angu-šad*, *angu-yān*). In that word, however, Bailey assumes \**angu-* as the original Ir. form, \* B.S.O.A.S. i, xx, 50. On the gradual importation of *hingu-* into India, from Jāguda = Zabul, its country of origin, see Sylvain Lévi, \* J.A. i, 1915, 1, 82-89. On the use of \**Asa foetida*\* in eye diseases (as recommended in the Sogdian text) cf. Muwaffaq, pp. (āb andar ialm 'cataract').

² MPers. *hšpyrd* was derived from *fšar-* 'shame' by C. J. Ogden, \* J.A.O.S. i, 58, 331 sq., but seems to mean 'pressed, compressed' and thus is the ancestor of Pers. *afšard*. A present comparable to *hšpyr-* existed in Persian, too, although dictionaries and grammars know only *afšār-* (Pahl. *hšfšār-*); e.g. Nāqir-i Khusrau, *Wajh-i Din* (Berlin 1343), line 10, *angūr-rd cūn bīyafširand 'ašr anū būrūn āyad* 'when they press grapes, the juice comes out'. Whether *hšfšār* descends from *ham + šar* (as proposed \* Z.I.I. i, ix, 181) or *ham + fšar*, cannot be inferred from that form by itself; Oss. *dfšār-* is hardly decisive. According to Bailey, \* B.S.O.A.S. i, xxi, 542 sqq., 'press' and 'shame' belong to the same base *fšar-*. Benveniste, \* J.A. i, 1954, 303, favoured *šar-* (for Pers. *afšard*) and pointed to Pahl. Ps. *nd'fšay*, which would prove *šar-*, provided the translator, in unvocalized text, mistook Syr. *hšfšā* 'footstool' for *kubššā* 'pressure, suppression'.

³ *βy'n'yfš-*, *βy'nyfš-* etc. It is hoped to discuss this elsewhere.

as a kind of mustard<sup>2</sup>; for that we meet occasionally with the diminutive *sipandān*<sup>3</sup>. Beside *sipandān* there existed *ispandān* (thus al-Beruni), in accord with wellworn analogies, and either could be spelt with *-f-* in the Arabic fashion. There was further a short form, *sipand* (*isp-*, *sif-*, *isf-*), which occurs principally in a compound with the adjective 'white', evidently to describe the variety of mustard most familiar to us, «*Sinapis alba*», which was comparatively little known and used in the countries of the Middle East<sup>4</sup>. Muwaffaq spells it سفند اسفند *sapēb-isfand*, 107<sup>5</sup>, 108<sup>7</sup>, and defines it as *xardal-i bābīlī* «*Babylonian mustard*». In the *K. Malikī*, ed. Bulaq ii 527<sup>10</sup>, we find the following series<sup>6</sup>:  
 بزر فلاسفس وهو الحرف وهو الاسفند اسفند ای الحرف الایض البابی  
 «seed of *φλάσπικ*, which is *hurf*, which is «*isfīd-isfand*, viz. white Babylonian mustard». The author of *Tuhfe-yi Ḥakīm Mu'min* says briefly «they call the white kind of mustard *isfand-sfīd* (read *isfīd-sifand*), which is white *hurf*»<sup>7</sup>.

## IV.

We are now prepared to consider the question whether mustard was mentioned in the Avesta. It does not occur in our present text, but unless the Pahlavi translators made a bad mistake it

<sup>2</sup> Thus Maidānī (*Ar-sāmt fi'l-asāmī*) gives *sipandān* for *ḥabb ar-raḥd* («*Lep. sat.*»), *sipandān-i gandī* «evil-smelling mustard» for *hurf* («*Lepidium*»), *sipandān-i xurd* = *xard* «small and fine (?) mustard» for *xardal*. Al-Beruni, too, has *ispandān-i suāl* as the Persian equivalent of *xardal* (mustard).

<sup>3</sup> Thus in *K. al-abniyak* 87<sup>3</sup>, = *hurf* = *ḥabb ar-raḥd*. Muwaffaq in addition gives an otherwise unknown Persian name, *tavan-tarre*. Its second half, *tarre*, does occur elsewhere in this sense, see Löw, *Aravn. Pfl.*, 397, and a (relatively) recent Persian term, *tarrs-tīnak* or shortened *tartīnak*, has often been defined as «*Lepidium sativum*» (although strictly it is considered the equivalent of *Ar. jirjir* = *Eruca sativa* = Lamk., «rocket»). To infer that *tavan* should share the meaning of *tīnak*, i.e. «sharp», may be rash (perhaps «hot», from *tap-*?).

<sup>4</sup> The variety there preferred is universally described as «red». Laufer dealt with the introduction of the white kind into China, *Sino-iranica* 380. Cf. also E. H. Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 151 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the spellings are corrupt; cf. Löw, loc. cit., 396.

<sup>6</sup> There is great confusion about *hurf* in the books on pharmacology; see e.g. Maimonides, *Asmā' u'l-'Uḡār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, No. 163.

should have stood in a well-known passage of the lost *Dāmdāt-Nask*. When the Primordial Bull died, various useful plants sprouted from his remains: the *Nask* contained a detailed list, in which plants were paired with parts of his body, and that list is reproduced, at least in part, in the *Bundahishn* and *Zātspram*. 'From his lungs, we read, (grew) mustard (*sipandān*)<sup>1</sup>, for the healing of lung-diseases of cattle (*gōspandān*)<sup>2</sup>, *Zsp.*, 32<sup>3</sup> (= ix § 5 West). In the *Bundahishn* (*Gr. Bd.*, 93<sup>4</sup> = *Ind. Bd.*, 28<sup>111</sup>) the strange etiology is omitted: it is clearly the work of the Pahlavi translator who (as so often) relied on the similarity of words. Since mustard was never regarded as a specific for lung-troubles (as far as I know), nor has any other discernible relationship with lungs, why then did the Avestan author pair the lungs with mustard, of all things? The obvious answer to that question is that his mind worked in the same way as the Pahlavi translator's mind, in other words: that he had found that the terms for 'lungs' and 'mustard' resembled each other in his language. 'Lungs' being *sufi* in Avestan, the probability becomes considerable that the designation of 'mustard' was not unlike the Eastern Iranian words previously discussed here. Taking our cue from Sogdian *šywšp-*, we could then restore the line of the *Dāmdāt-Nask* in this way:

*hača sufībya šywšpō.*

It is disconcerting to find that all modern scholars, with rare unanimity, have interpreted this text differently and discovered a reference to the 'wild rue' here. By mischance the names of that plant and of mustard are almost indistinguishable in Persian: *sipand* (*sif-*, *isp-*, normal form now *isfand*) = *Peganum harmala*. For almost two hundred years, from Anquetil (as I see from Lagarde, *Gas. Abb.*, 174, who built a whole romance on it) to B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand-ākāsik* (1956), 117, this interpretation has been settled dogma<sup>1</sup>. Yet the objections to it are overwhelming. To start with, *sipandān* is not the same as *sipand*, and if *-ān* is to be the plural ending we are beset with difficulties.

<sup>1</sup> So only *Ind. Bd.*; in *Gr. Bd.* and *Zsp.* *gōspandān* here too.

<sup>2</sup> Justi's edition of the *Bd.* is not accessible to me.



Some translators, indeed, offer us 'rue-like herbs' or 'kinds of wild rue', although there is only the one \**Peganum harmala*\* in Persia<sup>1</sup>; moreover, this would be a lone plural in a string of plant-names in the singular. All of them, differently from the 'wild rue', are names of common cultivated plants, such as may be found in a farmer's kitchen<sup>2</sup>. But the gravest objection is a religious one: the proper place of the wild rue is in witchcraft, which the Zoroastrian church ever combatted; its seeds are thrown into the fire to excite fat black smoke—a truly Ahrimanic practice<sup>3</sup>. That a seal of approval was set on this sorcerer's favourite in the Avesta itself by the attribution of semi-divine origin, should not be assumed so readily.

That is not to say that we need reject the common derivation of *sipand* 'wild rue' from *spanta-*, for which 'sacred' is a broad equivalent<sup>4</sup>; for ■ a *daēvayāsna* or devil-worshipper the plant was indeed 'sacred'. But such an etymology cannot be urged

<sup>1</sup> In the most elaborate work on the botany of Persia, A. Pansa, *Flora de l'Iran*, vol. 1 pt. 1, p. 1489 sqq., only a single further species is listed, the Caspian \**P. crithmifolium*\*, but proof of its occurrence in Persia is lacking.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the cultivated cousin of the 'wild rue', the 'garden rue', Persian *suddā*, is mentioned in the *Bundahishn* as one of the *tarrakthā* 'kitchen herbs' *Gr. Ed.* 117 line 15: *saddā, karafs, gīnīl, kihkīlak, [gandandā]*. The list of *tarrakthā* in a Persian work ascribed to Fakhr-i Rāzi, Nicholson \*J.R.A.S.\* 1899, 28, includes all these, . . . *gīnīl, gandandā, karafs . . . suddā, kihkīl . . .* (for *lyl* read *sibīl*); *kihkīl(ak)* > \**kihkīl/kihkīl* (whence *kihkīl* in Persian, as well as *Alhīa*) equals Arab. *firfir* 'rocket'. In late times *suddā* was admitted to Zoroastrian ceremonies, probably as a substitute for *isfand*, in a concession to popular superstition, see Dhabliar, *Persian Rivayats*, 172, 322 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Massé, *Croyances et Coutumes*, index s.v. *sipand*. The *fête de la rue sauvage* (i 162) may be due to misunderstanding. Pietro della Valle (*Viaggi*, Rome 1658, *La Persia* ii 108), in his letter of April 4, 1620, places it on February 15 and remarks that differently from the generality of feast-days it was fixed in the solar calendar, viz. when the sun had passed 25° of Aquarius. That is the same as saying that it was the 35th day from the end of the year, hence the first of *Isfend(armud)* of the Jalālī year (541), which corresponds with Saturday, Feb. 15, 1620 (greg.): the name of the month was confused with that of the plant.

<sup>4</sup> Pasho *spānāi* causes difficulty. Pahl. *spand* 'wild rue' is often cited, but no reference (other than to our *Ed.* passage, as e.g. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 277) is ever supplied. ■ W. Bailey in \*B.S.O.S.\* vii, 290, accurately gave *spandān* only, presumably also from our passage.

for *sipandān* 'mustard'; there is nothing sacred (in any sense) about mustard. On the model of Parthian *syfā'n* one would rather assume that *sipandān* consists of \**sipan* 'mustard' and *dān* 'grain'. In \**sipan* we can then recognize an inversion of the word familiar in Greek since hellenistic times, *σινάπι*. Once \**sipan* was established in Persian<sup>1</sup>, and *sipandān* had received currency, the words were influenced in their forms by the indigenous *s(i)pand*, especially in their initials, also in the final<sup>2</sup> of *spāb-ispan* = *Sinapis alba*.

## V.

The idea that *sipandān* could be dissected as *sipan* + *dān* and associated with the western term *sinapi(s)* is seemingly shattered when one notices the following entry in Bezold-Götze, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, 217: \**sappandū* (weisser) Senf (?)<sup>3</sup>.

The question-mark alone allows one's crushed spirit to rise again. The meanings of the obscurer Akkadian words have sometimes been determined with the help of later languages, especially Syriac or the other forms of Aramaic. And here the Persian term

<sup>1</sup> Once it had entered general use, *sipandān* could be applied also to the plant (as e.g. *mustard* can be, although it is originally a designation of the prepared condiment); it then became possible to say *sipandān-dāne* 'grain of mustard', *Tufstr-i Rāst*, and 𐭠𐭥𐭥, ii 400 line 18; 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sipandān* = J.R.A.S., 1899, 29.

<sup>2</sup> If that happened after the voicing of intervocalic voiceless plosives, there would be less difficulty. Otherwise one might expect \**sib-*, as there is *sab-* from *sap-* (*sabad* beside *savad* < *sapat*; *sabuk*, but Pashto *spuk*; *sabūy*, *A locust's leg*, 98 n. 4; *saval* but also *sapal*, 'camel's hoof'; Khwar. *sāb* or *sād*? 'horse's or camel's hoof', but cf. *Morgenstierne I.I.F.L.*, ii, 230b). Yet I know of no safe example for OIr. *sip-*; the isolation of \**sipan* would ease its assimilation to words with *sip-* from *sp-* (for Pers. *sabūs(e)*, but also *sapūs(e)*, 'bran', there is an earlier form with *m-* in Talm. *syfawq*, *Levy* iii 569, 726; the origin 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sibārī*, but also *sipārī*, 'stubbles', from Jewish Pers. *sī'r*, in dialects *sewīl*, *sewōl*, often with *-m-*, *sewār*, 'straw' is not clear; *Morgenstierne*, \*N.T.S., xii, 266 assumed here *sp-*).

<sup>3</sup> The alternation *-nd-*: *-n(n)-* in various dialects may have helped; it occurs even at the ends of words, e.g. Manich. MPers. *bn* = *ban(n)* against Pahl. or Pers. *band*.

does figure in Syriac dictionaries, as *spā'* or *spyd'* «*Sinapis alba*»<sup>1</sup>, so if that was the source for the meaning attributed to *rappandu*, we should be moving in a circle if we now regarded the Akkadian word as the ancestor of the Persian.

In search of expert assistance I turned to Dr. Anne Kilmer, of the Chicago Oriental Institute, at present teaching Assyrian at Berkeley, who with the greatest kindness not only assured me that that was even so, but also brought to my attention an important note on mustard by Landsberger (Landsberger and O. R. Gurney, *Practical Vocabulary of Assur*, «*Archiv f. Orientforschung*» xviii/2 (1957-58), 337 sq. on line 83). The eminent Assyriologist, who incidentally states that *rappandu* is an odoriferous tree (338 under *g*), has proved in it that the true Babylonian word for mustard was *kasf* (standard Bab. *kasf* plurale tantum; Neo-Bab. *ka-si-ia*; Neo-Ass. *kasitu*)<sup>2</sup>. The chief gain of his note is to show how anciently established and widely used mustard was in Babylonia<sup>3</sup>. One of the adduced passages recalls a familiar advertisement of the London Underground, proclaiming that meat needs mustard: «the poor man . . . if he finds meat, he does not find mustard; if he finds mustard, he does not find meat».

Babylonian *kasf* resembles Ossetic *qyč'y* 'mustard' (Müller-Freiman i 472), doubtless primarily a loanword from a Turkish language. Radloff (ii 792) knew *qyč'y* only from Redhouse who gave as meaning «name of various biting, bitter<sup>4</sup> herbs; as mustard, cress, nasturtium, etc.», while Zenker (*qč'y* and *qč'y*) has straightforwardly 'mustard'. Although the word is better established nowadays—Kāšyari has it, iii 180 line 4, as *qyč'y*<sup>5</sup>—it is not sufficiently widely distributed in Turkish to exclude the possibility that it is ultimately a loanword. Whether the resemblance is due to coincidence is open to question.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Löw loc. cit., 134; it is not clear which half of *spā'd-(r)spand* the Syriac is supposed to represent.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also von Soden, *Akk. Hdwb.*, 5, 1963, 455 *kasu* m.

<sup>3</sup> The persistent qualification of *Sinapis alba* as *bābill* in Muslimic works on pharmacology may be significant; cf. above p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> This calls to mind Arm. *čew* 'bitter, pungent'.

<sup>5</sup> See also Ibn Muḥarriz p. 181: *qyč'y* = *xardal*; *qyč'y* as *turki* in *Tuhfe-yi Ḥakim Ḥu'min*.

Here we may refer to a further Persian word, *dhūri* 'mustard' <sup>1</sup>). The pharmacologists, better informed than the lexicographers, knew that this was of Indian origin. Rhazes, in the first years of the 10th century, wrote 'there are two kinds (of mustard), the white and the red; the latter = *af-sindb* (in Arabic), *امورى* in Indian'. Al-Beruni (middle of 11th century) gave *راى* as *hindīyah*, and ascribed *راى* (prob. = *dhūri*) to the language of Mūltān; the former is found in Hindustani dictionaries (*rd'ī*), but not the latter <sup>2</sup>. From Western India *dhūri* entered Pashto where we meet with *dhurai* (Bellew), *aozaey* (Raverty), *aurdy* (Zudin).

## VI.

We have gained a series of words that are held together by resemblance in form and identity in meaning:

Skt. <i>sarṣapa-</i>	*Av. <i>siuṣapa-</i>	Gr. <i>σβαρι</i> (with Lat.
	Sogd. <i>lystp-</i>	<i>sindpi(s)</i> , Arab. <i>ṣindb</i> <sup>3</sup>
	Parth. <i>lyst-</i>	etc.)
	Khot. <i>laṣt-</i>	Pers. <i>sipān-</i>

A narrow meaning, such as 'mustard', constitutes a preponderant tie. One is not surprised to find that a connection between Skt. *sarṣapa-* and *sindpi* was postulated long ago, by Th. Benfey <sup>4</sup>, who thought that from India, the mother of all culture, the word, altered in the course of its passage across Iran, had spread to the West, together with the article. While, as we have seen, there is no need to go so far East to look for mustard <sup>5</sup>, it is true that

<sup>1</sup> The verse cited by M. Mo'in in his edition of *B.Q.*, s.v., is in the *Farhang-i Jahāngiri*.

<sup>2</sup> If it designates the prepared condiment (as seems to be the case), it may have been derived from Skt. *akura-* 'the fire in the stomach' (Monier-Williams).

<sup>3</sup> S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fr. im Arab.*, 36 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See Hehn-Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen*, on *Senf*.

<sup>5</sup> There is even less call for surmising 'eine austro-asiatische Quelle (malaisch?)', see J. H. Hofmann, *Etym. Wb. d. Griech.*, s.v. *σβαρι*.

our new Iranian forms support his basic contention—that there was a connection. Except for the centre of the words, Iranian and Greek are in consonance: *si...ap*.

The interior difference could be accounted for by positing a Proto-Iranian form with *-ns-*, which, if the nasal was maintained, resulted in *-nh-*, if not, in *-š-* with nasalization of the preceding vowel. Thereafter, *\*sinhap-* may have been simplified to *\*sinap-*. However, some non-Iranian language, possibly in Asia Minor, may have been responsible for the development of *\*sinsap-* to *\*sinhap-* and ultimately *\*sinap-*, which migrated into Greek<sup>1</sup> probably in Macedonian times and, independently, into Persian (transposed into *\*sīpani*) at a date we cannot determine.

It has been supposed that a nasal before any Iranian sibilant lost its status as consonant and merged as nasalization with the preceding vowel; since nasalized vowels were not \*phonemic\* in most Iranian languages, the nasalization either disappeared<sup>2</sup> (leaving on occasion a lengthened vowel<sup>3</sup> or a doubled sibilant) or was resolved again into a consonant. The details are obscure through insufficiency of material; Bartholomae<sup>4</sup> was indecisive on whether the supposition applied to the Indo-Iranian or Proto-Iranian or later stage, even whether it covered all Iranian languages<sup>5</sup>. A special difficulty obtains with original (*I.-E.* or equivalent) *-s-*. The Avestan occurrences indicate that in the required situation that sibilant was treated as if the nasal did not exist, therefore became *-š-* after vowels other than *-a/d-*; this is so also in

<sup>1</sup> The long vowel may be due to the influence of *vāra*.

<sup>2</sup> The words for 'tongue' and 'elm' could be examples for (Ir.) *\*-insu-* being simplified to *-nu-*. Cf. *Asia Major*, x, 72 n. 24.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., the Ir. words for 'iron', which have variously *ā-* and *ē-*, demanding earlier *dsu-* from *ansu-* (if the etymology given above p. 31 n. 2 is correct). Such lengthening would account also for *visati* 'twenty' as from *\*vinsati*, which the agreement of Digor *insāz* with Skt. *aiṣṭati* recommends. O. Szathméri, judging differently, regards the nasal in Skt. as 'obviously an innovation', the one in Digor as 'secondary' (*I.-E. Systems of Numerals*, 53 sqq.). It seems to me, on the contrary, that this nasal is a highly archaic feature: the *-d-* of *\*dānti*, lost elsewhere, was preserved in Indo-Iranian but, owing to its awkward position, replaced by its homorganic nasal.

<sup>4</sup> *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, i, 26 § 62 and elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Chiefly on account of Ossetic; in Sogdian, too, *-ns-* and *-nz-* are common. Some remarks on *-nz-* in *Asia Major*, x, 196 sq.

Sanskrit<sup>1</sup>. No trace of the nasal is discernible in the Avestan outcome of original *ins*, which is simply *is* (or *īs*); yet as this is safely attested solely at word-finals<sup>2</sup>, some expression may have been given to it in interior position. In the similar group *rn(s)* a *u*-diphthong arose in Later Avestan, *-ru(s)* or possibly *-īru(s)*, as in *narīus* from *nīna* or *strīus* from *stīns*<sup>3</sup>. Such forms render it possible that *ius*, too, produced *iūi* (or *īūi*), which kept its diphthong only before a vowel in the middle of words. These considerations have emboldened me to propose *\*siuṣapa-* as Avestan; they account for the strange *-u-* of Sogd. *šyūfš*, which is otherwise inexplicable<sup>4</sup>.

## VII.

Many pages would be required to argue in detail how Iranian *\*siuṣapa-* and Sanskrit *sarṣapa-* could be interrelated. Evidently, the correct cognate of *\*siuṣapa-* should be *\*siṃṣapa-*

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Wackernagel (*Lehrbuch*, 231 § 203). Bartholomae rejected the phonological explanation and advanced a complicated set of analogies (loc. cit., 132 § 228, 2 a).

<sup>2</sup> Claimed contrary cases are *šūh*, a variant on *šūh* (= *šāhā*, cf. *Vd.* 2,32) 'it shall come' *Nyūyīš* 1, 2, preferred by Bartholomae, loc. cit., 194 § 320; *šīrā* *V.* 51, 5 as from *šīrahmi*, with *-nem-*, acc. to Bartholomae 175 § 299; *šīrā* *V.* 44, 16 as from the same, with *-med-*, acc. to Humbach, *Gathas*, II 87, who rejects *šīrā*. A cluster of three consonants would promote the elision.

<sup>3</sup> The spelling has given rise to much speculation. To say 'an attempt to express nasalization in writing' is plainly unsatisfactory. What other alphabet has so many symbols for nasals? Any one of them would have been better. Moreover, there was the model of Gathic Av. where one of them was in fact employed. Bartholomae ultimately resigned himself to assuming 'wahrscheinlich eine Verschreibung' (apud Reichelt, *Abh. Elm.*, 33). A pragmatic approach is preferable.

<sup>4</sup> A parallel case may be seen in Sogd. *šy'us* ('šy'us) 'master, dihqdn' (now also Mugh *šy'-šy'us* = Pers. *šād-xudā*), if directly = Av. *šyaygs*, see Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, 311, 429. If *-m-* was reduced, in accord with normal rules, and therefore no longer available for metathesis, *-us* = *-us* would reflect former nasalized *-o-* = *-o-*. That assumption would merely be strengthened if the etymon was *šaygs* instead (*š* from *z* occurs, very rarely, in Sogd.). Cf. also Persian *nus* from Sogd. *n(n)us*, = B.S.O.S. 2, 100 and, possibly, Av. *hausafrnāna-*. The general movement of *-m-* to *-n-* or *-u-*, in Sogdian etc., is distantly related.

in Skt.; the problem of the agreement in the first vowel of *sarṣapa* with Khot. *śarṣ-* also needs to be considered.

The following hypothesis may serve to cut across all such difficulties: the word for 'mustard' was approximately *s'ens'ap*, and belonged to a non-Indo-European language, whence it was adopted by Iranians and Indo-Aryans, severally, ■ a remote date, at the time of their immigration, and inducted into the phonological systems of their languages; thus, e.g., the brief *e*, alien to either group, came ■ ■ replaced variously by *i* or *a*².

One would be more hesitant to put forward such a hypothesis if it were not possible to adduce another word of similar make-up and similar fate, which by its meaning almost compels the assumption of 'substrate' origin: that is the Indo-Iranian word for 'lion', which may be assumed to have been *s'enḡha* at the outset. It is reflected ■ Sanskrit by *siṃha*, in Iranian ideally by Khwarezmian *sary*. Here, too, *sin-* and *sar-* correspond with each other³, but the distribution ■ reversed—what could indicate more clearly that these words were adopted from a third language of basically different phonologic structure?

It is not proposed to discuss here the various etymologies that have been proffered for *siṃha*⁴ and *sary* (etc.), which, as far as I know, have never been seen as related to each other⁵. Even within Iranian it has never been possible to posit a satisfying

¹ Skt. *Himlāpa*—'Sissoo tree', which evidently flowed from the same source, is unfortunately not represented in Iranian itself; for, as I. Gershevitch has shown ■ a brilliant note, that was the tree called *yaḥd* ■ OPersian. Yet that name existed ■ Elamite (6th century B.C.) and there indeed had —■ the first syllable: *īa-īš-šā-ša-ut* (= *īššap*—), see Gershevitch, ■ B.S.O.A.S. 1, xix, 317 sqq.; xxi, 174.

² Occasional substitution of a nasal for foreign —*r*— has been attributed to Middle-Indian influence by Pagel, ■ Z.I.L. 1, i, 246 sqq. Such a consideration cannot apply ■ *siṃha*, which belongs to the most ancient layer ■ the Sanskrit vocabulary.—Some scholars regard *puṣṣ-* (*puṣṣāns*—) and *puṣṣa* as interrelated.

³ Arm. *inc* 'panther' (etymologists prefer the alternative, probably inferior, spelling *inj*), cited since the days of Fr. Müller, is a highly speculative comparison, owing to the multiplicity of its possible descent. A panther is not a lion; for the latter Armenian has *at'iv*.

⁴ It would ■ desirable ■ ally with them Tokharian *hišāh*, Kuchean *sekahe*, but a way to do it remains to be discovered. One of them was borrowed by Chinese, acc. to Pulleyblank, ■ Asia Major 1, ix, 109, 226.



base form; such difficulties dissolve when we assume varying adaptation of a substrate term. Thus, in some Iranian languages the word begins with *š-*, hitherto obscure, in view of the lack of a palatalizing agent<sup>2</sup>; however, original *-a-* could have palatalized the sibilant and still been inducted as *-a-* into the borrowing languages. The Iranian forms are: Khwar. *sary*, Khot. *sarau*, Sogd. *šryw*, *šryw*<sup>3</sup>, Parth. *farg*, MPers. *šagr*, Persian *šār*.

*Sary* need not have been confined to Khwarezmia; it will have been common in many languages of adjoining territory. The actual form occurs only as late as A.D. 1000. At a slightly earlier stage it was *\*saryi*. In ancient times it was *\*saryē* (perhaps even *\*sargē*) in the nominative. E. H. Schafer recently wrote an interesting chapter on the lion in China<sup>4</sup> and remarked that the oldest name for it in Chinese, 'a word sounding like *\*suangi*, . . . came from India to China before the Christian era'. As *-an* in ancient rendering represents foreign *-ar* as often as not<sup>5</sup>, we may prefer to regard 狻猊 *suān-i* (M. Chin. *suān-ngiēi*, Anc. *suān-ngiēg*) as reflecting Iran. *saryi* (or *sargē*) rather than Skt. *siṃha*. It may then claim to be one of the first, perhaps even the first<sup>6</sup>, of the Iranian words that found a home in China.

#### Addenda

P. 36 n. 1. Positing the Old Iranian name of 'Asa foetida' as *\*kingu* finds further support in al-Beruni's attribution of ینگ as

<sup>2</sup> Another case of both *š-* and *s-* in Iranian, but dental *s-* in Skt., is Sogd. *šykt*, Man. MPers. *sygd*, but Skt. *śikṭā* (cf. Morgenstierne, *J.I.F.L.*, ii, 245 b).

<sup>3</sup> Beside Man. Sogd. apparently also Chr., if *apud* Hansen, *Berl. Sogd. T.*, ii, 879 line 13, the incomplete word *šry* is to be restored as *[šr]w[y]*. The story there (somewhat misunderstood by the editor) runs 'when we came to a river, my father left me at the bank, picked up my brother, and took him across the river. And while he was returning to fetch me, too, a lion came out of a cave' etc.

<sup>4</sup> *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (1963), 84-87.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. recently Pulleyblank, 'Asia Major', ix, 228 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> A precise date for the first appearance of the word is a desideratum. Karlgren, *Gramm. Ser. Rec.*, 129, on 468 d', mentions 'Chou time', but doubts the identification with the lion.

(*hyné*) to the *Sajsi* dialect, i.e. the language of Sīstān; thus in *aṣ-Ṣaidanah*, Arabic text fol. 30 a, s.v. *anjūdān*.

P. 42. An additional Iranian word for 'mustard' is Khwarezmian 'š'n (\**ašān*), given as the equivalent of *ṣināb* (= table-mustard) in the *Muqaddamat ul-Adab*, p. 24 line 4; also 'š'n-*rnk* 'mustard-coloured' = *ṣinābiyy*, III. 38 line 4.



# A SOGDIAN GOD

## I

The argument  $\equiv$  presented here proceeds from the analysis of a Sogdian word of uncertain orthography and disputed meaning. It first occurred, as *by' / nyšqty*<sup>1</sup> (apparently with word-division),<sup>2</sup> in *Soghd. Texte*, I, 39.4, in a translation of Luke xii, 36, corresponding with Syriac *brō mextūthā = (ēk) rāw yāqaw*; Müller gave '*Gastmahl*', with an asterisk to denote his doubt. Later I published two Manichaean passages.<sup>3</sup> One, in the text I titled 'A Job story', speaks of a man who makes his way in the world and becomes rich and "takes to himself many wives and has by them many sons and daughters and gives wives to the sons and grooms to the daughters and makes a great *by'n'yēp* / [*krty*": the context demands 'marriage-feast',  $\equiv$  agreement with the Greek of Luke. The other is a Sogdian version of a Middle Persian verse, the original having been preserved by good fortune, 'Hail to you, bridegroom, who hast made a marriage-feast for the sons': here *by'ny / pšk'kte* renders MPers. *weddyg'n* 'wedding'. The meaning of *weddyg'n*, which has a long lineage from the most ancient layer of Indo-European down to Modern Persian,<sup>4</sup> cannot be disputed;<sup>5</sup> its direct descendant, *bayyāgān*(ī), is still found in any Persian dictionary (Vulliamy: *nuptiae*). The wording of the MPers. verse causes one to conjecture that its author had in mind a gospel text such as Mark ii, 19, *oi pioi toū nuphōnos ēn ēō ē nuphōs mer' autōw ēōti*; the Syriac version, which he presumably used, has *gnānā* here. If this conjecture is correct, it becomes likely that *weddyg'n* meant not merely 'wedding' in general, but also specifically 'wedding-room' or 'bridal chamber', and this may apply equally to the Sogdian word; in support one can cite *wyduty* in the Pahlavi Psalter, which again renders *gnānā*. Finally, in the Christian Sogdian texts published by O. Hansen<sup>6</sup> we meet the word in successive lines, spelt differently each time: *by'nyyp / qt* (line 17) and *by'nyšqty* (line 18); Hansen gave '*Festmahl*' here (with a query), and E. Benveniste (who improved the translation in other points) has '*festin*' (*J.A.*, cxxliii, 3, 1955, 312). That passage, too, is translated from the

<sup>1</sup> Abandoning further resistance I shall henceforth adopt the common practice of transliterating, in Christian Sogdian, *hā*  $\equiv$  plain *h*, and *ts* by *θ*.

<sup>2</sup> In the light of later-published material one wonders whether this is not misreading of *by'n'yšqty* (*y* and *n* resembling each other in that position).

<sup>3</sup> *BSOAS*, xi, 3, 1946, 486 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See recently E. Benveniste, *Hittite et Indo-Europée*, 33-40.

<sup>5</sup> Spelt *wydyt'k'n* in Pahlavi. In the horoscope Gr. Bd. 51.10 it corresponds with *femmes*, *J.A.*, 1915, I, 17 (Ikhwān al-Safā) = *aiā*. *Mafāhīd al-'ulūm* 227.15, with 'wives, concubines, matrimony and nuptials' in al-Beruni's *Taḥkim*, see Taḥmadch, *Ṣūḥ-fumiri*, 328 sq. (in the *Famīna Taḥkim*: *zūnā u nuphātān u zūnā'ī u 'arūzi* . . . , p. 429, ed. J. Humbart).

<sup>6</sup> *Berliner soghdische Texte*, II, 984.

Syriac, but the original has not been identified. However, that is no obstacle to understanding; for it palpably alludes to the parable of Matthew xxii, 2-10, so that *by'nykpty nywytā*<sup>2</sup> corresponds with *τοὺς κεκλημένους εἰς τοὺς γάμους* = *la-mzammnā l-mēltūšā* (xxii, 3).

Every one of the Sogdian passages is satisfied with 'wedding', in a sense sufficiently wide as to connote the place where it is celebrated; *gnūnā* ~ *nyμφαίον*. Yet all the scholars concerned have attributed a different meaning to the Sogdian word, and H. W. Bailey, in an entrancing series of notes,<sup>3</sup> has developed the opinion that it should be understood as 'house of beer-drinking' (or 'beer-feasting'). The reason for this divergence is easily perceived: it lies in the Syriac equivalent *beθ meštūšā*, apparently 'house of drinking', since *meštūšā* is a derivative of *šū* 'to drink'. These appearances are deceptive: although that is an admissible translation, in fact *meštūšā* as often as not means 'wedding'. Brockelmann cites more passages for 'nuptiae' than for 'convivatio, symposium', and has *συμπόσιον* and *νυμφών* impartially for *beθ m*<sup>4</sup>; a notable phrase is *gnāš meštūšāh*, literally 'he stole her m', in the sense of *defloravit*. This usage is not confined to Syriac; thus in the Babylonian Talmud *meštūšā* 'das Trinken, Gelage; insbesondere: Hochzeitsmahl' (Levy, iii, 292); cf. Hebr. *mīšāh* 'das Trinken, Getränk, Gelage, συμπόσιον: zumal jafach: Hochzeitsmahl' (ibid., 291).

It might be opined that the translators, faced with the ambiguous *m*, persistently chose the wrong meaning. This is in itself unlikely. These translators possessed a highly competent knowledge of Syriac, which was probably their mother-tongue, and particularly so far as gospel texts are in question, where a well-established tradition existed, the chance of a misunderstanding is remote. It is put out of court through the Manichaean passages, neither of which admits a meaning other than 'wedding'.

Even though the Sogdian word may connote 'bridal chamber', and in spite of the persuasion exercised by Syr. *beθ* (in one passage only), one is reluctant to admit that its final part *-gā* etc. is the word for 'house'. Here again the Manichaean texts guard against rashly assuming that the compound was merely a calque of the Syriac in the Luke text, an invention perhaps of Christian missionaries produced in response to translators' needs. The compound existed in the Sogdian language beforehand and was put to employment by Christian authors as well as others. We are free to judge it on internal evidence: the Manichaean scribes spelled *kry* beside *kt'he*, thereby indicating earlier *-krya* (*ka-*); in Chr. Sogd. both earlier *-krya-* and *-kata-* appear as *-gl-*. However, although the orthography was ambiguous, there was a clear distinction in the language: the one was *kt-*, the other *kat-*. This difference, which is normally marked in most systems of Sogdian writing, persisted throughout the history of the Sogdian language and still survives in Yaghobi, *ikt-* 'to make': *kat*

<sup>2</sup> *nywytā* in the edition is probably misprinted.

<sup>3</sup> *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, 1934, 133 seq., 161; *Annali Ist. Univ. Or. Napoli, Sez. Ling.*, t. 2, 1939, 123-44.

'house'. By writing 'krty' the Manichaean tells us that he pronounced -kt-; we should respect his opinion.

## II

As already mentioned, H. W. Bailey assumed that the first part of the Sogdian word (*by'nyšp*, etc.) meant 'beer-drinking' or 'beer-feasting', and consist of \**by'ny* 'beer' and \**šp / pš*,<sup>10</sup> reflecting a verbal base 'to sate oneself, to feast', both otherwise unknown to Sogdian.<sup>11</sup> The word *mektūšū*, by itself, gives no hint of the potable involved, but the passages adduced in full in Jacob Levy's dictionary invite the inference that wine was *de rigueur* at any occasion that deserved that name. It may be dangerous to generalize, but there is plentiful evidence to show that the Iranians, before Islam (and long after it as well), were a nation of wine-drinkers.<sup>12</sup> Almost all the documents we have from Parthian times (Nisa, Awroman) deal with wine and vineyards. Strabo speaks of the wine of Areia (Herāt), which was good enough to keep for three generations, and praises the vines of Margiane and Hyrcania (C 73, 518). The Sassanian child prodigy could rattle off a list of vintages as well as any wine waiter and was ready to dilate on the requisite accompaniment (*Pahl. texts*, 32 sq., §§ 56-9, 66). Where is beer so much as mentioned? Some years ago I located a passage in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmag* in which a kind of beer (*wašāš*) is referred to<sup>13</sup>: 'they had no wine, but brought beer forward...'; which suffices to show that beer was considered a poor substitute.

Sogdiane was a wine-land even in Achaemenian times. Chorieneš, in his surrender, could give a sufficiency of wine to every man in Alexander's army and still had ten times as much in his cellars, and that after a siege (Arrian, iv, 21, 10). From Sogdian lands<sup>14</sup> viticulture spread across Central Asia to China.<sup>15</sup> Sogdiane came to be the first centre of classical Persian poetry, which is drenched in wine; Persian *mud* 'wine', an emotion-laden word of the devotee's, coexisting

<sup>10</sup> The prosthetic vowel (*aš-*), which is commonly marked in Man. orthography, is expressed here only because the scribe began a fresh line with the final part of the compound; it is naturally absent when the final is joined with the main body.

<sup>11</sup> *Annali*, I, 2, 1050, 137. As arises from the preceding annotation, *šp* does not exist.

<sup>12</sup> H. W. Bailey regarded Sogd. \**sp'w* (Mitt. *aspin*, Pers. *aspan*) etc. as a distant relative. However, that may be a derivative of Mitt. *asp* (Man. *harp*) 'to rest', *aspin* (Man. *happin*) 'that, rest' (in Pahl. *agg. Ed.*, 36, 17; *DM.*, 161, 3; in *Pazend SGP*), so that *aspan* would mean 'rest-house' even by etymology. The Mugh material has now shown that *sp'w'aspan* consists of *spndy* + (*')**aspan*; the alternative spelling *spnd'aspan* [y] of *ST*, s. 84, 5, indicated that already.

<sup>13</sup> I can do no better than refer to H. W. Bailey's masterly paper 'Mādu' (*Silver jubilee volume of the Zinbun-Kogaku-Kenkyūso, Kyoto University*, 1954).

<sup>14</sup> *BSOAS*, xvii, 3, 1955, 603 sq.

<sup>15</sup> The other passage discussed there (*PT*, 113, 4) is too involved in various difficulties to be relied on.

<sup>16</sup> 'Les gens de ces diverses principautés [of Sogdiane] aiment le vin', Tang-shu sp. Chavannes, *Doc.*, 134. The Mugh documents abundantly confirm that observation, see e.g. Mugh B 2 (Frisman, *Problèmes Postolcondeniya*, I, 1939, 120 sq.).

<sup>17</sup> See Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*; Bailey, 'Mādu'; E. H. Schafer, *Golden peaches*, 141 sqq. Laufer was the first to suggest that Chin. *pu'-no* represented 'a dialectic form of Avestan *mašar*' (p. 225); I thought the dialect was Sogdian, *BSOAS*, x, 1, 1939, p. 82, n. 3.

with the etymologically identical but more sober *may*, was a loan from Sogdian.<sup>17</sup> Beer, on the other hand, was lowly regarded. Asadi says it causes belching.<sup>18</sup> According to Rhazes, beer made of barley damaged the nerves, produced headaches, etc. Muwaffaq went further and claimed that beer, apart from causing borborygmus, sickness, and the like, was responsible for nothing less than leprosy.<sup>19</sup> If in an old wine-land, as Sogdiane was, a rich man, on the norms of life and power, had given his guests a 'beer-feast' on the occasion of his children's marriage (as in the 'Jeh story'), would they have cheered him and praised his name? He would have deserved the dismal fate that lay before him.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes that roamed the steppes to the north of the Iranian settlements perforce had to make do with beer. Their political ascendancy and cultural penetration led to acquaintance with new types of beverage, and their names entered Iranian languages. They range from Sogdian *zūt*, of Scythian origin,<sup>20</sup> to Tajiki *būza*, from Kirgiz *boza*. To this category belongs Khwarezmian *ānāy*, which is necessarily<sup>21</sup> loan-word from Turkish, where *baklānı* is well-established. Ossetic *bāqat* and *marāmā* are equally best considered borrowings from Turkish neighbours.<sup>22</sup> With Osa, *bāqat* and Sogd. \*βy'ny H. W. Bailey combined Khot. *βēry(a)na*, which occurs only in a list of three presents, (1) *āsurā*, (2) *β'*, (3) *hā'mūtēi*.<sup>23</sup> Even if the first is, as claimed,<sup>24</sup> an alternative spelling of Khot. *hūrā* (an alcoholic drink), we need not take it for granted that the other items, too, must be drinkables. When three gifts are named of which one is wine (or the like), the other two are apt to be (a) meat and (b) bread. The ambassador sent by Artaban to Egypt was to receive (a) a lamb and (b) two kinds of flour, in addition to beer.<sup>25</sup> King Shapur made grants, to sacred fires, of daily gifts of (a) a yearling lamb and (b) bread, in addition to wine.<sup>26</sup> Chorienes, in the passage quoted above, distributed *πρόν τε κρέας* *αὐτὸν . . . κρέα καὶ σπυγγὰ*. In the light of such parallel situations one could interpret the two unknown items differently, namely (a) *hā'mūtēi* as a kind of pickled (raw) meat,<sup>27</sup> a famous Sassanian delicacy called *hāmē* in Pahlavi, which was widely borrowed;<sup>28</sup> and (b) *βēry(a)na* as finely extracted flour,

<sup>17</sup> HSOS, x, 1, 1930, 96.

<sup>18</sup> S.v. *drūy*, p. 57.32, col. Horn; see his preface p. 13, n.

<sup>19</sup> K. alabūyāl, 189 (where Rhazes is cited).

<sup>20</sup> HSOS, xi, 4, 1946, 719 sq. It owes its frequency to having been employed as translation-equivalent of Skt. *māṣpa*.

<sup>21</sup> It is impossible to construct an Old Iranian form from which it could descend.

<sup>22</sup> According to Bailey, *Anaali*, I, 2, 1959, 136, both are primarily loan-words in Ossetic, but ultimately of Iranian origin.

<sup>23</sup> *Anaali*, I, 2, 1959, 133 sqq.

<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere, *āsurā* is the ordinary word for 'gift' in general.

<sup>25</sup> G. R. Driver, *Stron. doc.*, No. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Great Inscription of Shapur, Pahl. lines 25, 37; cf. Jackson *mem.*, vol., 42 sq.

<sup>27</sup> H. W. Bailey assumed 'barley-yeast' instead, later (*HSOS*, xxii, 1, 1960, 28) 'a drink made of fermented barley'.

<sup>28</sup> *Pahl. text*, p. 30, §§ 33-5, and p. 33, § 66. Persian *zāmī* (used also in Arabic, in Tha'libī's *Gharar*, 707.2). For other languages see Hübnermann, *Arm. Gr.*, 96, s.v. *zāmī*; Talm. 'zām', explained as 'raw meat' Levy i, 41, should be added. The persistent definition as 'raw meat pickled in vinegar etc.' speaks for the derivation from *zām* (zām) 'raw'.



remounting = *vi* (*abi*?) + *račana*,<sup>20</sup> cf. Persian *parīzan* 'sieve' from *pari-vačana*. However, so long as the meaning of those words cannot be established more directly, their origin is bound to remain in the realm of conjecture.

## III

If our Sogdian word in truth means 'wedding', how can we explain it? The various ways in which the scribes divide it in writing indicate that it consists of three parts: *βy'ny*, *pš/šp*, and '*kty* (etc.). The central portion poses the greatest difficulty. Original *fš* may become *šf* or, in final position, *šp* in Sogdian,<sup>21</sup> but no case is known of former *šf* (*šp*) being transposed into *fš* (*pš*) in that language.<sup>22</sup> Hence it will be prudent to regard *pš* as original in the unusual alternation *pš/šp*. There must have been once a vocalic element to separate the consonants: \**pāš* became *pš*, which could be transposed into *šp*. The reduced vowel of \**pāš* should represent a full vowel in Old Iranian, preferably *-a-* or *-i-*, and *-i-* may reflect several OIr. consonants and clusters.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, there is a variety of Old Iranian words, existing and reconstructed, which would have produced \**pāš* in Sogdian. Guided by Sogd. *xyšpšy*, *βypšy* etc., I once compared \**pāš* with *pušra* 'son'.<sup>24</sup> However, that may not convey the sense we need for the compound. Accordingly, I would now connect the word with Av.

<sup>20</sup> A special study in the Khotanese proverb is an urgent desideratum. The distribution of *vi*, *abi*, *oci*, *ojo*, *upa*, and *paši* in particular is in need of clarification. Etymologists increasingly operate with OIr. *pa-*, a counsel of despair. We have seen that in Sogdian, e.g., every apparent parallelism antecedent *upa-* or *upa-* (or, rarely, *paš-*). It is an error to rely here on Armenian, where *pa-* was first recognized as a separable element, in Iranian loan-words, by A. Meillet, *REA*, II, 1922, 8; cf. E. Benveniste, *Et. langu.* etc., 90 sqq. who has several fresh examples but takes a different view from mine. That surely reflects Iranian *upa-*, with loss of initial *u-* in accord with a well-established rule, from which case-forms and derivatives of monosyllables alone are exempt. Naturally this applies only to the oldest layer of loan-words; for later on initial *u-* was replaced by *a-* in Western Middle Iranian (hence, e.g., *aparsan*). A telling example is Arm. *pašar-k* 'device' where *u* in the Ir. original is directly attested through Aram. *špār* (see my 'Mitteliranisch', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, I, 1958, p. 39, n. 4). Arm. *paš-k* 'need' is identical with Parth. *šyd*, both from *špā-* (cf. MPers. *š-y-*, once derived from *upa-*). Further *pašar* 'lamb' from *upa-dān-* (cf. *abi-dān-* 'belly' and *pari-dān-* 'middle', *JRAS*, 1944, p. 140, n. 10; *pašr* 'spoon', Sogd. *pršy*, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, p. 469, n. 5, from *pr-* 'buy'; *pašar* 'blanket', evidently = Av. *upāsarana-* (rejected by H. Schumacher, *Arm. Gr.*, 232); *pašr* 'šāpār' from *upa-dēt-* (cf. Arm. *dēt*); the words adduced by Meillet and Benveniste; and several uncertain ones. Clear examples of loss of initial *u-* are *gōd* 'circumpect' from *u-gōd-*, and *traw-* 'terminate', from *ur-* + *trā-* (as in Pers. *raftan*), cf. Mar. MPers. *trā-* 'go out, end' (e.g. *š trāš-*... 'cease' 'when the lamp goes out'; *defu* 'durya' 'y ny' 'cease' BSOAS that never comes to an end'); the last-named was judged differently by H. H. Bailey, *J. Phil. Soc.*, 1952, 27.

<sup>21</sup> See Starobrevitch, *Gramm.*, § 214, 441.

<sup>22</sup> This does occur in other Iranian languages.

<sup>23</sup> *-šp-* must be struck off the list; for *yyšp-* is now confirmed through the Mugh letters, and *pš/šp*, in spite of occasional *pyš-*, had originally *-a-* as first vowel, therefore cannot belong to Av. *piduā-*: that is proved by Arm. *pašar*, which reflects a contracted form, \**pašār*.

<sup>24</sup> *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, p. 493, n. 1. The word for 'bridegroom' mentioned there is far more likely to read *pyš-k* (than *pyš-k*), thus hardly enters into consideration (its resemblance to Arm. *pršy* may be coincidental). The wording of the Middle Persian verse (above, p. 243) may yet be held to favour retention of the connection with *pušra*: *pišrya* (*r'y*) *šidāy*'s *gyrd* (hence *šidāy*'s = *βy'ny*, *pušr* = *pš*, *gyrd* = '*kty*).

*pisra*<sup>24</sup> 'welding, the place or instrument of welding'. Whether a wider meaning ('joining, uniting, fusion') has been specialized in Avestan, or a narrow meaning ('welding') widened by metaphorical use (cf. Engl. weld = 'to unite closely or intimately'), is a question that need not detain us.

In considering *βy'ny-* we should not lose sight of its obvious association with *βy'nyk* 'divine', from which it is distinguished merely by the lack of a *k*-suffix, not as expected in a longish compound in any case. With its help we can proceed to a phonetical reconstruction of the word: *βayānī-pōt-ōktē*<sup>25</sup> with reduced vowels subject to elision, hence also *βayānīpōt-*, and by metathesis *βayānīpōktē*. We further gain an etymological meaning: 'divine-union-making', which may be considered not unsuitable to expressing the idea of a 'wedding'.

Such a basic meaning will at once provoke a doubt: it would imply that the Sogdians believed that 'marriages are made in Heaven', than which nothing could be more unlikely. Here we may find the reason for the reluctance of scholars to connect our word with *βy'nyk*. Nevertheless, it will supply the true etymon. *βy'nyk* is an adjective formed from *βy-* 'god', and, since it has cognates in Parthian (*by'nyg*) and Middle Persian (*by'nyg*), must be of ancient vintage. While *βy-* ordinarily was an appellative, it did, however, also exist as the individual name of a divinity, then corresponding with the Indian god *Bhaga* (cf. Iran. *Baga*). The hypothesis I wish to put forward is this, that in the Sogdian compound *βy'ny-* means not simply 'divine', but 'referring to, associated with the *βy'nyk* *Baga*'.

'Baga-union' is not surprising as a term for 'marriage', if the Iranian *Baga* in the least resembled his Indian counterpart, whom Geldner, in introducing the hymn addressed to him, RV, vii, 41, briefly described as 'personified happiness, and the god of happiness'. Böhtlingk and Roth stated that *Bhaga stiftet Liebe und Eheverbindungen... sein Nakṣatra sind die späteren (ultara-) Phalgunī, die sich in Eheverbindungen besonders eignen...*,<sup>26</sup> and gave, among the meanings of *bhaga-* n., 'Liebesglück, Liebeslust, Liebe, Zuneigung', with such clear Rgvedic passages as t, 163, 8: x, 11, 2. In hymns concerned with married life, such as the song of the married couple, viii, 2, and the wedding psalm, x, 86, *Bhaga* has a leading rôle. As a genius of domesticity he was closely associated with *Aryaman*, cf. P. Thieme, *Fremdling*, 124, 142.<sup>27</sup> We may thus assume that

<sup>24</sup> On Sogd. *š* from *sr* see Gershevitch, *Grammar*, § 371.

<sup>25</sup> On *'kty* (etc.) see above, pp. 243-4. The modes of spelling the word-final (Man. *-ty, -t'k*; Chr. *-ty, -t*) are self-contradictory; they both demand and exclude *-t* from *-ktē*. One may question the reading in *Slav. apd.* I, 12, 354, 17, which would necessitate regarding *-p* as a case-ending *-pōt* 't' as a mistake. The precise form of *tyr-* cannot be determined securely. Apparently *ktyo-ka-*; *ktyi* (Sogd. *'ktyk*, Man. *'kty*, Chr. *qty*) Derksenste, *JA*, cccxvii, 1, 1939, 131 sq.; should have been *-h* in Sogd. script and never appears as *-kt*; see Gershevitch, *Tr. J. Ind. Soc.*, 1945, 141.

<sup>26</sup> M. G. Duménil sees the distinction between *Aryaman* and *Bhaga* as parallel to that between *personas* and *res*: 'selon Mitra... Aryaman s'occupe de maintenir la société des hommes arya... et Bhaga... assure la distribution et la jouissance régulière des biens des Arya' (*L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens*, 1936, 65; in greater detail *Les dieux des Indo-Européens*, 1952, 47 sqq., esp. p. 54). This view does not sufficiently account for *Bhaga*'s interest in marriage, the very foundation of society.

*Bhaga* was regarded as a promoter and protector of marriage even in the Indo-Iranian period. A fresh piece of evidence, supporting that assumption, can now be presented.

## IV

Thanks chiefly to the efforts of V. A. Livshitz, great progress has been achieved in recent years in the study of the Sogdian documents that had been discovered, in 1933, on Mount Mugh, some 80 miles to the east of Samarkand. Under his hands the find turned out to be more important even than one had been given reason to suspect: his decipherment is throughout trustworthy, in marked improvement on earlier efforts. One of the documents Livshitz has made available is the 'Marriage contract', which illuminates social conditions in Sogdiana at the last moment of her independence (beg. of the eighth century) and ranks as one of the most interesting monuments of the ancient Iranian civilization. It was first published in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, No. 5, 1960, 76-91; I. Gershevitch contributed some useful remarks to its interpretation, *Central Asiatic Journal*, vii, 2, 1963, 90-94; finally it was included, with an elaborate commentary, in Livshitz, *Yuridicheskie dokumenty i pis'ma*, 1962, 17-45.

The 'Marriage contract' consists of two separate documents, preserved together by a kindly fate: the contract proper, and the subsidiary 'bride's script' (*pashtk*), in which the bridegroom, speaking in the first person, addresses the head of the bride's family ('you' or 'Sir') in order to state his obligations. Here we meet the following sentence (No. 4, R 10-12):

ryßy ZKñ ßyy ZY ZKñ myðr' nß'nty L' m'yð'ak'm L' up'kh L' wñ'kh L'  
"py kun'mk'm

'And, Sir, by Baga and by Mithra I shall neither sell her nor pawn her, nor ...'

A verbal form ('I swear'), although not strictly necessary, may be considered implied from the preceding sentence 'And then to you, Çer, I thus profess and accept...'. Mithra has been recognized here, but not Baga, it having been supposed that ßyy meant 'Sir' (as it commonly does in the Mugh documents) and referred to Çer, the representative of the bride. Yet to couple a mere man with the ancient god Mithra, who watches over the sanctity of agreements, would be highly incongruous, and to invoke the 'party of the other part' as witness, against custom; moreover, since Çer is already mentioned as (n-)ßy '(and,) Sir' within the sentence and as (to) (. . . mæ'nr) '(to) you (I profess)' immediately before it, such a further reference would be tautological. The postposition nß'nt, which generally means 'in the company of, together with, by the side of', should be rendered as 'by' here, as e.g. in the comparable passage of the *Vessantara Jātaka* (1208) to which Gershevitch, loc. cit., 92 has justly drawn attention; German *bei* is a perfect equivalent.

<sup>87</sup> Thus rather than 'hesaze'; nß'nt has both meanings, as has Pers. *sad*, which should be added (Khwar. *sā'k* = Arab. *saḥa*).

<sup>88</sup> The remaining words are not wholly clear.

The appellative *laga* 'god' came to 𐰽 applied 𐰽 the Great King of Kings of the Persians initially. Later it suffered a social decline, which was most marked in Sogdiane. The local king adopted it, then the kinglet, then the owner of a castle, finally any gentleman laid claim to it. Yet at the same time Sogd. *βγ*- continued as designation of the ancient divinities, and the representatives of monotheistic religions, as the Christian missionaries, used 𐰽 of 'God' with a capital letter. This situation is mirrored 𐰽 the Mugh documents, 𐰽 which religion ordinarily plays no part and *βγ*- almost exclusively is used of men of some social standing; as Livshitz has observed, it is often hardly better than a circumlocutory way of saying 'you'.<sup>39</sup> Here too, on occasion, *βγ*- means 'God'.<sup>40</sup> Thus twice 𐰽 the remarkable letter which the Arab Emir 'Abdu'r-Rahman II. Subh addressed 𐰽 King *šēwāstīc* (Livshitz, p. 111). Above that letter stand the words *pr'm βγγ š'mō'nt* (𐰽) 'in the name of God, the Creator', a form of the *Bismillāh*,<sup>41</sup> and the address is followed immediately by *'p's ZKn βγγ* = *al-hamdu lillāh* = Pers. *asp's radāyārā*, words without which no good Muslim would begin his letter. Livshitz supposed that the second *βγγ* was to refer to the Sogdian king. Actually, the Arab Emir carefully avoided thus addressing a human being; he just said 'you' (*tyw*, *tw*, etc.) throughout that letter of 23 long lines, in which a native author would have written *βγ*- at least a dozen times. This avoidance, which the recipient must have felt to be a breach of good manners, was calculated; the Muslims strongly disapproved of that Sogdian idiomatic usage, and, although they were aware of its nature, were not above twisting it, on a later occasion, into the charge of self-deification, against Haidar, the prince of Ustishana.

## V

After all that has been written in recent years on Mithra 𐰽 the god of agreements and treaties we need not waste words over his appearance in an actual contract. What is noteworthy is his close association with *Baga*, who, as *Bhaga*, was an old companion of *Mitra*'s in the *Rgveda*, but one of minor rank. His

<sup>39</sup> See Livshitz, pp. 41, 52.

<sup>40</sup> Passages where that meaning is applicable are: A 17, line 2; V 16, lines 6 and 7 (cf. Livshitz, pp. 162, 163). It is clear 𐰽 *βγγ* in A 13, line 2 (Livshitz, p. 69; cf. M. N. Bogolyubov and O. I. Smirnova, *Хронологическое доведение*, 1963, p. 71). Neither can *ZY βγγ* 𐰽 the sense as *ZYβγ*, nor can *βγγ* function as an accusative after *tw* (should be *βγγt*). The 𐰽 following *βγγ* has been variously read as *pr'ic*, *pr'ic*, and *pr'ic*; of these, the second and third may 𐰽 discarded as misreadings ('beloved lord' in the address of a letter would also be an oddity), but the first, producing an impossible sequence, *pr'ic ty c'akic*, is no better (*ty* is not = *ZY*). The only way out of this desperate situation is to propose a fourth reading: *pr'ic* (which is technically unobjectionable), and take *βγγ-pr'ic* (distributed on successive lines) as the acc. of a personal name, *βγγ-pr'ic*, which occurs precisely so in the *Mukraśmag*, line 57 (in Manich. script naturally *βγγpr'ic*). The letter was thus addressed to *Try'a* and *βγγpr'ic*, two persons, as required in any case to account for the plural form of the verbs. *Taxic* and *Bagic* were bankers, and the letter is a bank draft. I do not recall expressing the opinion attributed to me by Livshitz, p. 69, n. 29, concerning the word read *take* by Freiman (in line 5).

<sup>41</sup> So also in a fragmentary letter, Livshitz, p. 221.

prominence in the 'Marriage contract' may be ascribed primarily to the special interest in marriage as a social institution. Yet this does not fully account for his being given the first place, in the invocation, over his ancient overlord. Similar placing and pairing could be detected in the Eastern Iranian name \**Bag(a)mīhr* (*Vakamīhira* = *Mathurā*).<sup>42</sup> If it were to be understood as '(given by, or devoted to) Baga and Mithra'; for names of similar structure, as *Rāmantr* 'Rasnu and Mithra' in Parthian,<sup>43</sup> or *Tir-mīhr*.<sup>44</sup> *Mīhr-ōhrmazd*, *Māh-ōhrmazd*, *Mīhr-māh*, etc., in the West, indicate that the god Baga, not the appellative, forms part of it.

These questions take us back to an old controversy into which I entered, twenty years ago, with a paper on the magophony.<sup>45</sup> In it I argued against the exaggeration of Marquart's view that *Baga* (or *haga*) was just another name for Mithra, but saw myself forced to admit that the equation was true, in a limited sense, if restricted to Sogdiane and Khwarezm. It is clear now that even that concession was unnecessary. In Sogdiane, at any rate, Baga and Mithra were not 'identical' with each other, but rather a pair of close companions, perhaps competitors for popular favour, and of the two Baga came to be more highly esteemed. Thus it came to pass that the feast of Mithra which was called *Mithrakāna* in Persia was dedicated to Baga in Sogdiane and hence named \**Bagakāna*; which then supplied the name of the seventh month in Sogdian (*Byk'n*). In the designation of the day sacred to Mithra, the sixteenth of each month, Mithra's name was kept in Sogdiane generally;<sup>46</sup> but Baga's replaced it in Khwarezm, also in the Sogdian calendar list found among the Mugh material,<sup>47</sup> which, however, shows strong Khwarezmian influence.<sup>48</sup>

It would take us too far afield to give more than casual heed to the question of the impact of Zoroaster's teachings on the native paganism of Sogdiane. The situation in the eastern uplands, in Bactriana and Uspidekhana, will have differed markedly from that obtaining in the city states of the West, where higher civilization, nourished by international traffic, was flourishing, and where all the religions of Asia had a foothold of sorts. In the Mugh documents we meet both the *muypt* 'chief magus' and the *Byapt* 'lord of the temple', indicating a dichotomy comparable to that in Persia (*Mōbed* : *hōmbyd*) or Armenia (*mogpet* : *hagnapet*).<sup>49</sup> Typically Zoroastrian words often turn out to be borrowings, sometimes fairly ancient ones, as Zoroaster's name (*Zrōdē*), *Argān-watān*<sup>50</sup> (a popular distortion of *Aryana-Vaejā*), and, more importantly, the *Anabād*

<sup>42</sup> cf. H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 422; H. Liders, *Mathurā inscriptions*, ed. K. I. Janert, 1961, 85.

<sup>43</sup> I. M. Diakonoff and V. A. Livshitz, *Documenta Iranica*, 1960, 24.

<sup>44</sup> cf. *BSOAS*, xiv, 2, 1961, 191, where I suggested '(treating in) a contract of alliance with Tir(i)' (which could be applied also to \**Bag(a)mīhr*).

<sup>45</sup> *JRAS*, 1944, 133 sqq.

<sup>46</sup> *Orientalia*, NS, viii, 1939, 86.

<sup>47</sup> Livshitz, loc. cit., p. 88, n. 37.

<sup>48</sup> As arises from the enumeration of the lunar mansions, see *JRAS*, 1942, 245.

<sup>49</sup> Used by Grigor Magistros (*Nor Baghrak*); hitherto overlooked.

<sup>50</sup> *BSOAS*, xi, 1, 1943, 66 (line 26).

*Spenta* (*mrδ'spnt*); but there is a seemingly indigenous word for the Gāthās (*pnce γ'āh* 'the five G.'). Of the *Amald Spenta*<sup>41</sup> two are never mentioned (*Vohu Manah* and *Xšaθra Vairya*) and two are used in a sense we cannot determine: *hmrct mrcwt*,<sup>42</sup> compared with the Islamic angels *Hārūt Mārūt* and the Armenian flower-names *Hannau Maurout*.<sup>43</sup> *Zyγ spnd'rmē* is the 'Genius of the Earth' in Manichaeism, but *sp'nt'rmδr'y* in a Buddhist fragment is simply 'earth';<sup>44</sup> here Khot. *Handrūmatā*<sup>45</sup> and Arm. *Sandratarmē* indicate that the meaning 'spirit of the Earth' is older than Zoroaster. A similar claim may be made for *āša vahūta*; the Manichaean elements (ether, air, light, water, fire) are in Parthian *'rd'r frerdyn*, *u'd, rckn*, *'b, 'dior*, but in Sogdian *'rt'w frerdyy*, *w't, 'rtzwt*, *'p, 'tr*, so that *'rtzwt* replaced 'light' rather than 'fire', as one would expect.<sup>46</sup> The adoption of the 'Young-Avestan' calendar, which together with its nomenclature had been imposed by decree of the Achaemenian government, does not imply conversion to Zoroaster's creed.<sup>47</sup> Actually, the Sogdians allowed themselves some latitude, substituted names of their own for most of the months, and invented fresh ones for the epagomenae;<sup>48</sup> which shows little regard for the *Amald Spenta* and lack of familiarity with the Gāthās.<sup>49</sup>

It seems that the *Sympt-* was more important to Sogdian life than the *suryp-*. He alone figures in the 'Ancient Letters', which precede the Mugh documents by 400 years, and the temples (*Sym-*) in which he officiated abounded in Sog-

<sup>41</sup> Not counting their appearance as day-names.

<sup>42</sup> *Sogdians*, p. 18, line 18, and p. 19, where Stackelberg, *WZNM*, xi, 1898, 244, should have been cited. On *'mrctm* cf. *BSOAS*, xi, 6, 1946, 737; now *'mrctm* also at Mugh.

<sup>43</sup> *Agathangelos*, p. 325, line 13, ed. Tilia, 1914.

<sup>44</sup> *surp' p'ry* 'sy' *sp'nt'rmδr'y* *cynt' (yt)* 'he enters into the earth of Mount Sumeru' P 10, 36; cf. Khwar. *spnd'rmē* = Arab. *ard* 'earth'.

<sup>45</sup> H. W. Bailey, 'Languages of the Saka', *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iv, 1, 1938, 134.

<sup>46</sup> The problem is twofold: (a) why did the Manichaeans not use *suryp'k* 'light' here, as they did elsewhere (the answer supplied by Wachtsmat-Lentz, *Manich. Deym.*, 564 sq., does not carry conviction); and (b) if they wished to avoid *suryp'k*, why did they choose *'rtzwt*, which, if it was regarded as 'Genius of the Fire' in Sogdiane, too, was particularly unfitted for service as 'light' in a list of elements that included fire?

<sup>47</sup> cf. I. Gershevitch, *The Ar. Avesta to Mazda*, 19.

<sup>48</sup> Al-Beruni has two separate words (*Arav.*, 47.1-2), both corrupt. In the Mugh material a single name occurs, *'rtysd' ruc*, A 4, R 2, 4 (the edition by Bogolyubov-Sindanova, loc. cit., p. 60, follows the reading proposed in *Orientalia*, NS, xiii, 1928, 80, without acknowledgment). Freeman originally identified it with the fifth day of Series A, which I accepted. However, the resemblance to al-Beruni's form is too slight altogether. I would now assume that in Mugh the ordinary day-names (1-5) were used also for the epagomenae, so that *'rtysd' ruc* of the 'month' *MY. sp'nc'k* was the 363rd day of the Sogdian year. A name allegedly belonging to Series B (Nu. 3), *ard'ycr*, has been read by Bogolyubov-Sindanova, p. 43, whose edition of Mugh B 1 has been justly criticized by Livshitz, 219 sq., who reads *mydyct* (as a personal name). Such a mixture of calendar systems would be highly unlikely in any case.

<sup>49</sup> Other points deserving attention include: the absence of *vozaia* (*yt*) *BSOAS*, xi, 6, 1946, 737, on 185/6. is doubtful); the function of *frant* (*frerty* in a Manich. text as 'soul' or part of a soul, *JRAS*, 1944, p. 137, o. 7. But in Christian Sogd. *frwt* = 'grave', *frwt-qly* = 'tomb'; Manich. *'rt'w frerdyy* as element merely reflects Parth. *'rd'r frerdyn*); *'bagadānān* = 'altar'; *kydy/šr'wlyh* as 'bloody' sacrifice (like Arm. *šh*) against Ar. *zabāh*, see Gershevitch, *JRAS*, 1946, 183; etc.



diane.<sup>60</sup> Most of the divine beings that constitute the Iranian pantheon are represented, some only through personal names: from Ahura-mazdēh ('*yermzt-*, *zermzt-*) and Zrvān ('*zrw*'), Miθra ('*myšy*, *mšy*) and Verōθrayna ('*vryšn-*'), Narya-sabha ('*nryšn*) and Māh ('*m'y*, *m'z*), Aži-vaēuhi ('*ryzrw*)<sup>61</sup> and Druvāspa (or Druvāspā ? *šrw'sp*).<sup>62</sup> Haoma ('*ywm*)<sup>63</sup> and X'arənah ('*prn*), Tīstriya ('*tyš*)<sup>64</sup> and Yima ('*ymyš*),<sup>65</sup> down to the water-sprite Gandarva ('*wp'p-yūno*).<sup>66</sup> The greatest of all divinities, it seems, was Nana(š) the Lady,<sup>67</sup> whose presence, like that of Druvāspa = *Apocroto*, constitutes an important link with the Bactrian religion as known through the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka; she was also the city-goddess of Panjikant.<sup>68</sup> In addition, there were some gods that are not readily identifiable, such as *ryxš/ryw'yš* (*Rēxazē* ?),<sup>69</sup> who resembles the

<sup>60</sup> cf. W. Barthold's remark on the frequency of place-names ending in *-fayn* (*Turkistan*, p. 120, n. 6) = Sogd. *fyn*. One of them, *xīz-fyn* 'the six temples', is apposite (see Gershevitch, *Gronin*, 64). Arm. *bagin* excludes \**bagana*, \**baganya*, etc., and demands \**bagine*, which meets all requirements (not those of Mathurī *hahnapa*), recognized by H. W. Bailey, *RSOAS*, xiv, 5, 1962, 420 sq., which reflects a form with reduplicated vowels, \**bagyna*-, \**bagyna*-; it has been approved by Wachernagel-Debrunner, II, 2, 363.

<sup>61</sup> *ryzrw* *gātē*, 'Ancient Letters', II, 37, *RSOAS*, xii, 2-6, 1944, p. 007, n. 5, = 'the slave of A.'. A misunderstanding has been caused by *gātē* elsewhere. Livshitz, p. 34, n. 6, claimed that in an inscription he had published in *Isr. Ori. Obšt. Nešt AN Tadm. NNN*, 14, 1957, III sq., a word which was 'clearly' (*exon*) *gātē* had been wrongly read *ga-end* by me in 'Mitteliranisch', p. 120. However, I have never even seen the cited article and have no access to the periodical in question. The inscription I referred to had been published, three years earlier, by A. M. Holmström, whose photograph shows a plain *-š*, markedly different from *-t* in the preceding line; in shape it resembles the *-š* in the SCE.

<sup>62</sup> *šrw'sp* *gātē* 'the slave of D.', 'Anc. Lett.'. Cf. Arm. *Druvāsp* (shortened name, like *Horēmal*, *Bakām*, etc.).

<sup>63</sup> *ywmšy* (Mugh): on the plant (*ywm*) see 'Mitteliranisch', 83.

<sup>64</sup> *Tūstern* (Mahnāmag), *Tūštr* (Mugh), and others, cf. Livshitz, p. 63.

<sup>65</sup> *RSOAS*, xi, 1, 1943, 74.

<sup>66</sup> *RSOAS*, xi, 5, 1945, p. 462, n. 3.

<sup>67</sup> In a Manichaean fragment published in *JRAs*, 1944, 142-4 (cf. also p. 187), *Nāšš'mān* 'Nana the Lady' mourns somebody's death on a bridge, in spectacular fashion. An undated Chinese memorandum (about A.D. 800 ?) on the customs of the people of Kang, translated by Chevreton, *loc. cit.*, p. 133, n., may be called upon to identify the cause of her sorrow: it was the death of Adonis-Tamouz. 'Ils ont coutume de rendre un culte au dieu Adonis et l'honneur extrêmement. Ils disent que l'enfant d'été est mort le septième mois et qu'on a perdu son corps... les hommes chargés de rendre un culte au dieu... revêtent tous des habits noirs... vont pieds nus, se frappant la poitrine et se lamentant... des hommes et des femmes... se disposent dans la campagne pour rechercher le corps de l'enfant Adonis; le septième jour, (cette cérémonie) prend fin'. This is a fair description of Adonis, which took place at the height of the summer: the seventh (Chinese) month began at the end of July or in August. The possibility that 'Adyāne, the son of Abrinān' was a Sogdian version of Adonis should now be considered. Sacrificing on a bridge: cf. Herod., vii, 34; Armenian *šēre*, xviii, 7, 1; cutting off ears: cf. *Sūrah*, iv, 118; laceration of faces: al-Beruni, *Chron.*, 235.10, at the Sogd. equivalent of the *Fraxodipda*.

<sup>68</sup> *šrw'apāh* on coins, see O. I. Smirnova, *Kutaby mōst a gundāšā Frōdšānt*, 1963, Nos. 350-403. This reading (which inevitably is obvious to the editor of the Manichaean fragment mentioned above) has also been recognized by O. I. Smirnova, etc. in a hand-written note in her *Kutaby*. It is a pity that the discovery came too late to help in the attribution of the coins: they may belong to *šrw'apāh*, whose absence from the coinage of this country is would be difficult to understand. The reading of several other names appearing on the coins ('Amogran', 'Vidyan', etc.) will also have to be revised.

<sup>69</sup> *Rēxazē* *gātē* 'gift of R.' (Mahnāmag, Mugh).



Bactrian *Apaxɣpo* (𐰌𐰆𐰘𐰭𐰏𐰤); *Tamē* (𐰌𐰆𐰭𐰏), known through a Chinese report (*Tak-siet*)<sup>70</sup> and a personal name in the 'Ancient Letters';<sup>71</sup> possibly *š'p't* (*šapat* ? *šapat* ?).<sup>72</sup> Finally, we should mention the wind-god, who is called w't 'rt'w 'righteous wind' as in the Avesta (*vātāhe asaonō*) and in the Pahlavi *Kārnāmag* (*wād ardō*); a remarkable psalm,<sup>73</sup> a Yasht in miniature, is addressed to him, as 'the son of the chief god', in the *Nawo-puste*, the work of the 'Magi of Sughd'.<sup>74</sup>

In such surroundings the survival of Baga as an individual god need not cause surprise, all the less so as even the *Daēvas* maintained themselves as divinities, at least in a part of Sogdiana. True, in written Sogdian, native, Buddhist, Manichaean, and Christian alike, *šyg* does mean 'demon' as elsewhere; even in the Mugh material *šyry'kš*, the abstract of the adjective *šyg* which may come from *daicya-*, denotes some disapproved quality.<sup>75</sup> Yet, the Mugh proper names preserve the primordial meaning. *Šmšyg* or *Š'kšyg* (Nov. 1, R 22) may not be certain enough to come into consideration, but *šyryaen* ('*daicya-gama*) should surely be interpreted as 'heavenly' (A 9, V 28); in commenting on it, Livshitz, p. 101, mentions *šyr'kš* on an unpublished seal. Most importantly, the name of the king from whose chancellery the Mugh documents emanate: *Šwylš*, to the superficial view = 'devilish'; it is identical with the adjective *šwylšyc*, which in Manichaean Sogdian contrasts with *xwrmšyc* 'Ahuramazdian', but the king himself and his people will have understood it as 'divine'. He was the ruler of *Pamē* (for a few months also king of Sogdiana) and, as the investigations of O. I. Smirnova have shown, his proper dominions lay to the east of his capital, *Pamēkanš* 'the city of Pamē' (Panjikent), and comprised the mountainous country along the upper course of the Zarafshan river. There we would localize the Sogdians that retained *šyg* in the sense of 'god'. The district adjoining immediately to the north was *Uš(t)rlāna*. A prince of that country, who served as a general in the caliph's army towards the end of the ninth century, was called Abu'l-Sā] Dīwdād b. Dīwdād, and his grandson,

<sup>70</sup> Charaxenes, *loc.*, p. 139, n. 3 (cf. p. 312); 'le p'lo d'or' is a golden banner (*pañā*).

<sup>71</sup> *Taz'g-šuk* 'the slave of T.', n. 53, 56. Not, of course, 'T.', the slave'. The author of the letter, *Nay-šuk* ('the slave of Nana'), is speaking of his own son. One could draw the inference that Nana and Tanaš were associates (but T., a spacious estate, whose status required daily sacrifices of 5 camels, 10 horses, and 100 sheep, was no Adonis). There is no reason, other than partial surface resemblance, for connecting this Sogdian god with the Turkish tribal name *Turek* (V. Minorsky, *Udud*, 300). His famed sanctuary may be sought at *Tazet* (?) in the district of Aghar (cf. Barthold, *Farkhān*, 133), some 20 miles to the north-west of Samarkand; it may have been regarded as part of nearby *Uštrān* = 'Western Isma'.

<sup>72</sup> cf. *Sogdica*, 7. The resemblance of *š'p'tlyrš* to *ayg-šyrš* etc. suggested that *š'p't* was the name of a divinity (cf. now also *š'p'tlyr*, Mugh). Yet, as Chr. *š'p't* (ST, 2) has been confirmed since ('Passion of St. George', 266, see I. Gerasimovitch, *JHAS*, 1946, 163), it becomes possible to understand the name as 'truly good'. The other name formed with *š'p't* (*š'p'tlyrš*), cf. *BSOAS*, x1, 4, 1946, p. 737, n. 10 may favour that opinion. The exclamation could be analysed as meaning 'with (the word of) applause' *dpar*.

<sup>73</sup> E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, 69 m. (P 3, 203-10); cf. also *BSOAS*, x1, 4, 1946, 714, 720.

<sup>74</sup> cf. 'Mitteliranisch', 43.

<sup>75</sup> cf. Livshitz, 125.

too, bore the name *Dīwdād*, the son of Muḥammad the Afšin.<sup>76</sup> Nöldeke long ago remarked on that appellation, strictly *dēwδād*, and interpreted it as *Θεόδωρος*, with *dīw-* (*dēw-*) = 'god' (*ZII*, II, 1923, 318). His father's name was probably *dēwδast* (rather than *dēwδast*), i.e. '(having) god (as) creator', a variation on *dēwδād*, formed with *δast* as in Al-Berūnī's list of the Sogdian day-names (corresponding with Av. *dabūδō*). Nowhere did ancient words and beliefs have a better chance to survive than in those inaccessible mountain lands, *Parō* and *Uarūšana*, the back of beyond.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> cf. Hubachmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 37, 506; Justi, s.v.

<sup>77</sup> In Mazandaran, in similar conditions, the 'White Dev' maintained himself as a god, see Nöldeke, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxi:ii, 1915, 397-400. The history of *dēw-* in Iranian has been correctly seen and clearly represented by H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, 90 sq.



## Surkh-Kotal und Kaniska

Nachdem der Inhalt der Inschrift von Surkh-Kotal durch meinen im Jahre 1960 erschienenen Artikel<sup>1</sup> festgestellt worden war, hat die Forschung dank den von E. BENVENISTE vorgelegten Neufunden<sup>2</sup>, worunter zwei frühere Versionen der Inschrift, bedeutende Fortschritte gemacht. Dazu haben mehrere Gelehrte, besonders BENVENISTE und I. GERSHBERG<sup>3</sup>, das Verständnis durch gewichtige Einzelbemerkungen gefördert.

Statt der behutsamen Vertiefung unseres Wissens sieht der Fernerstehende jedoch bloß ein Bild heillosen Verwirrung. Die Schuld daran trägt die von H. HUMMACH in einem Buch<sup>4</sup> und vielen späteren Artikeln zu Tage geförderte Hypothese, nach welcher der Text der Inschrift ein pseudo-gäthisches Gedicht zu Ehren des Gottes Mithra sei. Diese Hypothese ist so abwegig, sowohl im Ganzen wie in allen Einzelheiten, daß sogar eine Diskussionsbasis nicht erkennbar ist, und ich würde auf sie auch hier nicht eingehen, wenn sie nicht M. MAYRHOFER in einem in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlichten Artikel<sup>5</sup> mit der iranistischen Erklärung in Parallele gesetzt hätte, und zwar in einer Weise, die den Leser veranlassen mag, zu glauben, es lägen hier zwei gleichberechtigte, gleichwertige, gleicherweise mögliche Interpretationen vor, zwischen denen die Wahl freistünde. Demgegenüber muß energisch betont werden, daß die Inschrift in einer mittelpersischen Sprache geschrieben ist und daß die auf dem mittelpersischen Gebiet Sachverständigen die HUMMACHsche Hypothese einmütig ablehnen.

Ein Umstand, der wohl geeignet wäre, dem Zweifelnden die Augen zu öffnen, ist weder von MAYRHOFER noch von einem der anderen Gelehrten, die über diesen Gegenstand geschrieben haben, zur Sprache gebracht worden. Nach der von mir gelieferten Erklärung ist es der Hauptzweck der Inschrift, die Erinnerung an die Erbauung eines großen Brunnens wachzuhalten, der wegen des Versiegens des natürlichen Wasserzuflusses nötig geworden war<sup>6</sup>. Als sich mir dies als Hauptinhalt ergab, studierte

<sup>1</sup> The Bactrian inscription. *BSOAS.*, xliii, 1960, 47—55.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions de Bactriane*, J. A., 1961, 112—152.

<sup>3</sup> *BSOAS.*, xvi, 1963, 193—96.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Kaniska-Inschrift von Surkh-Kotal. Ein Zeugnis des jüngeren Mithraismus aus Iran*. 1960.

<sup>5</sup> Das Bemühen um die Surkh-Kotal-Inschrift. *ZDMG*, 117, 1963, 325 bis 344.

<sup>6</sup> Ein solcher Inhalt wird niemanden überraschen, der eine auch nur flüchtige Bekanntschaft mit den Inschriften der Kuschanzeit besitzt. Sie berich-

ich alles, was die Archäologen über die Ruinen und ihre Ausgrabungen geschrieben hatten, fand aber kein Sterbenswörtchen über Brunnen, Kanäle, Aquädukte oder dgl. So fest aber war ich von der Richtigkeit meiner Erklärung, in der das Wort für „Brunnen“ (mašō) naturgemäß eine wichtige Rolle spielte, überzeugt, daß ich sie trotz dieser Enttäuschung veröffentlichte. Während mein Artikel gedruckt wurde, erreichten die Ausgräber den Grund der riesigen Treppe und fanden — den großen Brunnen?

Man wird daher kaum M. MAYRHOFER beistimmen wollen, wenn er am Schlusse seiner Ausführungen (S. 343) von dem „Rätsel der Inschrift“ spricht und dem „Geheimnis“, das sie noch nicht preisgegeben habe. Dieses Rätsel ist längst gelöst. Freilich sind noch viele Einzelfragen zu beantworten; einige von ihnen sollen hier besprochen werden.

### I. malāzō

Daß dieses Wort etwa „Akropolis“ bedeutet, ist kaum fraglich, dagegen ist seine Herleitung strittig<sup>1</sup>. Ich hatte angenommen, daß ein Kompositum mit altiran. *dizā* „Festung“ vorläge<sup>2</sup>, ohne mich über die erste Hälfte des Wortes zu äußern. Später ist von verschiedenen Seiten Vergleichung mit soghd. *mzyn* „gerüstet“ (\**hama-zaina-*) empfohlen worden<sup>3</sup>. Eine entsprechende Ableitung, von \**hama-dizā-*, hatte ich zwar erwogen, aber aus zwei Gründen als unwahrscheinlich angesehen: erstens weil ein Adjektiv resultieren würde; und zweitens weil statt des ursprünglichen -e- in der Kompositionsfuge -o- erscheinen sollte. Jedoch ist keiner dieser Gründe von großem Gewicht; einerseits könnte ein Adjektiv, „ganz

ten häufig vom Versiegen des Wassers, der Erbauung von Brunnen, der Restaurierung von Tempeln u. dgl.; dagegen von einem „König des Rauschtrankes“, „Fürsten des Rinnals“, „Herrn des Bilsonkrauts“ oder jemandem, „der die Tropfen erstrehen ließ“, ist in ihnen, soweit ich sehe, nicht die Rede.

<sup>1</sup> Dies erfuhr ich zuerst von dem leider so jung verstorbenen A. MAHIOQ, als er wegen der Kanishka-Konferenz im April 1960 London besuchte. Mein Artikel war Anfang Februar 1960 erschienen.

<sup>2</sup> Zu dem von R. N. FRYE, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, v, 1962, 243, Beigebrauchten möchte man bemerken, daß weder ein arabisches noch ein persischsprachiges Wort im 2ten Jhd. in Baktrien zu erwarten ist. Dazu ist das angebliche arab. *maliz* nur ein Fehler für *malid*, das seinerseits eine Vulgärform (*Imāla*) von *malāḍ* darstellt. Shughni usw. *malā* „Herronhaus“ geht natürlich auf arab. *maḥalla* zurück (vgl. die Bedeutung des Wortes im Farsi). <sup>3</sup> *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 49.

<sup>4</sup> H. W. BAILEY und O. SZEMERÉNYI, vgl. MAYRHOFER l. c. 328A, 6, wo ungenau behauptet wird, ich hätte „an eine Bildung von iran. *Ydāiz*“ gedacht, während bei mir nur von dem Worte *dizā* „Festung“ die Rede war.

mit Festung(smanern) (umgeben)<sup>11</sup>, leicht substantiviert werden, andererseits könnte der Verlust der ersten Silbe die Erhaltung des -a- nach sich ziehen.

Dafür, daß \**hama-diza-* nicht nur eine theoretisch mögliche Vorform, sondern ein wirklich schon im Altiranischen existierendes Wortgebilde ist, läßt sich der Nachweis führen. Westlich von Paykand, "at the very edge of the steppe was the fortified village of *Amdiza*"<sup>12</sup>. Daß diese Ortschaft, wie bei ihrer den Angriffen räuberischer Steppeneinwohner ausgesetzten Lage nicht anders zu erwarten, wohlbefestigt war, wird von Muqaddasi (Maqdisi) ausdrücklich erwähnt<sup>13</sup>. Er schreibt den Namen 'mdyzy (امديزي), Yūqūt dagegen 'mdyḥ (امديح, vokalisiert *Amdizah*), so daß man ihn als \**Amdizē* restaurieren würde. Für Kürze des zweiten Vokals spricht die Nebenform \**Amze* (امز), die als Name der ersten Station auf einem der Wege von Bukhara nach Khwarezm vorkommt<sup>14</sup> und von GEORGE mit *Amdiza* identifiziert worden ist<sup>15</sup> (*Amdize* > *Amōze* > *Amze*).

Der Name repräsentiert altiran. \**hama-dizaka-*, welches von \**hama-diza-* nur durch ein zusätzliches *ka*-Suffix verschieden ist. Dieser Zusatz hat aber die Akzentverhältnisse gründlich verschoben: \**hama-diza-* wurde \**hamaddiz*, die längere Form dagegen \**hāmadizak*; die weiteren Veränderungen sind im Einklang mit bekannten Regeln.

## 2. κανάραγγος

Schon A. MARCQ erkannte, daß dies der Titel eines hohen Beamten ist. Er konstruierte sich ein altiran. \**kāra-dranga-*, das als ersten Bestandteil altpers. *kāra-* „Heer“ enthalten sollte<sup>16</sup>. Das ist aber nur eine jener Routine-Etymologien, deren wir im Iranischen einen Überfluß haben. Demgegenüber schlug ich vor<sup>17</sup>, das neue Wort mit dem sassanidischen Titel *Kanārang* (Καναράγγος) zu verbinden, der als Bezeichnung für die Statthalter der nordöstlichen Grenzlande bekannt ist. Der Vergleich von *kanārang* mit \**kanūrang* führt zur Annahme einer Vorform \**kanār-ōrang* bzw. \**karūn-ōrang*, wobei die Variation im Vorderglied durch das Nebeneinandervorkommen von *karān* und *kanār* im Persischen genugsam erklärt ist. Als etymologische Bedeutung ergibt sich „Grenzhalter“ oder „Grenzfestiger“, im schönsten Einklang mit der bezeugten Funktion des *Kanārang*.

<sup>11</sup> W. BARTOLD, *Turkestan*, 118.      ■ 282 Z. 4 (*lahd hiēn*).

<sup>12</sup> Ebenda 343 Z. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. BARTOLD l. c. 154.

<sup>14</sup> Zu -dranga- s. H. W. BAILEY, *JRAS.*, 1865, 14 sq.; I. GERSHEVITCH, *Av. Hymn to Mithra*, 206 sq.; vgl. auch den altpers. Eigennamen *wydrang*.

<sup>15</sup> I. GERSHEVITCH hatte unabhängig dieselbe Ansicht erreicht, wie ich anmerkungsweise erwähnte (*BSOAS.*, xxiii, 51 A. 2).

Bei dieser Sachlage berührt es merkwürdig, in MAYHOFFERS Aufzählung von HUMBACHS „Treffer“ das Folgende angeführt zu sehen: „Für *καπαλαγγω* „*kanārang*“ bietet HUMBACH, MARICQ fortführend, wohl die bessere Etymologie als GERSHEVITCH und HENNING“ (S. 342); denn hier wird unsere Verbindung mit *kanārang* am Ende abgelehnt und am Anfang angenommen. Es ist zwar anzuerkennen, daß sich HUMBACHS Übersetzung hier der Wirklichkeit nähert, aber sein Beitrag besteht bloß aus einer unglücklichen Verquickung der beiden kontrastierenden Vorschläge. Ganz zu schweigen von den sich dabei ergebenden phonologischen Schwierigkeiten (*καπα-* statt *καπο-*; *kanā-* aus *kāra-*), ist es doch zu beklagen, daß das hundertjährige Bemühen der Historiker, über den Wissensstand im 8ten Jahrhundert (als die byzantinischen Gelehrten jeden persischen Titel als *σπαρτηγός* deuteten) hinauszukommen, wegen einer aus der Luft gegriffenen Etymologie unbescheiden beiseitegesetzt werden soll.

Wenn ich jetzt diesem Gegenstande zurückkehre, geschieht es nur, um die Aufmerksamkeit auf eine ältere Form des persischen Titels zu lenken. In der von R. N. FRYE in *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, 165 sq., beschriebenen Gelehrtengegeschichte von Nasaf und Isfahān findet sich an drei weit voneinander getrennten Stellen eine Genealogie, die auf Ghūrak, den König von Samarkand, der im Jahre 711 zur Regierung kam, zurückgeführt ist. Ihre letzten Glieder sind (S. 167): *طرخون بن کنادرنگ* . . . *بن غورك*. So an zwei der Stellen. An der dritten aber steht *بن محمود* statt *کنادرنگ*, ein Umstand, der die Annahme nahelegt, daß das eine der Wörter Eigenname, das andere Titel ist. Die Wahl fällt nicht schwer, und in der Tat hat FRYE *kanādrang* (wie wir lesen dürfen) sogleich mit *kandrang* verglichen<sup>17</sup>. In Sogdiane hat sich also eine abweichende Form,

<sup>17</sup> Ob der Eigenname richtig überliefert und punktiert ist, kann nicht leicht entschieden werden. Er ähnelt (*B. . . -dur*) dem Namen des im J. 731 als König von Mäimäry vom chinesischen Hof bestätigten *Mo-cho* (*M. . . -dur* ?), der mit dem von Tabari für a. H. 110 (= 728/9) genannten *al-Muhtār* verknüpft worden ist. Da aber *Mo-cho* auch Name des türkischen Großkönigs Qapaγan qayan ist (welcher sicher auf *-dur* endigte), ist es bezweifelhaft, daß er als Transkription von (arab.) *Muhtār* gelten könne. Dazu hat O. SMIRNOVA Mo-cho's Namen auf Münzen als *Miṭṭyr* lesen wollen (vgl. R. N. FRYE, *Harvard J. A. S.*, xiv, 1951, 120 sq.; da ihr Artikel mir nicht zur Hand ist, kann ich die Lesung nicht prüfen). In dem kürzlich erschienenen Werke über die Münzen aus Panjikant (O. I. SMIRNOVA, *Katalog monet s gorodishā Pendikent*) ist aber an der erwartenden Stelle (S. 30) davon keine Rede, so daß die Lesung vielleicht seither aufgegeben worden ist; mir stimmt natürlich nicht mit *mo* (*mak*) überein. — Wir kennen jetzt *Tarrān* als Namen von drei Personen aus dem moghdischen Königsstamm: 1. von dem im J. 710 (Ende März oder Anfang April) abgesetzten König, 2. von einem Bruder des Ghūrak (*Al-qand fi ta'riḥ Samarqand*, allerdings eine Quelle zweifelhaften Wertes), und 3. von dem hier genannten Enkel.



die dem ursprünglichen \**kandrang* noch ganz nahe stand, bis ins 3. Jh. erhalten<sup>17a</sup>.

### 3. Verschiedene Titel

Die im Baktrischen gebräuchlichen Beamtentitel stammen überhaupt der Mehrzahl nach aus Persien; manche sind direkt entlehnt, andere mehr oder weniger angepaßt, Nachahmungen des Fremden. Allerdings ist die Hauptquelle unseres Wissens hier eine Reihe von Siegelaufschriften, deren Datierung gemeinhin schwierig, oft unmöglich ist. Viele stammen gewiß erst aus sassanidischer Zeit, als persischer Einfluß vollends die Oberhand gewonnen hatte. Der umgekehrte Fall, Wanderung von Ost nach West, liegt nur bei einem einzigen Worte vor: bei pers. *ridē*, das freilich erst viel später, in muslimischer Zeit, in die persische Literatursprache eindrang. Meinen Nachweis des baktrischen Ursprungs dieses Titels,<sup>18</sup> der dem Europäer besonders als Bezeichnung der ägyptischen Vizekönige, *Khedive*, bekannt ist, hat man leider allgemein unbeachtet gelassen.

Auf die königlichen Titel brauche ich hier nicht einzugehen, da A. MARICQ sie ausreichend besprochen hat<sup>19</sup>. Die Inschriften haben, abgesehen von *καρὰλαργος*, welches als lokal begrenztes Äquivalent von *marz-bān* ursprünglich parthisch sein dürfte, den *ζυγοβύς* „Waffenmeister“ erbracht<sup>20</sup>. Dagegen ist es verfehlt, aus dem Eigennamen *Αρτίλογυσσις* (var. *Υαστίλογυς* [s] *γος*) mit *Ημαχ*<sup>21</sup> einen Titel *γυσσις* herauszudestillieren, der dann als \**ganzika* „Schatzmeister“ oder gar „Schankwirt“ bedeuten soll — eine papierne Konstruktion, deren Falschheit schon durch die Schreibung mit *sigma* erwiesen wird, ganz abgesehen davon, daß im Baktrischen „Schatz“ als *γασ*-<sup>22</sup> erscheinen sollte. Ebensovwenig überzeugend ist übrigens der von W. ELLERS<sup>23</sup> gemachte Vorschlag, jenen Namen als „Tochter des Artilo“ zu verstehen, im Hinblick auf soghd. *knē(y)k* „Mädchen“. Wie schon das danebenstehende *Κοζυαρι περσο* „Sohn des K.“ dartut, wäre ein Wandel von Tenuis zur Media nur bei

<sup>17a</sup> [Die Schreibung des Titels *kandrang* in den Pehlewi Papyri scheint nicht weiterzuhelfen: *kn'ing*. Pap. Berl. ed. HANSEN 27, 4; wahrscheinlich 36, 8, s. J. DE MENABEU, *J. A.*, 1953, 193 sq.; A. PERIEBANIAN, *Vestnik Drevn. Ist.*, 1961, 3, S. 92 (trotz HANSENs Lesung *kn'dr* wird man kaum *kn'dl* einsetzen dürfen). — Das angebliche QUNARNK auf einem Siegel (GHISEHMAN, *Archaeologica Orientalia*, 108 sq.) ist mir unannehmbar (vgl. zur Aufschrift *Mitteliranisch*, S. 53). — Korrekturnote].

<sup>18</sup> *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 51.

<sup>19</sup> *J. A.* 1958/4, 372 sqq.

<sup>20</sup> *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 50 A. 9. Die dort vorgeschlagene Verbesserung der früheren Lesung (*σηγοβύς*) ist allgemein akzeptiert worden, meistens ohne Verweis.

<sup>21</sup> *L. c.*, 43.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. *Asia Major*, x, 1963, 196 sq.

<sup>23</sup> Bei MAYRHOFER l. c. 338 angeführt und als „brillanter Einfall“ (auch „schlagend“ 341) bezeichnet.

einem altererbten Kompositum zu erwarten, aber nicht bei einer Zusammenfügung der lebenden Sprache; sogar bei βαγγονογο, das schon längst in ein Ganzes zusammengeschmolzen war, ist die Tenuis erhalten. Dazu kommt, daß sich eine Frau in einer Liste kuschanischer Würdenträger wunderlich ausnimmt, und endlich, daß die angeführte soghdische Vokabel gar nicht „Tochter“ heißt. Denn, um eine von A. MAHICQ bei anderer Gelegenheit gewählte gute Formulierung<sup>21</sup> anzuwenden, es ist dies ein Wort qui met plutôt l'accent sur la notion d'enfance que sur celle de descendance, et qui ne précise pas le sexe. Wird doch im Soghdischen selbst das Wort von dem kleinen Seth, dem Sohne Adams, gebraucht, an einer Stelle, wo man am besten „Kindlein“ übersetzt; Anwendung verwandter Formen auf männliche Kinder, bes. in pejorativem Sinne, ist häufig genug im Iranischen, vgl. etwa pers. *king* „Lustknabe“ (aus \**kanika*), welches auf jeder Seite von 'Ubsid-i Zākāns *Lafā'if* zu finden ist; s. auch unten zu *Kaxiāku*<sup>22</sup>. Wahrscheinlicher ist *Aspilogavasa* eine Nisbe gewöhnlicher Art, mit \*-*ēš*<sup>23</sup>, von einem Ortsnamen in -*āu* oder -*gāu* (aus -*kāu*)<sup>24</sup>, dergleichen es Hunderte gibt<sup>25</sup>.

Den Siegelaufschriften verdanken wir die Kenntnis des *αβαραβδο*. Dieses Wort, welches etwa „Kavalleriegeneral“ bedeutet, steht allein, ohne einen Eigennamen, auf einem Stein der Eremitage<sup>26</sup>, der daher wohl als Amtssiegel gelten muß; vielleicht darf man auch schließen, daß es jeweils nur einen Beamten gab, der diesen Titel führte. Die Aufschrift auf einem von R. B. WATREUX gefundenen Siegel<sup>27</sup> ist kaum sicher genug, um in Anschlag zu kommen: vielleicht *μαλοαπα* (?), welches mit dem

<sup>21</sup> L. c. 380.

<sup>22</sup> Zur allgemeinen Bedeutung von *kan*, vgl. H. W. BAILEY, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 21 sq.

<sup>23</sup> Daß *signa* im Baktrischen auch für iran. *t* (bzw. *c*) verwendet wurde, ist zuerst in *BSOAS.*, xxiii, 49, angenommen worden; es gilt bereits als „selbstverständlich“.

<sup>24</sup> Etwa \*(H)*astilgān* oder (H)*astilgān*; die abweichende Schreibung beweist schon die Hultlosigkeit der Verknüpfung mit av. *astī*. Solche Eigennamen sollte man wirklich in Frieden lassen.

<sup>25</sup> Nicht ein Titel ist ferner das auf *ἑρωςβδο* folgende, von ihm durch das Relativpronomen getrennte Wort der Palamides-Inschrift, welches mit *απιο* [ zu beginnen scheint. Da der obere Teil der beiden letzten Buchstaben verloren ist, ist die Lesung zweifelhaft. Dies gilt besonders von dem für *iota* angesehenen Zeichen, welches unten einen uncharakteristischen Abstrich nach links hat. In Version A der Hauptinschrift hat *ε* meistens, γ mehrfach, aber *ι* nie einen solchen Zusatz. Daher kommt in erster Linie *απιο* [ in Frage. Vielleicht handelt es sich um ein Patronym; möglich ist auch, daß das vorausgehende *iota* dazugehört und *απιο* [ ein Wort oder der Anfang eines solchen ist. Über die Phantasien, die das angebliche *απιο* [ hervorgerufen hat, schweigt man besser.

<sup>26</sup> S. *BSOAS.*, xiv, 1962, 335.

<sup>27</sup> *Numism. Chron.*, 1950, 232 No. 28.

parthischen *mdwdr* „Mundschenk“<sup>21</sup> vergleichbar und dann wohl als Lehnwort, angepaßt durch Ersetzung von *δ* durch *l*, anzusehen wäre. Ähnlich begegnen wir *l* für *δ* im Titel des Großviziers, *αρχορχο προμαλαρο*, dessen Herkunft aus dem seit der Gründung des sassanidischen Reiches bezeugten, trotzdem vielleicht schon parthischen *Vazurg-Framadār* über jeden Zweifel erhaben ist; er findet sich auf einem Siegel der Carter Collection, deren Veröffentlichung wir A. D. H. BRYAN verdanken<sup>22</sup>. Vor dem Titel steht hier der Eigennamen. Ebenso bei einem Amethyst der Eremitage: *Οραραρανο παραρα* „Varahrān der Satrap“<sup>23</sup>, mit der in Persien üblichen, ursprünglich parthischen Form *zahrāb*, gegenüber voraltetem *kyatrapa*, das in den indischen Grenzlanden weiterhin in Gebrauch blieb. Möglicherweise findet sich *zahrāb* auch auf dem ebenfalls von A. D. H. BRYAN ans Licht gezogenen Siegelabdruck des Ashmolean (auf den ich unten noch zurückkomme), doch ist die Lesung ganz ungewiß; sicher ist wohl nur *παρ*<sup>24</sup>, also *zahr* „Macht/Machtbereich“ oder eine Ableitung davon.

Auf einem von STAVISKIY zugänglich gemachten Stein<sup>25</sup> steht deutlich *αζαρουζτο*, wieder ohne Eigennamen. Die Schreibung drückt *hazāruzt* aus. Dieses reflektiert *hazārušt*, den Titel eines der höchsten Beamten des persischen Reiches, der in dieser Form zuerst unter Artaschir bezeugt ist (parth. *hziropt*, pers. *hziropt* in Inschriften<sup>26</sup>; *Ἀζαρόπτης* etc.). Das Verhältnis von *hazāruzt* = *hazārušt* ist nicht klar. Vielleicht handelt es sich um eine Vulgärforn; -zt ist hier ja auch im Armenischen bezeugt (*hazaruuzt*)<sup>27</sup>. Derselbe Titel, aber in ausführlicher Form, findet sich weiterhin auf einem Siegel, welches nach A. D. H. BRYANs Schätzung erst dem 4ten Jh. angehören soll<sup>28</sup>; nur ist -x- in der zweiten Silbe durch -o- ersetzt worden. Die Legende<sup>29</sup> ist: *παρνο* *παρνο* *κρηαρο* *αζαρουζτο*. Den Eigennamen, der beschädigt ist, wird man am besten zu *παρνο**ο**υ**κρηαρο* ergänzen. Also „*Paruwiāz*“, der *kādār*ische *Hazāruzt*, oder sagen wir „der Premierminister von *Kidāra*“; denn *κρηαρο* ist gewiß

<sup>21</sup> *Mitteliranisch* (= *Handb. d. Orient.*, [v/l], 65 A. 4.

<sup>22</sup> *J. Numism. Soc. India*, xlii, 1961, 320 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> S. ebenda S. 321.

<sup>24</sup> Das -p- (welches in den darunterstehenden Buchstaben mündet) ist allerdings auch nicht so klar, wie man wünschen würde; doch wird man kaum *παρ* („König“) lesen dürfen.

<sup>25</sup> *J. Numism. Soc. India*, xlii, 1960, 103 sqq.

<sup>26</sup> *αζαροπ* ist bloß Transliteration, daher von bescheidenem Wert.

<sup>27</sup> NOLDEKES Annahme, -rt sei erst armenische Ersetzung (*Tabari*, 76 A. 2), hat sich also nicht bewährt.

<sup>28</sup> *Numism. Chron.*, 1955, 209 sq., No. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Die Abbildung bei C. W. KISS, *Hdb. Engr. Gems*, 1985, Taf. iii/2, ist nach wie vor nützlich.

<sup>30</sup> Ein ursprünglich parthischer Name, welcher „auf das Glück vertrauend“ deutet.

ein analogisch nach bekannten Mustern (*-ārya* > *-āir*) von \**Κηδαιο* (= *Κηδαιο*) gebildetes Adjektivum.

#### 4. Kaniška

Seit Beginn der modernen orientalischen Studien ist dieser Name des großen Eroberers immer wieder diskutiert worden, weil man hoffte, durch seine Analyse die ethnische Zugehörigkeit seines Volkes, der Kuschan, erkennen zu können. Da der König selbst auf seinen Münzen sich einer mittelpersischen Sprache, die ich „baktrisch“ genannt habe, bedient, liegt der Verdacht nahe, daß sein Name in eben jener Sprache seinen Ursprung fand. Ableitungen aus dem Iranischen sind jedoch auf Zweifel gestoßen, und zwar im Wesentlichen weil ein Suffix *-iška* dort ungebräuchlich ist; denn daß es sich um ein Suffix handelt, ist durch die Namen der Nachfolger des Königs (*Vajhiška*, *Huvitška*) gesichert.

Nun hat H. W. BAILLY schon 1942 nachgewiesen, daß im Khotan-Sakischen der Name des Königs und das Wort für „kleiner Finger“ gleichermaßen als *kapaška* (mit dentalem *-s*.) erscheinen, und dazu die Vermutung geäußert, daß der Name vielleicht eigentlich „the little one“ bedeute; die absonderliche Schreibung könne sich durch Anpassung an die Orthographie des einheimischen Wortes für „kleiner Finger“ erklären<sup>41</sup>. Eine genau entsprechende Form existiert übrigens im Mittelpersischen, *knyšk* in Inschriften<sup>42</sup>, allerdings mit der Bedeutung „Sklavin“. Dieser Unterschied ist jedoch für die Etymologie belanglos, da, wie schon oben berührt, der Stamm *kan-* ursprünglich „klein/jung“ bedeutet, woraus „kleiner (Finger)“ ebenso leicht fließt wie „kleiner (Mensch/Jung/Mädchen)“ (und Sklavinnen waren sozusagen *ex hypothesi* jung); diese Bedeutung war ja schon indo-iranisch, wie Skt. *kanīyas* „jünger, kleiner“, *kanīṣṭha* „jüngst, kleinst“, *kanīṣṭhā* „kleiner Finger“, *kanīnuka* „Knabe“, *kanīṣā* „Mädchen“ usw. zeigen. Warnen möchte ich hier vor der Lesung *knyšk* „Magd“ im Pahlavi-Psalter, die scheinbar das gesuchte *-šk* liefert; denn wie schon früher bemerkt<sup>43</sup>, muß sie durch *knyšk* ersetzt werden (die Schrift macht keinen Unterschied zwischen *-yšk* und *-yšk*). Es ist also klar, daß eine Form, die mit dem Namen des Königs, in dem *-šk* (im Indischen *-ṣk*.) sicher ist, übereinstimmte, tatsächlich nirgendwo vorliegt<sup>44</sup>.

Zu diesem Gegenstand ist H. W. BAILLY 1954 mit einer kurzen Bemerkung bei Gelegenheit seiner Besprechung von *Kanīša* zurückgekehrt:

<sup>41</sup> *JRAS.*, 1942, 250.

<sup>42</sup> E. BENVENISTE nimmt dagegen abnormale Entwicklung von *-s* aus *-ṣ* an (*Vasantara Jātaka*, S. 91, zu 162). <sup>43</sup> *BSOS.*, ix, 325 A. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Späte Formen in fernliegenden Dialekten, wie z. B. kurdisch *kanīšk* „Mädchen“, kommen hier nicht in Betracht.

*Kaniška*, von *kan-* „jung, klein“, bedeute „most youthful in vigour“<sup>45</sup>. Aber das dort gegebene Versprechen, eine ausführliche Erklärung dieser Annahme zu veröffentlichen, ist m. W. nicht eingelöst worden. Dagegen hat Sir HAROLD eine solche Erklärung, freilich in kurzer Form, in seinem Beitrag zur Londoner *Kaniška*-Konferenz (April 1960) geliefert. Er ist zwar bislang leider ungedruckt geblieben, aber da er weithin verteilt worden und vielen der an diesen Fragen interessierten Gelehrten zugänglich ist, darf ich mich wohl hier auf ihn beziehen. Laut diesem Beitrag sieht BAILEY in den Namen „laudatory adjectives formed by the suffix *-iška-* (*-iṣka-*) from verbal bases“, und zwar in einzelnen 1. *Kaniška* = „most vigorously youthful“ von *kan-*, 2. *Huviška* = „having most *huv*-quality“ von *\*huv-*, wozu *\*hrai-* (repräsentiert durch av. *hrōišta-* „best, ältest“, khot. *hrōišta* „best“ usw.) gehöre, und 3. *Vajheška*, für iran. *vaziška-* oder *vāziška-*, etwa „most vigorous, energetic“, von *vaz-* (in *vazarka-* „groß“ usw.)<sup>46</sup>. Auf den ersten Blick scheint diese Theorie uns der erstrebten Sicherheit gar nicht näher zu bringen: mit dem leidigen Suffix *-iška*, nach wie vor isoliert, bleiben wir bei unserm Ausgangspunkt stehen; die ihm zugeschriebene Bedeutung ist spekulativ, und die nach seiner Abstraktion verbleibenden Elemente (*kan-*, *huv-*, *vajh-*) könnten vielen Sprachen zugeschrieben werden. Und doch bin ich davon überzeugt, nicht nur daß BAILEY auf dem richtigen Wege war — sonst hätte ich natürlich diesen ungedruckten Beitrag nicht erwähnt — sondern daß er auch beinahe am Ziel angelangt war. Nur noch ein kleiner, allerdings wesentlicher Schritt muß getan werden, um es ganz zu erreichen.

Als die ersten Inschriftenbruchstücke aus Surkh Kotal bekannt wurden und ich in der nur dreizeiligen Palamedes-Inschrift *βαρυλαγγο* als eine Worteinheit erkannte<sup>47</sup>, fiel mir gleich die in den mitteliranischen Schriftsprachen sonst ungewöhnliche Entwicklung des *-aka*-Suffixes auf. Während in ihnen der Konsonant allmählich verschwindet, so daß *-aka-* zu *-ai-*, *-ē-*, *-e* wird, ist hier der Konsonant erhalten, aber der ihm vorausgehende Vokal ausgestoßen: *-ānaka-* > *-lāngo*<sup>48</sup>. Die Hauptinschrift hat dann ge-

<sup>45</sup> *Transactions Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 146.

<sup>46</sup> Dies ist selbstverständlich bloß eine schwache Andeutung der von BAILEY viel besser Vorgetragenen, beschränkt auf das für unsere Zwecke unumgänglich Nötige.

<sup>47</sup> Ich bediene mich dieser Ausdrucksweise nur, weil J. HARMATA, *Acta or. Hung.*, xi, 193, schlankweg behauptet hat, daß „Curiel ... dissected it [= die 2. Zeile der Palamedes-Inschrift] into *καρδα βαρυλαγγο*, ascribing to it the meaning 'Barylaγγο was made by me' ...". Davon ist bei CURIEL (*J. A.*, 1954, 198—97) nichts zu lesen.

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. *BSOAS.*, xviii, 1956, 367; A. MARICQ, *J. A.*, 1958, 408. Von den modernen Dialekten entspricht hier am genauesten das Waki (wo z. B. *ḡeng* aus *ānaka-*).

zeigt, daß diese Entwicklung die Regel war: -μῆνα aus -mānaka<sup>48</sup>, αβᾶνα aus apānaka-, βαῖνα aus bānaka-, γᾶνα aus -kānaka, sogar νᾶνα aus haranaka-, ωῖνα aus oinaka; durch Analogie -να als patronymisches Suffix in Φριζαδῆνα „Sohn des Φριζαδῆ“<sup>49</sup>. Wenn wir uns nun die Frage vorlegen: wie würde sich der um -ka- erweiterte Superlativ \*kanīṣṭaka (dessen Schwesterform kanīṣṭhaka- tatsächlich im Sanskrit existiert) im Baktrischen entwickelt haben, so ist die Antwort klar: zunächst zu \*kanīṣṭko, woraus durch Vereinfachung der Konsonantenhäufung kanīṣko werden konnte<sup>51</sup>. Im Verlaufe dieses Hergangs kann sich leicht eine Veränderung im vorhergehenden Vokal eingestellt haben, und zwar sowohl Öffnung wie Dehnung, so daß die stehende Schreibung mit -η- (Kavḥ)ko, -κ<sup>52</sup>) entschuldigt wäre. Allerdings könnte der Vokal seinen Ursprung auch dem Einfluß des verwandten Namens Οῦῆκο (-κ<sup>53</sup>, -κ<sup>54</sup>) = Huiṣka verlinken, in welchem -ē- etymologisch berechtigt ist; denn daß dieser aus Huraīṣṭa-ka > \*Huiṣṭko, d. i. *hu* + *ṣṭa* + *ka*, herzuleiten ist, dürfte jetzt offenbar sein. Ebenso ist Faḥḥṣka, dessen erster Vokal wegen Fāḥṣka als lang anzusehen ist, als \*Fāḥṣko (\*Oaḥ)ko aus vāḥṣṭaka- zu erklären, am einfachsten zu av. rāḥṣta-, angeblich „der förderlichste“, + *ka*.

Diese Erklärung hat einen zweifachen Vorteil. Einerseits können wir dem seltsamen Suffix -ṣṭaka- endlich den Abschied geben: es zählt tatsächlich unter die gemeinsten indo-iranischen Ableitungsformantien. Andererseits brauchen wir keine Wörter kunstvoll zu rekonstruieren; alle benötigten Vorformen existieren bereits im Indo-Iranischen. Dazu erlangen wir die Gewißheit, nicht nur daß die Namen der Kuschan-Herrscher wirklich iranischen Ursprungs sind, sondern sogar daß sie einem bestimmten Dialekte zugehören, eben der baktrischen Sprache, in der wir ihre Muttersprache erkennen dürfen.

<sup>48</sup> MAYMORER I. c. 332 A. 1 fälschlich \*mana(s)ka- (das -s- läßt sich doch nicht durch Einklammerung beseitigen).

<sup>49</sup> Da das von MARCO auf Singola erkannte Φριζαδῆ gewiß Eigenname ist, vgl. auch soghd. *frizd'w* in den „Alten Briefen“, hätte ich für Φριζαδῆνα nicht appellativische Bedeutung annehmen sollen; das Richtige steht also in der Anmerkung. HSOAS. xxiii, 56 A. 3. Als Patronym-Suffix kommt übrigens -να in Singelaufschriften mehrfach vor.

<sup>51</sup> Welcher Konsonant in einer derartigen Gruppe ausgestoßen wurde, läßt sich nicht vorhersagen; in νᾶνα aus *nīṣṭāna*- ist auch der mittlere Konsonant (freilich -ṣ-) verschwunden. Im Waxi dagegen ist z. B. bei *ḥak* nach Morgenstierne, J. I. P. L., II 470 sq., -ṣ- verlorengegangen (\**ḥṣṭika*-); das Schicksal von -ṣṭ- im Waxi ist ebenso schwer in Regeln zu fassen wie im Baktrischen.

<sup>52</sup> E. BENVENISTE legt mit Recht Gewicht auf diesen Punkt, J. A., 1901, 152.



## 5. Candra Kaniska

Hier möchte ich auf die unter den Schätzen des Ashmolean befindliche, schon oben berührte *bullā* zurückkommen, die A. D. H. BIVAR im Jahre 1955 veröffentlicht hat<sup>53</sup>. Ein Siegelabdruck ist gemeinhin schwieriger zu entziffern als ein Siegelstein, und auch das vorliegende Exemplar setzt der Lesung seiner zweizeiligen Aufschrift hartnäckigen Widerstand entgegen. Dr. BIVAR, dem die baktrischen Studien so manchen wichtigen Fortschritt verdanken, hat eine gute Zeichnung geliefert, die sich als sehr nützlich erwiesen hat<sup>54</sup>. Aber auch mit ihrer Hilfe ist es mir nicht gelungen, der Inschrift viel Sinn abzugewinnen. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß man ohne eine Untersuchung des Originals, die mir derzeit nicht möglich ist, eine zufriedenstellende Lesung wird erreichen können; angesichts der Wichtigkeit der Aufschrift steht zu hoffen, daß sie bald von anderer Seite unternommen werden wird.

Die Wichtigkeit, die diesem Stückchen Wachs zuerkannt werden muß, erhellt nämlich aus den Anfangsworten, die glücklicherweise klar lesbar sind:

Μαρο Κανισκο : ζα(γ)οο : παυ(ρ) . . .

Auf den Eigennamen folgen also Qualifikationen, die durch das Relativpronomen  $\iota$  voneinander getrennt sind, vgl. aus der Surkh Kotal-Inschrift Νοκονζαοο : καταπαργιο : Φριγοαδηςοο „N. der Markgraf, der Sohn des F.“ Zu παυ(ρ) . . . siehe oben S. III. Bedeutsamer ist das erste, wohl hauptsächliche Epithet: ζα(γ)οο, etwa *zaywo* oder *jaywo*; möglicherweise nahm aber BIVAR zu Recht als dritten Buchstaben  $\iota$  an, also ζα(ι)οο, etwa *zaywo* oder *jaywo*. Welche dieser beiden Lesungen auch die richtige sein mag, auf jeden Fall handelt es sich um den Titel, welcher auf den Münzen des Begründers der älteren Kuschan-Dynastie Kujula Kadphises (bzw. Kadaphes)<sup>55</sup> in der Form von ζαοο in griechischen Legenden, als *yaua-* und *yavuga-* in Kharoṣṭhi vorkommt. Jener Titel ist aber seit langem mit *yabyu/jabyu* und besonders mit dem aus chinesischen Quellen bekannten *hi-hou* verglichen worden<sup>56</sup>. Nach ihnen gab es zunächst fünf *hi-hou* in Tocharistan, bis es Kujula K., dem *hi-hou* von Kanān, gelang, die vier anderen zu beseitigen und das Reich unter sich zu vereinen. Seither gab es also nur einen *hi-hou*, eben Kujula, der nach den griechischen Legenden seiner Münzen diesen

<sup>53</sup> *Numismatic Chron.*, 1955, 203 sqq.

<sup>54</sup> Seine Transkription ist dagegen  $\kappa$ . T. veraltet; die Regel für die Unterscheidung von  $\alpha$  und  $\iota$  in der Kursivschrift findet man in *BSOAS.* xxv, 1962, 335.

<sup>55</sup> Die für die gegenwärtige Aufgabe gleichgültige Frage, ob es sich um einen oder mehrere Herrscher handelt, soll damit nicht präjudiziert werden.

<sup>56</sup> Nach S. KONOW, *Khar. inscr.*, gehört auch *yaua-* in der Taxila Copperplate Inscr. (Nr. xiii, S. 28 Z. III) hierher. Zur chines. Wiedergabe vgl. E. G. PULLEYBLANE, *Asia Major*, ix, 1962, 95.



Titel allein (ζαου) weiterhin führte<sup>57</sup>. Wenn sich nun in etwas späterer Zeit ein Fürst diesen Titel anmaßte, so muß er wohl denselben Rang wie Kujula K. innegehabt haben. Er muß also zum mindesten König von Tocharistan gewesen sein.

Der Name des Siegelbesitzers, Μάω Κανήκω, scheint jedoch bisher als Name eines Königs der Kuschanzeit nicht bekannt zu sein. Aber der Schein trügt hier. Bei μάω (wofür er *mohō* las) hatte BIVAS an skt. *mahā* „groß“ (welches nicht in Frage kommt) und das Äquivalent von khot. *mshu* „wir“ (welches, da es \**māh* sein sollte, allerdings technisch möglich ist) gedacht<sup>58</sup>, nicht aber an das Wort für „Mond“, welches in eben dieser Form in den von ihm entdeckten und veröffentlichten Inschriften von Uruzgan<sup>59</sup> vorkommt (wo μάω neben μωπο „Sonne“ steht), sonst allerdings *μαω* geschrieben wird<sup>60</sup>. Nun mag zwar die Annahme, daß Μάω-Κανήκω als „Mond-Kaniska“ zu verstehen sei, auf den ersten Blick unwahrscheinlich aussehen, und doch ist sie unbedingt richtig.

Schon lange hatte man sich um die in gewissen chinesisch-buddhistischen Texten für den Großkönig Kaniska bezeugte Bezeichnung *Chan-fan Kia-ni-ch'a* bemüht, bis es endlich H. W. BAILEY gelang<sup>61</sup>, in einer skt.-khot. Bilingue die Vorform *cadra-knyaiskā* (*cadra-kñyaiskā*) aufzufinden<sup>62</sup>. Er restaurierte die sanskritische Form als *caṇḍra-kaniska* und betrachtete es im Hinblick auf ein schon früher von F. W. THOMAS am Licht gezogenes Wortspiel mit *zla-ba* „Mond“ im tibetischen *Mahārāja-kanika-lekha* als wahrscheinlich, daß *caṇḍra* im Sinne von „Mond“ zu nehmen sei. Im Verfolg seiner Forschungen kam jedoch BAILEY von dieser Meinung ab und erwog zunächst skt. *caṇḍa* „gewalttätig“<sup>63</sup>, später einen iranischen Titel \**čandan*<sup>64</sup>. Jetzt aber, da die Namensform als \**Māho-Kanēko* „Mond-K.“ in Kaniskas Muttersprache vorliegt, wird

<sup>57</sup> Nach den kharoṣṭhi Legenden allerdings auch königliche Titel.

<sup>58</sup> BIVAS versuchte die folgende Übersetzung: "Son of the Great Kanishka, NN, (official of such-and-such a grade), a Kushan". Übrigens scheint mir *kolo-* keineswegs gesichert zu sein (statt *-go kol-* ist vielleicht *-yavo p-* zu lesen).

<sup>59</sup> *JRAS.*, 1954, 112 sqq.

<sup>60</sup> Die Schreibungen verhalten sich zueinander wie μάω zu μω „König“, wie übrigens bereits von HUMMACH, *Kushān und Hephthaliten*, S. 29, festgestellt worden ist. Ob das zweite Wort der Uruzgan-Inschriften zu dem oben besprochenen Titel zu stellen ist (wie auch HUMMACH annimmt), ist wegen der Unsicherheit der Lesung leider zweifelhaft; es scheint aus fünf Buchstaben zu bestehen. Daß μάω hier = „Mond“, hatte ich gleich bemerkt (s. bei BIVAS, III, 116); allerdings könnte μάωζω ( ? ) Patronym sein (Sohn des Μάωζωι = *Māhaini* „in des Mondes Obhut“ ?); die Lesung ζωι ist verfehlt.

<sup>61</sup> *JRAS.*, 1942, 16 sqq.

<sup>62</sup> Der ganze Text später bei H. W. BAILEY, *Khotanese Texts*, II, 107 sq.

<sup>63</sup> *JRAS.*, 1949, 2 sqq.

<sup>64</sup> *BSOAS.*, xii, 1951, 926 sqq.

man zweifellos zu der ursprünglichen Ansicht zurückkehren wollen; denn *μανω* stimmt vollkommen mit akt. *candra* und tibet. *zla-ba* überein<sup>65</sup>.

Der Kontext, in welchem die längere Namensform im buddhistischen Quellen steht, bezieht sich stets auf den Ursprung des Königs. Die von BAILEY in *JRAS.*, 1942, III übersetzte khotan-sakische Stelle ist durchaus charakteristisch: "... in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, in Tokhārīstān, there arose, in the family of the imperial rulers, a brave, meritorious, intelligent king ... by name *Candra-Kaniška*". Da dieser Fürst aber als „König der Könige“ bloß *Kaniška* heißt, so deutet dieser Umstand darauf hin, daß er bei Erlangung der kaiserlichen Würde seinen unbequem langen ursprünglichen Namen verkürzt hat<sup>66</sup>. Mit dieser Annahme verträgt sich die Aufschrift unserer *bullā* aufs beste: als das Siegel geschnitten wurde, stand Kaniška am Anfange seiner Machtentfaltung, er war bloß der Fürst von Tocharistan und hieß noch *Māho-Kaniška*<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Die Frage, warum Kaniškas Eltern ihm einen uns vielleicht seltsam scheinenden Namen gaben, führt über die Grenzen des Willbaren hinaus. Sie mögen ihn als „kleiner (Liebling) des Mondgottes“ oder „kleinstes (Ebenbild) des Mondgottes“ verstanden haben, aber wie kann man dergleichen beweisen?

<sup>66</sup> Eine Namensänderung bei solcher Gelegenheit ist ja gewöhnlich.

<sup>67</sup> Ob die von BIVAR aus dem Monogramm des Siegels gezogenen Schlussfolgerungen (*Nun. Chron.*, 1933, 202—5) zwingend sind, muß dahingestellt bleiben. Es ist wohl auch möglich, daß Kaniška ebenso wie die Titulatur des Vima Kadphises auch sein Monogramm übernahm.



## THE CHORESMLIAN DOCUMENTS

### I

It is pleasant to be able to report that good progress has been made with the decipherment of the indigenous Choresmian script. The work, initiated by I. M. Diakonoff and completed by V. A. Livshitz, owes much to the recent discovery of fresh material – inscriptions on ossuaries found at *Tuq-qal'a*, a ruined city on a hill (*Toq-tas*) 14 km to the NW of Nukuz, therefore in the northern part of Choresmia. The language of the inscriptions using the indigenous script, which like Sogdian, Parthian, etc., descends from the Aramaic script, has a good claim to being called *Choresmian* without further epithet; but so has the later language written with Arabic letters, for which the Soviet scholars have coined *Arabo-Choresmian*, a clumsy term. I shall use *Choresmian* for either, adding "old" or "late" whenever a distinction is needed.

The Choresmian material in which the indigenous script is employed falls into four categories:

(1) Coins with Choresmian legends. Vast numbers have been found in excavations in the course of the last thirty years, but few have been published in a satisfying manner. Hardly any of them are available in collections outside the Soviet Union; complaints about the withholding of the material have had little response. Our chief source remains an article by S. P. Tolstov in *Vestnik drevney Istori*, 4 (5), 1938, 120–145; substantially reproduced in *Drevniy Xorezm*, 1948, 173–195. The illustrations accompanying *Drevniy Xorezm* (pl. 84 and 85) show a remarkable collection of ill-favoured, badly photographed and poorly printed specimens. S. P. Tolstov's readings of some of the legends have been discussed on earlier occasions.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Inscriptions from *Topraq-qal'a*, a royal palace that was abandoned shortly after A.D. 300, according to Tolstov, in favour of *Fil-qal'a* (*Fir*). The inscriptions consist of a large number of well-written and splendidly preserved wooden tablets; and a small number of fragmentary documents on leather. Some of the latter bear dates in an unknown era, ranging from 207 to 231 (or 232).<sup>2</sup> Of this rich material, which was discovered in 1948 and 1949, little has been made accessible to the public. In the second

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mittelasiatisch* (= *Handb. d. Orientalistik*, iv, 1), 1937, 193–194.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Tolstov, *Problemy Vostochnovedeniya*, 1961, 1, pp. 54–59.

volume of the *Trudi Khorezmskoy Arxeologo-Etnograficheskoy Ekspeditsii* (1958) two of the leather documents and a single specimen of the wooden tablets (= *Topraq-q.* No. 10) were published (pp. 208 sqq.), accompanied by unsatisfactory reproductions (fig. 97).<sup>3</sup> They were re-published, with improved readings and reproductions, in B. P. Tolstov, *Po drevnim del'tam Oksa i Yaksarta*, 1962, 217 sqq., where a second wooden tablet (= *Topraq-q.* No. 8) is added; it is a misfortune that in the illustration this important document has been so strongly reduced that some of the letters can no longer be distinguished with assurance. In the same book there is a reference to a fresh find of documents at a fort called *Yakke-Parian*, p. 257, and one of them, containing the beginnings of seven lines, is reproduced, fig. 165; those documents are attributed, on unknown grounds, to the 8th century.

(3) The ossuary inscriptions of *Toq-qal'a*. One notes with gratification that, thanks to the infusion of fresh blood into Soviet Choresmian studies, their publication has been tackled on the heels of their discovery; they were found as recently as 1962. In an article by S. M. Tolstov and V. A. Livshitz that appeared in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1964, 2, 50-69, nine of those inscriptions are edited; an English version, printed in the *Acta Antiqua Ac. Sc. Hung.*, xii, 1964, 231-251, is provided with a plate that is wholly satisfactory.<sup>4</sup> At the same time the excavator of the site, A. V. Gudkova, published a report (*Tok-kalu*, Tashkent 1964) which on seventeen plates brings an additional mass of material.<sup>5</sup> It is a great pity that Mme Gudkova's noble effort at thus making the material readily usable has been partly spoiled in the printing, by selection of too wide a "screen", which blurs the delicate distinctions of letters, severs connected letters, and even causes them to disappear without trace on occasion. Many of the ossuary inscriptions are dated in an unknown era; the earliest year is 658, the latest 753.

(4) A few inscriptions on silver vessels. Most of them are depicted in Smirnov's *Vostochnoe Serebro*; since his monumental work appeared (in 1909), two further specimens have been published, see *Toq-q.* 233 [52] n. 12. As Livshitz has justly observed, several of the inscriptions are dated, viz. Smirnov No. 42: a. 570; No. 43: a. 700; Bader-Smirnov, *Serebro Zakamskoe*: a. 9 (= a. 709, presumably); Bader, *Kamsh. Eksp.* fig. 50: a. 714 (?).

<sup>3</sup> Better reproductions are available in articles printed outside the Soviet Union. Thus the dated leather document (= *Topraq-q.* No. 4), unusable in *Trudi*, is clear enough in Tolstov's article in *J. As. Soc. Bombay*, III, 1960, III, 20. The difference is caused by more advanced printing technique.

<sup>4</sup> The article is quoted here as *Toq-q.* with the page of the English version, followed by the page of the Russian text in square brackets.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Otto Maenchen most kindly brought this book to my notice and lent me his copy.

<sup>6</sup> The readings suggested *Mitteiranisch*, p. 5 must be withdrawn now.

## II

The material reveals the existence of an indigenous Choresmian era of long duration; its initial term is in dispute and must be discussed first. Al-Beruni, indeed, had spoken of an indigenous era, but he attributed it to one *Afrīy*, the legendary founder of the royal house of Choresmia, and placed its beginning in A.D. 304. Clearly, al-Beruni was wrong, for once. That is not surprising; for he himself states that the old era was abandoned after the conquest by Qutaiba (A.D. 712) and replaced by Muslimic dating. Living about three hundred years later, he was forced to rely on inaccurate reports<sup>7</sup> in which the era was wrongly associated with the alleged ancestor of the family whose members enjoyed the dignity of kingship still at the time of his youth.

Tolstov seeks the origin of the Choresmian era in the Kushan era introduced by Kanishka, which in its turn, following older practice, he identifies with the Indian Śaka era (beg. A.D. 78). The latest dates then would be: Topraq-qal'a a. 231 = A.D. 308; Toq-qal'a a. 753 = A.D. 830. Severally, these are disconcertingly late; they would be even later, by fifty years, if we adopted the dating of Kanishka favoured by the majority of historians nowadays (A.D. 128). There are many reasons speaking against the assumption of so late dates, among them considerations of palaeography, the spread of Islam in Choresmia, and the statements of al-Beruni.

The necropolis of Toq-qal'a was violently destroyed by war: it is natural to attribute that destruction to the "second campaign" which was undertaken by command of Qutaiba to avenge the murder of his nominee.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, Toq-qal'a a. 753 preceded A.D. 712, and the foundation of the era cannot be later than 43 B.C. On that assumption the earliest and latest dates are:

Topraq-qal'a	A.D. 165-189
Toq-qal'a	A.D. 616-711
Silver vessels	A.D. 538(?) <sup>9</sup> 658-672.

The "older era" of Northwestern India is too early for our purposes if, with Konow, we attribute its beginning to 84 B.C.; even the Vikrama era (beg. 57 B.C.) is on the early side. Presumably the Choresmian era owed its inception to some event of Choresmian history, perhaps a gaining of some measure of independence. Its immediate model may have been the Arsacid era.

Tolstov himself appears to have been uneasy at the result of his calculations; for he also mentions (only to reject it) the Christian era as a candidate

<sup>7</sup> If al-Beruni had possessed any direct knowledge of such an era, he would surely have made some use of it in his work; yet even in dealing with Choresmian history he has recourse to Seleucid dates.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> One is bound to suspect an engraver's mistake (570 for 670). On these dates see Livshitz, *Vestnik Drevn. Ist.*, 1964, 3, p. 160.

for consideration. Since that era did not come into use before the 6th century, it need not detain us; however, the opportunity is welcome to point out that Tolstov's supposition of the existence of large Christian communities in Choresmia, at the time of al-Beruni, is based on unsafe premises.<sup>10</sup>

The date gained, with the help of Toq-qal'a, for the documents of Topraq-qal'a, A.D. 165-189, is consonant with all that has been made known about that site. I fail to find any clear evidence in favour of Tolstov's attribution of the documents to the 3rd and 4th centuries. The palace of Topraq-qal'a itself, however, doubtless continued to be occupied for some decades after A.D. 189, yet hardly beyond the middle of the 3rd century. The coins found there are mostly of the 1st and 2nd centuries, among them a small number (22) of Kushan coppers (Vima Kadphisesa, Kanishka, Vasudeva);<sup>11</sup> some of those were discovered in the top layer of the ruins,<sup>12</sup> hence were still in circulation at the time when the site was abandoned. It is doubtful whether any of the indigenous issues owe anything to the imitation of certain Sassanian coins.<sup>13</sup>

It seems to me that Tolstov has made insufficient allowance for the influence which the rising power of Sassanid Persia exercised upon its neighbours. Higher civilization had come to Choresmia in the first two centuries of our era. It had already some modest achievements to its credit - Tolstov understandably overrates their value - when it suddenly came to a full stop. Everything ceased abruptly, the country relapsed into primitivity whence it had barely risen. If Tolstov's investigations have shown one thing, it is this complete break in the development. It began closely to the beginning of the Sassanian state; as soon as the Sassanians collapsed, civilization resumed its march on the Oxus. We cannot join Tolstov and view the development in Persia and Choresmia as unconnected.

<sup>10</sup> In *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 1946 (2), 57 sqq. Tolstov sought to demonstrate that the name of the Christian (orthodox) New Year's day supplied by al-Beruni, "kalandos", must have come to Choresmia through Southern Russia, carried to the land of al-Beruni by a wave of Orthodox migrants travelling the northern route. In truth, al-Beruni's spelling, *qlnd's*, *q'Indi Chron.* 392<sup>17</sup> sqq., merely represents the Syriac rendering of Lat. *calendae*: *qlnds*, *q'Indus*, *qlndys*, etc.; Payne Smith s.v. even cites *qlnd's* in Arabic script. Al-Beruni adduces the term as an integral part of a full calendar list, every single item of which is Syriac; he says in the clearest possible words that he is describing the calendar of the Syrian Melkites ("the Syriac months" 288<sup>17</sup>; "the months of the Syrians" 288<sup>18</sup>). As a flourishing trade centre, such as the capital of Choresmia was in al-Beruni's day, the presence of a handful of Syrian merchants and artisans need not cause undue surprise. On orthodox Christians in Central Asia see B. Spuler, *Die Morgenländischen Kirchen* (Handb. viii/2), 154 sq.

<sup>11</sup> *Problemi Vost.* 1961, 1, 57.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevne-vostochnoy tsivilizatsii*, 1948, 165 sqq.

<sup>13</sup> The resemblance of the crowns of "Artamux" and Shapur I (cf. *Problemi Vost.* 1961, 1, 60) is only partial; the helmet of the beardless head (allocated by Tolstov to "Artamux" 's wife) clearly recalls Arsacid models. All the older silver issues bear, like Arsacid coins, debased Greek inscriptions.



The Sassanians were notoriously harsh towards the small kingdoms on the periphery of the dominions they claimed; they were either incorporated as provinces (or nominal "kingdoms"), or subdued and ruined. That was the policy laid down by Ardashir and put into effect by himself and, most energetically and successfully, by his son Shapur I. How can one suppose that Shapur, who took possession of Transoxiana up to Tashkend and the limits of Kashghar,<sup>14</sup> overlooked the existence of little Choresmia on his flank? He did not; for Choresmia had been disposed of before. Tabari mentions a campaign in which Ardashir conquered Choresmia as well as Gurgān, Marv, etc.<sup>15</sup> Thanks to the *Chronicle of Arbela*<sup>16</sup> we know that a second defeat, a crushing blow, was inflicted on the Choresmians by Shapur in the first year of his rule, i.e., A.D. 239/40.<sup>17</sup> That should be the true date for the abandonment of Topraq-qal'a; no coins were struck in Choresmia thereafter, until the dissolution of the Sassanid empire in the 7th century.<sup>18</sup> Clear proof of the loss of Choresmian independence is provided by the inscription of Paikuli (A.D. 293) in which the king of Choresmia (*hwrsmn MLK*), Parthian line 42) is mentioned among the subject rulers, after the *Kuldnih* (himself a Sassanian prince).

### III

The ossuary inscriptions in Topraq-qal'a generally open with the dates, in which the words for year, month, and day are expressed ideographically, by *BSNT*, *YRHT*, and *BYWM* respectively. Those ideograms, together with the indigenous names of months and days (which follow the model of the "Younger Avestan" calendar), have supplied a secure basis for the decipherment. After the date, the words "this (*ZNYH*) ossuary" (*tnßryk*)<sup>19</sup> according to Livshitz) are followed by the name and father's name of its occupant (sometimes also further designations) and the whole is on occasion concluded by a pious wish.

Some of the calendar terms have assumed strange shapes. Thus the name of the 1st day and 10th month, convincingly read by Livshitz as *'hurym*, compared with al-Beruni's *rēmazd* or *rimazd* (MSS. with -z-). Of the basic form, *ahuraite mazd* in Avestan, the first half is splendidly preserved, so well indeed that the spelling is only attributable to the principle

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *BSOAS.*, xii, 1947, 54.

<sup>15</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, II, 17.

<sup>16</sup> E. Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, p. 64, "... Šāpūr, ein Mann von sehr harter Natur. Im ersten Jahr hatte er einen Krieg mit den Chorasmianern und den Bergnedern und besiegte sie in einer gewaltigen Schlacht. Von dort zog er weiter und unterwarf die Gelen, die Daileniten und die Hyrkānien ... Alle Welt fürchtete sich vor ihm ...".

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Aria Major*, vi, 1957, 119.

<sup>18</sup> The reading of *'parz* = *Afriy* is not acceptable. Cf. *Mitteliranisch*, p. III.

<sup>19</sup> In order to strengthen the link with the late Choresmian orthography, and also to clarify certain points, I shall use *ß* *γ* *δ* and *x* in the transliteration of indigenous words, in the place of *g* *d* and *h*, reserving those for ideograms.

historical orthography; while the second half is unaccountably reduced to a mere *m*-. Al-Beruni's *rēmāzd*, on the contrary, is more consonant with our expectations; -*h*- was an unstable consonant, and short vowels at the fringe of words could be lost successively, especially in longish terms, hence *rē-* from *ahurahe* (*ahurahya*); and *māzd* from *māzdd* is normal. It seems to me that the only way to account for *'hwrym* is by understanding it as a conventional scribal abbreviation (as we may write *Sept.*).

Some of the letters coincide in form altogether (thus R, D, and 'Ain); some others resemble each other so strongly that there is no reliable distinction (as Y and W; or M and N). As a consequence, the reading is apt to be uncertain, in some points, as soon as we leave the safe precincts of the dating formulae. It becomes then the more important to observe, in the strictest manner, certain scribal conventions that arise from the material, in particular the rules of linking and separating letters. It seems to me that by refusing any licence in such matters we can improve the security of reading. A similar situation exists in Pahlavi, where many letters are indistinguishable from each other, but well-established rules of linking powerfully assist the reader; he would indeed be lost without them. Attempts have been made from time to time to arrogate to oneself some licence, so as to assert: "in this word H has been connected to the left"; in the long run they have invariably been rejected. I am conscious of the difficulty of writing on a subject where a part of the material (some of it essential to my argument) is not available to me, and shall not be surprised if some of the suggestions I am about to make will be found wanting; however, it may be useful to open a discussion, which is likely to lead ultimately to a clarification of points as yet obscure.<sup>29</sup>

A case in point is the reading 'zt, believed to mean "son", in Topraq-q. Nos. 8 and 10, for a group of letters that to all appearances should be read 'yt. The letter G has not markedly changed from its Old Aramaic shape – an angle with its point at the top. In Chor. the angle has turned a little to the left, so that its first side approaches the vertical, its second side the horizontal. The Chor. scribe made the second side last, and since it went towards the left would join the next letter to its end. That is how G is produced still in the later material: *Byy* (an excellent reading we owe to

<sup>29</sup> One has to bear the risk of being reproached for ignorance of the material by those who retain it for their private use. Thus I find myself reproached (*Toq-q.* 236 [54] n. 29) for not realizing that certain late coins which, as I had claimed, bear the king's name in Sogdian letters on the obverse, nevertheless have Choresmian inscriptions on the reverse. Apart from the question of access, one must observe, firstly, that my remarks had been directed against Tolstov's allocation of the Sogdian inscriptions to a non-existing late form of the Choresmian script; secondly, that the reproachful annotation constitutes an admission that I was right about their Sogdian nature; and thirdly, that my remarks were expressly confined to the inscriptions on the obverse ("die Namen der Könige . . . auf dem Avers vor dem Königshopf", *Mitteltiranisch*, 57).

Livshitz) on Smirnov No. 42, and *yrst*, Toq-q. No. 52, are good examples; and that is precisely how the second letter of the disputed word is formed.

The assumption that one could substitute 'st for 'yt is moreover not in accord with the few certain examples of Z. Notably ZK in Topraq-q. Here Z is a slightly wavy vertical, standing by itself (No. 8) or leaning to the next letter, but not deliberately linked (in the sense of being formed without lifting the pen from the writing material). ■ ■ were ■ be linked, it would naturally be linked ■ ■ lower end, and so it is in ZNH, frequent in Toq-q. Yet the old separate form persists in another ideogram, ZWZN', common on the silver vessels.<sup>21</sup> The ideograms, which the later scribes could no longer analyse,<sup>22</sup> are admittedly an unsafe guide, and here they give contradictory information; yet we may infer that the letter was linked, if at all, from its bottom, very differently from the letter in the alleged Topraq-q. 'st. For st in Iranian words there are no wholly clear cases in Toq-q. We find 'styk No. 52, interpreted as "son", but the letter and the place of junction are amudged;<sup>23</sup> the word apparently recurs, Gudkova pl. xvi, 1 b line 2, where the junction is certain and the letter resembles the Z of ZNH (or N/■ generally). In stt (?), No. 39, also explained as "son", no junction is discernible, but that inscription is not sufficiently well preserved to give a decision. Dubious readings, such as 'stwm'y-'n Nm, 52 line 4, a patronymic ('stwm'y "having magic power from Zrwan"? do not come into account.

To return ■ Topraq-q., I fail to find convincing cases in which an apparent G must be read as Z. I do not count *rym'stk* among them, a personal name derived from \**Ahuramazdaka*, with the help of al-Beruni's *rēmazd* (on which see above p. 170). Since five hundred years later, at Toq-qal'a, one still spells not only 'hury-m., but also 'hnrk = \**Ahuraka* ('hwrk 'arwyr'ny "son of Azruwēn"? Gudkova pl. xvi, 2), so early a shortening seems improbable; moreover, the redundant -' would by itself shake our confidence in the proposed explanation. Adhering to the identity of G, we obtain a good name with ease: *rym'ytk* = *razm-āyata*<sup>24</sup> "he who has come ■ the battle-line".<sup>25</sup>

While it may be difficult to define the meaning of 'yt, "son" and "free" (as has also been proposed, on the basis of 'st) seem equally excluded. If,

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Livshitz, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1964, 3, p. 160 n. 34.

<sup>22</sup> The various misspellings of ZWZN' (ZWZN, ZZN') show that clearly.

<sup>23</sup> The independent photograph *opud* Gudkova, Toq-q. ■. xiv, favours the presence of full junction.

<sup>24</sup> *Razm-* also in No. 8 line 22 *ramšytrk* "(as forceful as a whole) myriad in the battle" or *ramšytrk* "a fury in battle".

<sup>25</sup> The illustration does not allow us ■ express more than hesitant opinions on names occurring ■ No. ■. In lines 2 and 5 names beginning with y'- seem likely (5 y'-w-prnk); line 17 prob. ends -šytk; line 27 *Prn-šy'rk* "increase of fortune". In No. 10 line 10 *yri-ryyck* deserves consideration.

as Tolstov assumes, the wooden tablets contain lists of the members of families arranged according to their status (from householder ■ slaves), a kind of census reports, then 'yt appears (on the last line of Doc. No. 8) after the name of a slave<sup>26</sup> belonging to the category "son of —".<sup>27</sup> Applied to persons, 'yt lit. "having come" could mean either "adult" (as e.g. Arabic *balīṭ*, Pers. *varīde*) or "present" (in accord with the Late Chor. abstract 'ydk'wk "presence").

## IV

We cannot be wholly certain about the distribution of *G* and *Z*; for the great lapse of time, from Topraq-q. to Toq-q., makes it possible that scribal practice thoroughly changed. Thus in Sogdian, for example, the letters *z* and *y*, once linked, came to ■ written separately at various late stages, for the purpose of recapturing their lost individuality. We should be more reluctant to assume such scribal vagaries within homogeneous material emanating from the same time and place. Such vagaries have been claimed for the letter *W* in the inscriptions of Toq-qal'a.

Ordinarily, both *W* and *Y* are left unconnected; that applies to ideograms (e.g. *BVWM*) no less than Iranian words (e.g. 'rw'n, 'hwrym, yrlst, šrtwrt, tyfy'n). An important, and certain, case of *W* is *ntw yrōm'n* (No. 25) "eternal paradise". There is, however, a recurrent word which appears ■ the transliteration as *ntw*, but in which the 2nd letter ■ linked to the following and in fact looks like another ■ or β. I hasten to add that Livshitz (*Toq-q.* 244 sq. [61]) was fully alive to the incongruity and himself remarked that *BNSY* or *NBSY* would be "more justified", yet ultimately settled on *NWSY* and, moreover, gave serious consideration to *NYSY*. For my part, I should say that *BNSY*, *NBSY*, *NNSY*, or *BBSY*, any one of those would ■ preferable, because they constitute potentially possible readings; while *NWSY* and *NYSY* are warranted impossible, whether or not they supply a semblance ■ harmonious meaning.

*Nßŷy* — to adopt provisionally the least unlikely reading — has a side-form *nßŷy'*, which is found associated with *y'*, the feminine article,<sup>28</sup> as

<sup>26</sup> 'BD-n' may ■ the best ■ the various readings suggested for this word.

<sup>27</sup> There are two compounds of ideograms, both distorted in the scribal tradition. One of them may have been originally \**BRY-BRTYH* (cf. '*NTTYH* "woman"), i.e. "son (and) daughter" = "children"; the other perhaps \**BRY-MTYH* = "son (of) slavegirl". The latter stood in the line preceding the last of Doc. No. 8. It would make no sense to add "son" or "free" after the name of a person placed in the category "slaves—son of slavegirl".

<sup>28</sup> We may hardly assume that *ZNH* served as ideogram for *y'*, cf. *Toq-q.* 243 [59]; the order of the words (*ZNH mßryk* against *t. y' . . .*) by itself disproves the suggestion. *ZNH* should be a demonstrative pronoun, = *nā(n)* in Late Chor., where *all(n)* before a noun produces a verbless sentence, but after a noun is a demonstrative adjective. Accordingly, *ZNH t.* "this is the ossuary", *t. ZNH* "this o.", *t. y'* "the ossuary of (the woman) . . ." (lit. "the ossuary ■ her who is . . ."). There is no "post-positive article" in Chor.

*nβfy* is with *ʔy*, its masc. equivalent. Hence, *nβfy* may be an adjective capable of possessing a feminine form, yet to judge by Late Chor. such adjectives do not ordinarily end in *-y*. This consideration causes one to suspect that *nβfy* may be an ideogram. As such the obvious choice would be 𐭪𐭫𐭭 *nafʔi* (lit. "my soul, my self"), which may have been used in the same way as Pahl. *NPSH* "own", to which it would be related as *BRV* "son" is to Pahl. *BRH*. The postulated meaning, which would be "own, belonging, property", fits well enough;<sup>29</sup> in some inscriptions we read *ZNH tnβryk nβfy ʔy* . . . "this is the ossuary belonging to . . .", there are also short ones (as Gudkova pl. viii, 2) consisting merely of the words *ZNH tnβryk NN. nβfy* "this ossuary belongs to NN." (lit. "this is the o. belonging to NN.").



If that is the true meaning of *nβfy*, we are compelled to alter the reading of that word and replace it by *NPSV*; for the question whether the Aramaic was once uttered with *-f*- or *-p*- is immaterial for the orthography. With this we have arrived at the principal defect of the decipherment: the absence of *P*. In the 35 lines of Topraq-qal'a inscriptions published by Tolstov and Livshitz *P* figures only a single time, or since I cannot accept that particular reading<sup>30</sup> I should say it occurs never at all. That is hardly compatible with the structure of Middle Iranian languages, in all of which *P* is among the most frequent consonants. In orthographic systems adhering to historical principles *P* should be particularly frequent, as reflecting not only actual *p* but also *b* (deriving from Old Ir. *p*), perhaps also *f*. We shall have to assume that the letter *P* had merged (or largely merged) into a single shape with *N* and *B* (and, at least in part, *Z*).

In the more ancient documents of Topraq-qal'a the form of the letter *P* cannot be easily ascertained either. In the transliterations the three letters *P*, *S*, and *X* (*H*) appear in competition for two-stroke letters, but there is no truly convincing reading with *P*. Thus *βyzererk* (myriad + head) or *βywerk* (fury + head), a personal name (No. 8 line 18), seems as good as *-prk*; and *pt'ywrk*, approved *Tog-q.* 235 [53] and quoted as exemplifying *-ʔy-* for short *-i-*, is questionable just because of the unsuitability of so late an orthographic feature and should read *it'ywδk* — *Sat-āyōδak* or *Satāyu-δak* (from OIr. *\*satāyu-dā-*, cf. Av. *satāyu-*). A more likely-seeming

<sup>29</sup> It is not intended to discuss here all the passages, some of which are a little obscure.

<sup>30</sup> *pr'ny'ty* (No. 25 line 5) "may be sent" should probably be read as *m'ny'ty* (*m'ny'tyf*) "may he rest, stay" (Late Chor. has *m'ny-* "stay, live", but does not know *pr'ny-*, which would not be expected to have passive meaning in any case); the first letter does not differ significantly from *m* as in *yrōm'm* — "L does not necessarily mean 'towards'. Its Iranian equivalent was (as elsewhere) presumably the descendant of Old Ir. *abi* "towards", Late Chor. *fi*, which however developed the meaning "in" in addition to "into, towards"; ultimately *fi* mostly = "in". The ideogram inevitably would follow the meaning of its Iranian equivalent.

name is *whwmp't*, quoted *Toq-q.* 235 [53], unfortunately from an unpublished document.

Two varieties of two-stroke letters occur in the name of the king whose coins have been found in masses ■ *Toq-qal'a*, most of them in a single hoard. The specimens illustrated by A. V. Gudkova p. 113, fig. 33, show its normal form as ; the central letter is sometimes (fig. 33 Nos. 3 and 6) open or almost open ■ the SW corner ().

The 2nd and 5th letters are *W* or *Y*; the 4th ■ *R*; the 1st and 3rd are candidates for *S/P/X*. The name was originally read by Tolstov as "Xangiri", *xnyry* or *xnry*,<sup>31</sup> of which *ny* and *nk* are equally unacceptable. Following the indications supplied by the Soviet scholars on 'Opraq-qal'a, I at first assumed that the name was *Sypry*, which would agree neatly with *Sibri* (*Sbry*, vocalised *Sibri* in one MS.), one of the kings of the 7th century in al-Beruni's list. However, this cannot be maintained; for the first letter is *prima facie* *X* (as indeed Tolstov had claimed), while the 3rd is proved to ■ *S* by another coin legend; that is also in agreement with the *Toq-qal'a* *S* as read by Livshitz. The name thus was *Xesrw* = *Xuraw*,<sup>32</sup>

The decisive legend belongs to *Sāwālfan* (middle of the 8th century), one of the kings who issued coins with bilingual inscriptions, cf. above p. 171, n. 20. On the obverse *š'wšprn* in Sogdian letters,<sup>33</sup> on the reverse, as has become clear now (see *Toq-q.* 251),<sup>34</sup> *sy'wšprn* ■ Choresmian script. To judge partly by the specimens published,<sup>35</sup> partly by the drawing given by Tolstov,<sup>36</sup>

the Chor. lettering is  (*sy'-w-s-pr-n*). The

first letter is consonant with the *S* of *Xesrw* above, and, most importantly the letter *P*, joined with ■ in *pr*, is a simple right angle turned to the left, not

<sup>31</sup> *Drevniy Xorezm*, 191 b.

<sup>32</sup> It is unlikely that that Persian name was used so early in appellative sense in Choresmia (so that the coins would bear but three titles, *name* *MR'Y MLK'*), yet no king of that name is known. It is, however, possible that al-Beruni failed to mention the name of the king ignominiously murdered by his compatriots in A.D. 712 ("Askafamūk" was probably the king ultimately appointed); ■ reign may have been ■ short duration. According to Gudkova, p. 114, many of the "Xangiri" coins are overstrikes of the coins of 'Abdullāh (who however belongs to the early part of the 9th century). I have shown long ago (cf. *Mitteltiranisch* 57 sq.) that the coins attributed to 'Abdullāh are in fact those of "Askafamūk", who was either the murdered king or, more probably, his immediate predecessor. If we assume the latter and place Xuraw in about A.D. 710-712, all difficulties will ■ resolved.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Mitteltiranisch*, g. ■.





<sup>34</sup> The readings are not given in the Russian version (p. 68).


<sup>35</sup> *Drevniy Xorezm*, pl. 84 Nos. 14, 16, 22.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 188a. The and letter is badly represented and induced me to seek *MR'Y* ■ the first half of the name (*Mitteltiranisch*, ■ n. 3); actually, both *MR'Y* and *MLK'* follow the name in the legend.






materially different from *N* (or *B*). That is precisely the shape we had to postulate for *P* in *NPSY*. We note that Tolstov (*loc. cit.*) transliterates *sy'sršpn*, adhering even now to his erroneous supposition<sup>37</sup> that *P* was a two-stroke letter. It seems to me on the contrary that even in Topraq-qal'a *P* was barely distinguishable from *B*, cf. e.g. *'sepnyšk* No. 10 line 11; *pšk* *ibid.* line 4; *wšršk* *ibid.*, line 20; and the names for which readings have been proposed above §. 172, n. 25. Possibly *P* possessed a heavier beginning than *B*, and had a fairly well-marked angle. Whether those features separated *P* from *B* (and *N*) still at the later stage is doubtful. At Toq-qal'a we should read *P*, e.g., in *tnp'r* (*tnβ'r* being very improbable); one wonders whether (even if *βrwrtn* is the true reading) one should not substitute *prwtjyk*<sup>38</sup> for *βr-*.

Ultimately I discovered a splendid word  which every one of the troublesome letters *S*, *P*, and *X* occurs, yet which can be read with perfect assurance. It forms part  an uncommonly short inscription of a silver jug, Smirnov No. 84; Livshitz recently drew attention to it (*Vestn. drevn. ist.*, 1964, 3, 160). It concludes with the usual determination of the weight of the object (*Z[W]ZN'* + figures, see Livshitz *loc. cit.*), which  is preceded merely by the owner's name and our word: . Numerous

similar Pahlavi inscriptions on silver ware have long shown how such texts are constructed; the short form consists of owner's name + *NPSH* ("own") + determination of the weight. Therefore, the word we seek to re- must be the equivalent of Pahl. *NPSH*, yet our expectation to find *NPSY* here is disappointed. Nevertheless, it is as it were the soul of *NPSY*, the Iranian word itself which otherwise was expressed by that ideogram. In Late Chor. that was *xbsk* = *xubisk*,<sup>39</sup> and as its -b- reflected OIr. -p- (Av. *x'səpaiθya-*) it was necessarily spelt just as it is, *xwpsk*.

## V

Similar argument can be offered in the case of *R*, which letter  is never linked to the left (e.g. *'hwrym*, *'rw'n*) yet has been supposed to be so linked for the purpose of reading *tnšryk* "ossuary". It seemed an attractive as well  convincing word and one regrets having to part with it, but there is no legitimate way of retaining it. It  is written most clearly in Toq-q. No. 26, where it stands immediately above *k'k'ny*,<sup>40</sup> the juxtaposition showing the perfect identity of the alleged *R* with interior *K*; in several of the Iranian

<sup>37</sup> Exemplified by his earlier readings of this very name (*pr'xšn*, *pr'xšn*, etc.).

<sup>38</sup> For late Chor. *hwrd'e* (etc.), Toq-q. 249 [66], read *hwrt w'e* (two words) "good things". If preceded by "son", *prwtjyk* may mean "adopted" (lit. "nourished"; Late Chor. *prwt-*, not necessarily loan-word from Pers.).

<sup>39</sup> *Mitteliranisch* 113.

<sup>40</sup> Fortified by *k'k* Topraq-q. No. 8 line 26, and *k'k'ask* Topraq-q. No. 10 line 9.



forms of Aramaic script *K* and *R* resembled each other strongly and were kept distinct only by some artifice. We have now to reconsider the two letters intervening between *t-* and *-kyk*. From No. 26 and some other specimens one may gather the impression that the first of the two letters possesses a trace of that heaviness and angularity in which the specific quality of *P* resides, but other, more carelessly written examples hardly support that; on the whole, one would be inclined to prefer *tpnkyk* or *tpnkyk* to *tnpk-* or *tnpk-*.

The Choresmian script being too ambiguous to afford a decision, related forms in other languages have to be called on for help; they speak unquestionably in favour of *tpnkyk* = *tapankōk*. Nearest in classical Persian *tabangōy*, variously explained by the lexicographers, but chiefly as *ṭandūq* "box, chest", often as one made of earthenware. If one wants to describe the ossuaries of Toq-qai'ū, as depicted by A. V. Gudkova, fig. 25, p. 91, "chest" is probably the first word that will come to mind; they are made of stone, alabaster, or pottery. Persian *tabangōy* represents precisely earlier *tapankōk*, a derivative (with slightly diminutive sense)<sup>41</sup> of *tapun*, which first occurred within Iranian in a Sogdian tale, as *tp'n* or *tpn'*.<sup>42</sup> When I edited it I made a great effort to establish its meaning from the context, arriving at "coffin", but could have saved myself trouble by recalling the Armenian loanword *tapan* "large chest, coffin".<sup>43</sup> In Buddhist Sanskrit, too, *tapand* came to be used, in the sense of "a box or basket in which infants are enclosed and thrown into a river".<sup>44</sup> The first derivative of *tapun* was *tapanak*, which exists not only in Armenian (as "a box or chest of moderate size") but also in Pahlavi, there possibly in a slightly developed form, *tapang*, if the spelling can be trusted (*Pahl. Vd.* vii 48, p. 93 line 9 Sp., *ka andar tpng [i] rōyēn nihād* "if placed within a metal box").<sup>45</sup> It is part of the essential meaning of the word in all its forms that it refers primarily (sometimes exclusively) to receptacles for the disposal of human remains,<sup>46</sup> yet "ossuary" seems too uncompromising and direct.

Some consequent changes will have to be introduced into the reading. Thus *'rw'ed* (?), No. 39, begins with *'kw-* or *'ky-*; and *'b'n'n'k* (?), No. 52, may be *tknp'n-'k* (?). Since *ll* was linked to the left, apparently unlinked *K*

<sup>41</sup> *tapan* : *tapanak* : *tapankōk* as MPers. *nēa* : *nēoak* : *nēchōk* (Pers. *nē* : *nēk* : *nēh*).

<sup>42</sup> *BSOAS.*, xi, 479.

<sup>43</sup> The agreement was also noticed by E. Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1951, 120 sq.

<sup>44</sup> So Edgerton *l.c.*; cf. H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xxvi, 85.

<sup>45</sup> Parthian *tōng* does not belong here. It probably means "image, prototype", originally "mould", and is connected with Syr. *tpak*, Pers. *tabang*. The Parthian term is found in Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, 118 (R 1). However, a genuine derivative of *tapanak* exists in Pashto *tawang*, *tawangai* "band-box; reed-basket for the clothes of women". Yidgha *toawyo*, *Morgensterne*, *HFL.*, ii, 257, is allied with Persian *tabangōy*.

<sup>46</sup> The association was loosened in Christian Armenia, severed in Islamic Persia.

becomes in its turn suspect. One of the strong points of the Toq-qal'a decipherment is Livshitz' recognition of the form and function of *H*; in shape it is barely distinguishable from unlinked (or final) *K*. Accordingly we should read *hy* *NPŠY* 'his own' for *hw* *nrky* in No. 69; and probably *hy* 'n' in the place of *hw* 'n(y) in No. 25. The latter may constitute an admittedly strange spelling of the Gen. Pl. of the enclitic pronoun *-hy*, and thus correspond with Late Chor. *hina*.<sup>47</sup> If *hw* 'n(y) cannot be maintained, *GD* (an attractive reading) is unfortunately thrown into doubt in turn and may have to be replaced by prosaic *'D*, a conjunction familiar from Pahlavi. Its Chor. equivalent was probably *dā* (cf. Pahl. *šā*, Man. MPers. *dā*) or its emphatic form *d'ā*. The Toq-qal'a phrase resembles a certain Late Chor. sentence in its structure, viz., *mk'mn'h 'y mr'dh : d'sh θhrhk 'B'e* 'we have fulfilled her wish : may it then be blessed for her'<sup>48</sup> (*dās-hi* as '*D-hy*'n').

A curious circumstance remains to be noticed relating to the linking of letters: its suspension before certain vocalic endings. This affects even the Alef at the end of ideograms. Thus in *ZIŠ'ZN'* (silver vessels) and *MLK'* (frequently on coins) *N* and *K* appear in their final forms, with long tails, and the Alef stands by itself.<sup>49</sup> A single example in the Toq-qal'a documents, *'BDn'* (of doubtful analysis, cf. above p. 173. a. 26), suffices to show that the practice was of long standing in Choresmia. In Toq-qal'a the letter expressing the final vowel is generally much reduced in size, compared with the rest of the script, and in fact often has the aspect of a vocalization mark. Several different shapes may have to be distinguished, thus a tiny *-ə* (deprived of its tail) as in *hy* 'n' and *tknp* 'n'-'k<sup>50</sup> (No. 52); a rounded form reminiscent of an Arabic *dumm* as in *tyfy* 'n'n-w (No. 25) and *waxont* 'n-w (No. 69), both possessives functioning as patronymics; elsewhere apparently *-y*.<sup>51</sup> Further exploration of the unpublished material is needed to bring clarity here.

<sup>47</sup> The following *'y* *mr'n* would then necessarily be pluralic, if not in form at least in sense, and similarly the verb (on which see above p. 174. n. 30). Its ending is unfortunately not clearly written; objections can be raised equally against *-ty*, *-'ty* and *-aty*. A plural form *-my* would constitute a considerable dialectological difference from Late Chor. (which has only *R*-plurals), yet it would find a close parallel in the differences separating Sogdian from Yaghnobi, its only surviving dialect (the proper name *tyfy* 'n, against Late Chor. *cyry*, is best explained as a loan from Sogdian). If the verb is formally singular, we may compare the handling of *racān* 'soul' in Pahlavi. E.g., in *Arda Viraf* ch. xi sqq. the souls of groups of persons are introduced, but *racān* is stubbornly singular, as *um . . . did* [not *dīd hēnd*] *hāt-n rādān racān hē brāzādāg raft* [not *r. hēnd*] . . . *um guft hu nēck tō [nē] hē rādān racān hē ēdān azabar-i abārig racānān* ['other (groups of) souls'] *um burzīnig ushūt* . . .

<sup>48</sup> Glossed by Arabic *ju'alnā murādahā : falyakun bā-barakatih lahā*.

<sup>49</sup> The dissimilarity of *K* to *R* is not decreased in that situation, *R* being cut off abruptly.

<sup>50</sup> Only example with an additional consonant (perhaps a noun built on a case-form).

<sup>51</sup> It is not certain that these distinctions were actually intended by the scribes.

The following is a specimen of the readings I would favour:

Toq-qal'a No. 117

- 1 BŠNT vii C vi YRH'
- 2 βrwrtu BYWM βrwrtu ZNH tpaḳwk
- 3 NPŠY 'y arwywk tyšy'n'n-z 'rw'n
- 4 'D hy'n-' 'y 'rw'n 'L nwš γrδm'n
- 5 m'ny'(')ty

Translation

"In the year 706, on the 19th day of the 1st month. This chest is the property of the soul of *Štaw-yōk*, the son of *Tū-yān*. May their<sup>22</sup> souls rest in the eternal Paradise."

This inscription, which is probably the most interesting of those published, may also serve to show that the various alterations proposed in this article hardly affect the essentials of Livshitz' decipherment. In my opinion, his work is not merely competent, but even inspired; the more closely I have studied it, the more have I come to feel that it deserves admiration.

The late Dr. Schindler, who softened my inclination to harsh criticism, would have been glad to know that remembering him had driven my thoughts to a subject where I could readily praise.

<sup>22</sup> The pious wish encompasses also the dead man's father. Cf. Muslimic formulae.

## Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen \*

Waidranga<sup>1</sup>, der langjährige persische Oberkommandierende an der Südgrenze Ägyptens, führt in einem in das 8. Jahr des Darius (= 416 v. Chr.) datierten Dokument, zusätzlich zu seiner Bezeichnung als »General« (*Rab-Hailā*), den sonst unbekannten Titel *Hphlpl* (𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏)<sup>2</sup>. Nach der berühmten Beschwerdeschrift, die die Juden von Yeb (Elephantine) wegen der Zerstörung ihres Tempels an Baguwahya<sup>3</sup>, den Gouverneur von Judäa, richteten, bekleidete er aber das Amt eines *Frataraka* im 14. Jahre des Darius (= 410)<sup>4</sup>. Mit Recht hat man aus dieser Abfolge geschlossen, daß die Veränderung eine Beförderung bedeutete<sup>5</sup>. Es darf als feststehend erachtet werden, daß der *Frataraka* in der Rangordnung dem Satrapen zunächst stand; wenn also der Satrap ein Land, der *Frataraka* eine Provinz regierte, so dürfte der *Hphlpl* der Vorsteher eines Kreises gewesen sein.

Abgesehen von der Gleichsetzung des Wortendes mit dem überaus häufigen altiranischen *pati* »Herr« sind zur Erklärung des neuen Titels (der durch zweimaliges Vorkommen vor dem Verdachte der Verschreibung gesichert ist) bisher nur negative Bemerkungen geliefert worden. B. Geiger bei Kraeling (S. 228): »but then, *hphl*- can hardly be connected with *hapta* 'seven', on account of the guttural«; W. Eilers (AfO 17, 12, S. 333): »*hastax'a* 'Siebentel' wäre sinnlos«<sup>6</sup>. Es scheint jedoch, daß der Titel noch zu Beginn des 3. nachchristlichen Jh. in Persien in Gebrauch war; um das erkennen zu können, ist freilich ein etwas kühner Sprung vonnöten.

\* Der Verfasser ist am 8. I. 1967 verstorben.

<sup>1</sup> Die stete Schreibung mit -y- empfiehlt diese Lesung trotz clam. *Mi-us-ra-sx-ka*, worin E. Benveniste, J. A. 1954, S. 306, diesen Namen erkannt hat. Viell. haplogisch aus »*Waida-dranga*« »das Wissen befestigend«.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Kraeling, The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, Nr. 8 Z. 2 und 3.

<sup>3</sup> Dies ist die richtige Aussprache für *Bigwai/Baywac* im Altperischen, vgl. meine Bemerkungen zu *Ztwhy*, *'rtwhy* und *Wrtwhy* bei G. R. Driver, Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C., abridged edition, 9. 57, 71, 75.

<sup>4</sup> A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., Nr. 30 Z. 5 (vgl. Nr. 27 Z. 4 und mit Artikel, *prsk*<sup>3</sup>, Nr. 3 Z. 5).

<sup>5</sup> E. G. Kraeling, a.a.O., S. 228.

<sup>6</sup> Weitere Bemerkungen sind mir nicht im Gesicht gekommen.

In den *Res gestae* (*Kārnamag*)<sup>7</sup> des Begründers des sassanidischen Reiches, Ardaschir III. d. Pābag, ist viel von einem Fürsten namens *Haftānbuxt* die Rede, der das südliche Küstengebiet der Persis beherrschte und Ardaschir viel zu schaffen machte; er hatte sich einen Drachen oder »Wurm« (*kirm*) zugelegt, der den Grund seines Daseins bildete und göttliche Verehrung genoß. Wenn uns auch *Haftānbuxt* als Eigenname entgegentritt, so haben wir doch angesichts der steten Verwirrung von Name und Titel in der iranischen Tradition ohne weiteres das Recht anzunehmen, daß es sich ursprünglich um einen Titel handelte. Dafür, daß H. seit langem unbesehen als Eigenname gilt, ist gewiß die »sprechende Etymologie« der Wortform mitverantwortlich: als »Von-den-Sieben (d.h. Planeten)-erlöst« kann sie in gefälliger Weise als Ausfluß des »altorientalischen Gestirndienstes« gebucht werden.

J. Marquart, der Hauptkritiker der Quellen der iranischen Geschichte, hat als einziger erkannt, daß die überlieferte Form falsch ist. »Ursprünglich wohl«, so schrieb er kurz in einer Anmerkung<sup>8</sup>, »*Haftānpāt* 'von den Sieben (Planeten) beschützt', woraus sich auch Firdausis *هفتاد* am leichtesten erklären ließe«. Marquart, der also im Banne der obenerwähnten Etymologie blieb, machte diesen Vorschlag gewiß in erster Linie wegen der in der persischen Sekundärüberlieferung<sup>9</sup> gebräuchlichen Form, *Haftwād* (oder *Haftwād*), die in der Tat in Betracht gezogen werden muß; denn wenn in jener Version des Kn., welche den persischen Werken zugrunde lag, *Haftānbuxt* gestanden hätte, so wäre kein Mensch auf den Gedanken verfallen, anders als geradeso zu lesen. Dazu kommt, daß die arabische Umsetzung bei Tabari<sup>10</sup>, wenn auch hoffnungslos verderbt, immerhin noch zeigt, daß das Original nicht auf *-buxt* endigte.

Marquart war zwar auf dem richtigen Wege, jedoch stand die für das U<sub>1</sub>-*Kārnamag* vorauszusetzende Schreibung dem Überlieferten näher als er dachte; statt *-pāt* endete sie auf *-bāt*, welches (da *-ā-* und *-b-* im Fehlewi identisch sind) sich von *-buxt* nur durch Wegfall von *-w-* unterscheidet.

<sup>7</sup> Abgekürzt Kn. Gemeinhin gebe ich doppelte Zitate: Kapitel (römische Ziffer) und Paragraph nach der Ausgabe von D. P. Sanjana, Seite und Zeile nach der von E. K. Antia. Nöldekes Übersetzung (Bezzzenbergers Beiträge, Bd. IV) ist mir z.Zt. nicht zugänglich.

<sup>8</sup> J. Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, 44 A. 1, mit Hinweis auf handschriftliche Verwechslung von *buxt*, *bāt* und *pāt* in einem andren Namen.

<sup>9</sup> Firdousi, *Muḡimāt al-Tawārīx* (S. 60 III. Bahar), *Nuḡmat-al-Qulūb* (übers. LeStrange S. 138) etc.

<sup>10</sup> I 817 Z. 5, ann. b (die Schreibungen mit Hilfe der ihrerseits verderbten Kn.-Form zu emendieren ist verlorne Liebesmüh; zu beklagen ist, daß in dem Kairiner Nendruck, II 39 Z. 14, nur die künstlich hergestellte Form, unter Fortlassung der Varianten, erscheint). Vgl. Nöldeke, Tabari, III A. 1.

## 1. Überliefert

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

Haftānburi

## 2. Marquart

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

Haftānpāt

## 3. Echte Form

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

Daß aber Nr. 3 die echte Form darstellt, ergibt sich aus einer im Kn. selbst implicite enthaltenen Volksetymologie: H. hatte sieben Söhne (VI 14 = S. 287). Obwohl ebendiese Etymologie im Schahname explicite zu finden ist (*Haftwād* hieß, so »weil er sieben Söhne hatte«)<sup>11</sup> und einen überklugen Lexikographen die nichtexistierende Vokabel *wād* »Sohn« in das persische Wörterbuch einzutragen verführt hat<sup>12</sup>, ist ihr Mitspielen im Kn. nicht klar erkannt worden, weil das Pehlewi-Wort, das dem Verfasser des Kn. vorschwebte, früher nicht sehr geläufig war: nämlich *'wb'z* (Pehl. Psalter), *'wb'ik* (Buch-Pehl.) »Generation, Nachkommen«. Allerdings kennen wir nicht seine genaue Aussprache<sup>13</sup> (*ōbāt?* | *ōpāt?* *apāt?*). Ob aber der ganze Name bzw. Titel *Haftōbāt* oder *Haftōpāt* oder *Haftāpāt* (später mit *-pād/-vād*) war, ist von geringem Gewicht: Dieser Art war jedenfalls die Form, die der Verfasser des Kn. beabsichtigte<sup>14</sup>. Das persische *Haftwād* ist ihre vollkommen richtige Fortsetzung.

Marquart hat auch zur Lokalisierung der im Kn. erzählten Ereignisse wichtige Beiträge geliefert<sup>15</sup>. Haftobāt (wie ich der Kürze halber schreiben werde) war ein Räuber- und Piratenhäuptling, der

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Tehran VII S. 1948 V. 496 (bei Firdousi hat H. auch noch eine Tochter, aber »Tochter rechnete er nicht als jemanden«).

<sup>12</sup> Ein noch weniger vertrauenswürdiges Wort ist *buršbār* »Sohn«, worauf sich Darmesteter, *Et. Ir.* II, 82 verließ; wie man z. B. aus dem *Farhang-e Rāsid* ersieht, ist es aus *Buri(-)* *Nāpār*, der Verballhornung von Nebukadnezar, abstrahiert worden.

<sup>13</sup> Schon im Mittelalter war sie in Vergessenheit geraten, wie Neryosengs Fehlleseung *'wb'ik* beweist, vgl. *Šāh-nāmānī-vād* XIV 7, S. 196, ed. de Menasce (mit Stellennachweis); dort zufällig im Kompositum mit *haft* »sieben«, *haft-anbōdās*, dessen Pehlewi-Schreibung, in Wests Ausgabe S. 247 geliefert, abgesehen vom *-k* mit der oben gegebenen Form Nr. 3 identisch ist.

<sup>14</sup> Man darf nicht außer acht lassen, daß unser Kn.-Text auf einer einzigen Handschrift beruht, alle umlaufenden Hss. sind Abschriften jener noch existierenden alten Hs. (die als *MK* bekannt ist); die sog. Varianten in den Ausgaben sind daher nur als Schreibfehler zu bewerten.

<sup>15</sup> Aus ihr ergibt sich aufs klarste, daß die Geschichte von Haftobāt und seinem *kirm* nicht (wie das die etymologiefreudigen Perser unvermeidlicherweise späterhin annahmen) als Ätiologie des Namens der östlich angrenzenden Provinz *Kirmān* gedacht war. Im Kn. bedient Artaschir aus jener Provinz, sowie aus *Makuristān* (später *Mukrān*) und *Pārs*, seine Truppen (vor dem Auftreten des H.) IV 12 = S. 22<sup>16</sup> und schickt dorthin eine Armee zum Kampf gegen die *Bāri*: (nach seiner Beseitigung) IX 2 = S. 40<sup>17</sup>. Von einem Zusammenhang mit Haftobāt, der VI 3 = S. 26<sup>18</sup> ausdrücklich nach *Pārs* verlegt wird, ist noch keine Rede.

den südlichen Teil der Persis und die Küsten des persischen Golfes unsicher machte; bis nach dem Indusgebiet schickte er seine Leute auf Piraterie (*pad kēnīh*<sup>16</sup> VI 4 = S. 26 pu.). Sein (ältester) Sohn, der *Irakistān*<sup>17</sup>, das Hinterland von Sirāf (*hodie* Tāhirī), dem nachmalig berühmten Haupthafen von Persien, für ihn verwaltete, brachte ihm im Notfalle Hilfstruppen von Arabern und Omanitern<sup>18</sup> auf dem Seewege. Er selber hauste in einer ■ einem unidentifizierbaren Gau<sup>19</sup> gelegenen Festung, deren Namen ebenfalls strittig ist<sup>20</sup>. Sie lag jedenfalls nicht sehr weit von der Küste ab; denn dorthin (*bār-i drayāb*, VI ■ = S. 31<sup>6</sup>) gerät Ardaschir auf der Flucht nach einem mißlungenen Eroberungsversuch. Von da erreicht er »das Dorf, welches man *Mānd*<sup>21</sup> nennt« (VII 1 = S. 31 u.), wonach die bei den islamischen Geographen erwähnte Wüstenei *Māndistān* sowie heutzutage der sie begrenzende Unterlauf des alten *Sikkān*<sup>22</sup>, *Rūd-i Mānd*, benannt sind. Ardaschirs Operationsbasis ist das offensichtlich sehr nahe gelegene *Ardasir-xurreh* (*hodie* Firūzābād), das naturgemäß häufig erwähnt wird, zweimal (VIII ■ = S. 40<sup>3</sup>, IX 1 = S. 40<sup>3</sup>) auch unter seinem, ursprünglichen Namen, *Gōr*<sup>23</sup>; sogar das von A. gegrabene Flußbett welches das Wasser aus dem Talkessel von *Gōr* ableitete und dem *Sikkān* zuführte, ist genannt, *Rūd[-i Wa]rāzag* (IV 17-18 = S. 237<sup>4</sup>) = *Rūd-i Buyāze* im Fārsnāme des Ibn Balxi. Man darf daran erinnern, daß in der sassanidischen Provinzialeinteilung das ganze Ge-

<sup>16</sup> Für die Einengung des Sinnes auf Seeräuber vgl. armen. *kēn*.

<sup>17</sup> *Yhst'n* VI 15 = S. 28<sup>14</sup> für *Yhst'n* siehe Marquart, *Erzählung*, S. 431., der eine unnötig starke Änderung wollte; vgl. Pehl.-Vendidad III 23 (S. 13 Z. 19 ed. Spiegel) *zup rōstāp zēgōn Yhst'n* »ein tiefliegender Distrikt wie z. B. *Irakistān* u.

<sup>18</sup> *Myēnyā'n* VI ■ = S. 28<sup>11</sup> für *Myēnyā'n*, siehe Marquart (ebd.), dessen Emendation angesichts *Myēn* Gr. Bd. 208<sup>3</sup> wieder zu weit geht.

<sup>19</sup> Marquart, a.a.O., S. 44. Viell. ursprünglich *Gōdīhrān/Gōzīhrān*, d.h. Gebiet eines *Ywōdpyr* (vgl. Noldeke, *Tabari*, S. 4-7).

<sup>20</sup> Pehl. *Guldr*, *Tabari* *Yr*, siehe Marquart, a.a.O. A. *Egīndāri* (*īqīdārī*) hat in seinem nützlichen Werke *Lāristān-i kūhān* (»Das alte L.«), 1955, S. 46, auf den gegenwärtigen Ortsnamen *Guldr* hingewiesen, der gut *Guldr* fortsetzen könnte. *Guldr* liegt nach dem Fārsnāme *Yh* *faruz* süd. v. *Bīdāhr*, welches selbst ■ *fars* sw. von *Gūyūm* liegt, nach dem *Farhang-i Juwāfīyā'i* 54 km. von *Gūyūm*.

<sup>21</sup> Dieser für das Verständnis der Vorgänge wichtige Name ist sogar Marquart entgangen.

<sup>22</sup> ■ dieser Form nicht nur bei Plinius (*Siccanae*) und Arabern, sondern auch in Pehlewī, *Sh'n* Gr. ■, 88<sup>11</sup> (von Marquart, *Wekrol*, S. 177, anders aufgefaßt). Vgl. W. Tomaschek, *Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, S. 60.

<sup>23</sup> Verschieden *Gōb'l*, statt *Gōb'l* (daß es sich um *Ardasir-xurreh* handelt, ist von Marquart, a.a.O., S. 146, zwar erkannt worden, trotzdem suchte er den Namen anders zu erklären). Dies ist die richtige Schreibung für *Gōr* aus *Gāfr* »tiefliegendes Tal« (vgl. manich. *npers. gbr*; die ursprüngliche Bedeutung ist »Gebärmutter«); *Gāf* dagegen (vgl. Marquart, *Provincial Capitals*, S. 19 § 44) ist von der späteren Aussprache beeinflusst.



biet bis Siráf und bis in die Nähe von Lár zum Distrikt Ardasírxurreh gerechnet wurde. Mitten in seiner südlichen Hälfte, genau im Zentrum des Dreiecks Siráf-Lár-Jahrum, befindet sich heute das große Dorf *Haftavân*<sup>21</sup> (*Haftavân*), in dessen Namen<sup>22</sup> gewiß die Erinnerung an *Haftobút* (*Haftvād*) fortlebt; es ist auf allen besseren Karten markiert<sup>23</sup>, aber, weil abseits der Karawanenstraßen, in den älteren Quellen nicht erwähnt.

Es bedarf dieses Blickes auf die Lokalgeographie, um den Grund für die unverhältnismäßige Ausführlichkeit der Haftobat-Geschichte, ja für ihre Erwähnung überhaupt, verstehen zu können. Am nördlichen Rande des Kreises, in dem H. sein Wesen trieb, lag nämlich der Sitz des heiligsten Feuers des Sassanidenreiches, des *Ādur-Farnbāg*. Gewiß, so dürfen wir annehmen, war der Verfasser des Kn. ein Magier jenes Hauptfeuers der zoroastrischen Priesterschaft. Nur so erklären sich die im Vergleich mit allen anderen Quellen einzigartige Vertrautheit des Kn. mit der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft sowie das religiöse Moment im Kampfe gegen Haftobat, in dessen Gebiet durch seine Beziehungen zum indischen Küstenland wohl ein Nāga-Kult, der den Magiern ein Dorn im Auge war, eingedrungen war. Nicht umsonst auch berichtet uns das Kn., daß Ardaschir, ganz am Anfang seiner Laufbahn, sowie er auf der Flucht vor dem parthischen Großkönig die Meeresküste und damit Sicherheit erreicht hatte<sup>24</sup>, als Allererstes sich zum »Hofe« des Farnbāg-Feuers begab, um seine Huld zu gewinnen<sup>25</sup>.

Über die Örtlichkeit, die das heilige Feuer beherbergte, das Dorf *Kāriyān*, hat eigentlich schon G. Hoffmann (vor 85 Jahren) alles Nötige beigebracht<sup>26</sup>. Das noch heute existierende Dorf liegt nach Muqaddasi eine Tagesreise, nach dem *Farhang-i Juyrāfiyā'i* 11 km sw. (wahrscheinlich wnw.) von *Gūyūm*; die Entfernung von dem oben ge-

<sup>21</sup> So nach Eghtedari, a.a.O., S. 101.

<sup>22</sup> Wohl Kürzung von *Haftobādān*/*Haft(o)vādān* »dem H. gehörig«. Vgl. Namen wie *Burāzjān* (von *Burāz*, s. oben), *Kirmānshāh* usw.

<sup>23</sup> Auch bei Wilson, *Persian Gulf*. Nach *The Times Atlas* 27° 46' n. Br., 53° 16' ö. L.

<sup>24</sup> Um diesen Augenblick zu verewigen, gründete er dort die Siedlung *Buri-Ardasir* (IV 8 = S. 21<sup>23</sup>), d.h. »A. ist gerettet«, die naturgemäß an der Küste der Persis zu suchen ist (es war A. prophezeit worden, daß er, sobald sein Auge auf die See fiel, vor dem Parther nichts mehr zu fürchten hätte). Der Name ist zweifellos der Ahnherr des heutigen *Bālīr* (Bashire, Bushehr), wenn auch dieser (ebenso wie andre Kn.-Namen) sonst in den älteren Quellen nicht vorkommt. Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, S. 42, verlegte freilich *Buri-A.* an die gegenüberliegende Seite des Meeres, was den Sinn der Kn.-Geschichte zerstört.

<sup>25</sup> Diesen Punkt hat G. Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten persischer Märtyrer* (1880), II. 287 f., mit Recht hervorgehoben.

<sup>26</sup> A.a.O., S. 284 ff.

nannten *Haftonān* dürfte 70 km (in der Luftlinie) kaum überschreiten<sup>20</sup>. Sogar die Lösung der einzigen ernstlichen Schwierigkeit, der Behauptung des Ind. Bundahischn, daß Vištāspa das Feuer nach Kabul gebracht habe und es noch jetzt dort weile, hat Hoffmann richtig vorausgeahnt<sup>21</sup>. Das Auftauchen der vollständigen Version des Bundahischn (*Gr. Bd.* 125<sup>2-3</sup>) zeigte zwar, daß «*Kāvūlistān*, das Land *Kāvul*» verderbt war, aber der neue Text bot gleichfalls Schreibungen, die nicht leicht zu verstehen waren<sup>22</sup>. Einzig und allein die Mutter-Handschrift (*TD*) des *Gr. Bd.*<sup>23</sup> hat das Richtige:

*rōšn-kōf ig pad K'lnyh'n<sup>24</sup> deh*

«Berg *Rōšn*<sup>25</sup>, der beim Dorfe *Kārnīkān* (liegt)»; daß *Kāriyān* (viell. eig. *Kāriyān*) das ältere *Kārnīkān* (urspr. «dem *Kāren* gehörig») fortsetzt, steht außer Frage.

Wir können nun untersuchen, wie aram. *hpt-hpt'* und Haftobāt sich zueinander verhalten. Bei dem letzteren sind wir keineswegs verpflichtet, dem Verfasser des Kn. in der Schriftanalyse Glauben zu schenken; denn wenn er auch um die richtige Aussprache Bescheid wußte, so folgte er in der Orthographie einem seit Jahrhunderten schulmäßig festgelegten Schriftbild, dessen Ursprung ihm unbekannt war: er sah ■ als *hpt-'wb't* an, wir aber dürfen getrost annehmen, daß es ursprünglich als *hpt'hw-b't* gemeint war. Damit gewinnen wir den Anschluß an die aramäische Form, die dementsprechend aus dem von Eilers verworfenen \**haflax-wa*- «Siebentel» (Aw. *haplahva*, Altpers. \**haflauva*-) sowie *pātā*, Nom. sg. von *pātar*- «Schützer, Wächter»<sup>26</sup>,

<sup>20</sup> Genaue Distanzen kann ich nicht liefern, weil die Geographen erst kürzlich die Lage von Gūyūm (von der *Kāriyān* abhängt) geändert haben; auf allen früheren Karten lag es ein gutes Stück westlich vom ■. Längengrad, aber 1959 hat es seinen Platz östlich von ihm gefunden (und ist gleichzeitig südlich verlagert). The Times Atlas gibt an: 28° 3' n. Br., 54° 2' ö. L. (*Kāriyān* ist nicht markiert, wohl aber das ihm ganz nahe *Hārm*, 28° 13' n. Br., 53° 43' ö. L.). Gūyūm (arabisiert *Jāyūm*, besser *Juwaim*) darf nicht mit dem gleichnamigen Ort nördl. v. Schiraz verwechselt werden; wohl urspr. «*gaw-dam*- «Kuh-hausen».

<sup>21</sup> A. S. O., S. 286.

<sup>22</sup> Siehe A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, S. 165.

<sup>23</sup> Diese kann ich dank dem freundlichen Entgegenkommen von Mrs. Moherbanu B. Anklesaria und der Großzügigkeit meines früheren Schölers Peshotan ■. Anklesaria benutzen.

■ Man sieht leicht, wie *staudrende* und *staudringe* aus *k'lny-* zustande gekommen sind.

<sup>24</sup> Viell. entsprechend dem *Kāh-i Yāsin*, an dessen Abhang *Kāriyān* nach dem *Far-i J.* liegt.

<sup>25</sup> Ein ziemlich sicheres Beispiel von *pātā* in *𐬪𐬀𐬢𐬀* aus altiran. *tāyū-pātā* (Nom. sg.) «der die Diebe bewacht (auf sie achtgibt)», vgl. mein Manichäisches Bet- und Beicht-Buch, S. 90 Anm. 1, Anders hierüber H. W. Bailey, *Annali* (Ist. Univers. Or., Napoli) 1, S. 115.

zusammengesetzt ist. Aus \**haflax-wapālā*<sup>37</sup> wurde beim Übergang zum Mittelpersischen zunächst \**haflaxwāl*, worin -*p*- früh stimmhaft wurde<sup>38</sup>, also \**haflaxwāl*, welches von der Pehlewi-Schreibung repräsentiert wird. Daß daraus in der späteren Aussprache \**haflawāl*, schließlich \**haflōbāl* o. dgl. wurde, kann auf verschiedene Weise erklärt werden<sup>39</sup> und ist auf jeden Fall im Einklang mit der Tatsache, daß mittelpersische Bruchzahlen gegenüber altiran. -*ax-wa*- bloßes -*ō*- (oder -*ū*-) aufweisen<sup>40</sup>.

Wenn nun der achämenidische Kreishauptmann den Titel »Schützer des Siedentels« führte, so darf man wohl annehmen, daß die Einteilung der Provinzen in sieben Kreise als der Normalfall angesehen wurde; sie mag ein Vorbild in der iranischen Kosmologie, nach welcher die Welt in sieben Erdteile (*karšvar*-) zerfiel, gehabt haben. Ganz ähnlich teilte man in spätsassanidischer Zeit das ganze Reich in vier »Richtungen« (*pādγōs*), deren Verwalter *pādγōsbān* »Schützer«<sup>41</sup> des P. heißen, und dementsprechend die Provinzen in »Viertel« (*tas(s)ōg*), deren jeweilige Anzahl freilich häufig dem Namen Hohn sprach<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Bloßes *h* für *xw/h* ist eine Kürzung, die wir dem aramäischen Schreiber nicht verdanken können; vgl. übrigens *hrrmy* (ܚܪܡܝ, zweimal bei Cowley) »Choresmiera«, von *xwšrazmi*, vgl. H. H. Schaefer, *Iranische Beiträge*, S. 68 [266].

<sup>38</sup> Dies ist allerdings schwer zu beweisen, weshalb denn die von Marquart restaurierte Schreibung auf den ersten Blick anziehend erscheint (vgl. oben S. 139). Für die Konsonantengruppe *-xw-* weiß ich kein anderes Beispiel. Stimmhaftwerden in der Kompositionslage wird in der Orthographie manchmal angezeigt, z.B. bei *'ndym'ng'p'm* statt *-h'i'm* (vgl. mein *Mitteliranisch*, S. 111). Vgl. *Mzōbārtγ* gegenüber aram. *hapt* (ܚܡܬܐ), vgl. meine Anmerkung bei G. R. Driver, a.a.O., S. 111.

<sup>39</sup> Z.B. durch Konsonantenhäufung.

<sup>40</sup> In Pehl. *haflōbāl* (oder *haflōbāl*) »Siedentel« ist, wie *sriōbāl* im Vergleich mit *aw. bṛitva* zeigt, *-tal* ein zusätzliches Element, so daß *haflō* = *aw. haptahva*; ebenso *panjōbāl* »Fünftel«, *āštōbāl* »Achtel«. Außerhalb des Pehlewi mit *-ka*-Suffix, monich-mpers. *panjag* = *panjōg* »Fünftel« (JRAS, 1945, II, 149 Recto Z. 1) und *izag* = *tas(s)ōg* »Viertel« (ebenda *Vetko* Z. 111; *Sogdica* S. 24 II, 6, vgl. S. 25; daraus arab. *faṣṣāf*, pers. *faṣṣ* usw.). Nirgends ist eine Spur des altiran. *h/s* erkennbar, welches ja auch in den (nur elamitisch bezeugten) altpersischen Formen nicht sichtbar wird, daher viell. in einem Dialekt der Peris ausgefallen war (mpers. *whyšt'w*, selten *whyšt*, »Paradies«, das mit *dušw* »Hölle« kontrastiert, verdient besondere Beachtung). Das mittelpers. Material ist bei der lebhaften Besprechung der altpers. Bruchzahlen vernachlässigt worden (vgl. zuletzt O. Szemerényi, *Stud. Indo-Eur. Num.*, S. 75 Anm. 40; K. Hoffmann, *KZ* 79 (1965), S. 247 ff.; M. Cameron und I. Gershevitch, *JNES* 24 (1965), S. 183 ff.). Nach *izag* ist elam. *pa-is-ma-kai* = *ḫaṣṣuaka* (nicht = *ḫaṣu*); *panjag* entspricht elam. *pan-su-ma-[kaš]*, nicht aber *pan-su-kai*.

<sup>41</sup> Nominalformen von *pā* »schützen« wurden für territoriale Amtsbezeichnungen bevorzugt, wie ja schon *xšaθrapāvan* »Satrape« (wörtl. »Landeschützer«) zeigt; schon deshalb ist *pāsar* wahrscheinlicher als *pāti* in *Hpāpī*.

<sup>42</sup> In Babylonien z.B. hatten die Provinzen bis acht »Viertel«, gelegentlich auch bloß drei (vgl. M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, I, S. 14 ff.).

Dereinst aber hatte man jedenfalls in der Persis die achämenidischen Gepflogenheiten beibehalten, als das Land nach der griechisch-makedonischen Eroberung seine Freiheit wiedergewann. Daher finden wir in der Persis, der Hochburg des religiös-politischen Konservativismus, jene nur aus Oberägypten bekannten achämenidischen Titel, den *Frataraka* und den *Haftax-wapātū*, beide innerhalb der arsakidischen Periode, den einen ganz an ihrem Anfang, den andern in ihren allerletzten Tagen<sup>42</sup>.

Nur zögernd bringe ich hier zum Schluß eine Art Beweis dafür, daß vielleicht noch im 6. Jh. der erste Teil von Haftobāt richtig als »Siebentel« aufgefaßt wurde; freilich stieß er aus einer Quelle, auf die der Historiker sich noch weniger gern verläßt als auf das Kn. In einer dem Fabelbuch *Kalila wa Dimna* beigelegten Geschichte, die, wie Nöldeke gezeigt hat<sup>43</sup>, ursprünglich auf Pehlewī geschrieben war, begegnet ein König, in dessen Namen »*Hawjaßūd*«<sup>44</sup> wir unschwer unseren Haftobāt wiedererkennen. Das Schloß dieses Fürsten lag beim Berge *Anōšag-bād*, und

am Fuße des Berges ist ein Loch, und ein Siebentel des Windes dieser 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  Regionen kommt aus dem Loche . . . .<sup>45</sup>

Es verlohnt sich nicht, hier weiter auf diese höchst seltsame Geschichte einzugehen. Wir dürfen aber die Vermutung äußern, daß sie im wesentlichen aus einer Volksetymologie des Namens, *Siebentel* + *Wind* (Pehl. *wāt*, später *wād*, pers. *bād*), herausgesponnen worden ist. Es ist interessant zu beobachten, welche Mühe sich die Perser gegeben haben, sich das ihnen Sinnlose sinnvoll zu machen.

<sup>42</sup> Der Umstand, daß die christliche Kirchenprovinz Persis in sieben Bistümer zerfiel (vgl. E. Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Ärien*, S. 58), könnte eine früh-sassanidische Siebenteilung widerspiegeln.

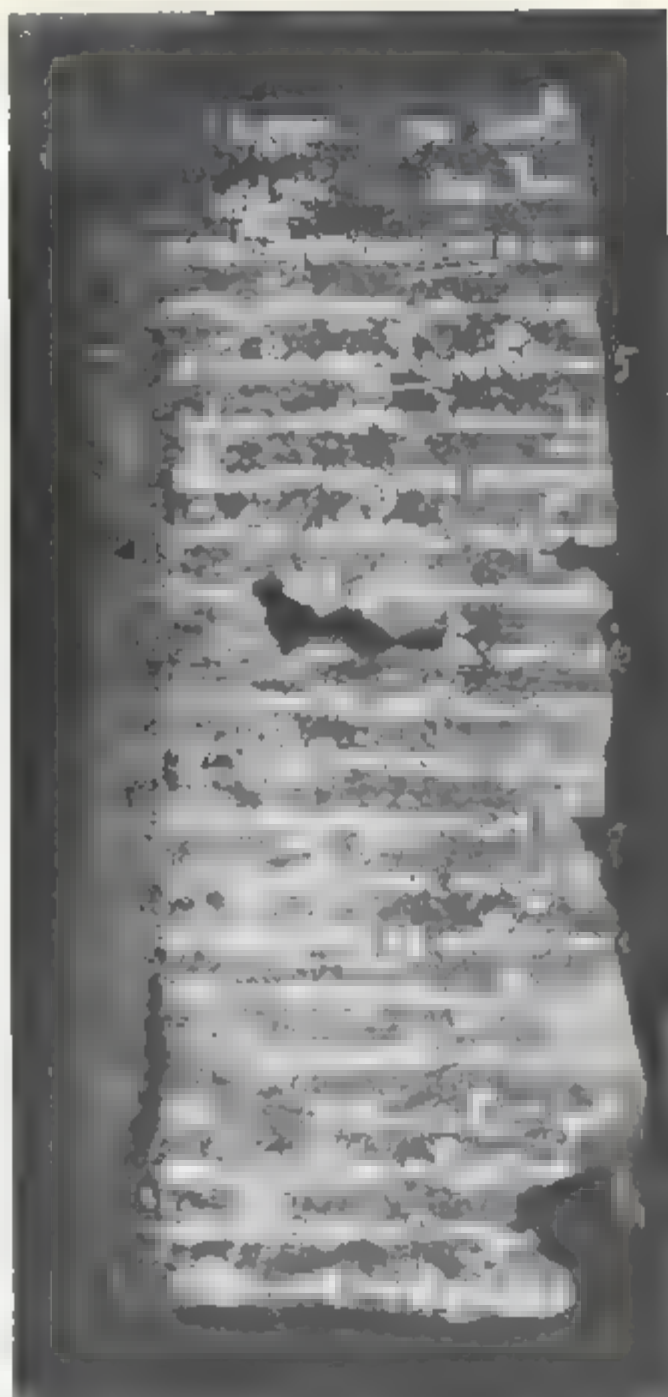
<sup>43</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *Die Erzählung vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern*, 1879.

<sup>44</sup> In der alten syrischen Übersetzung *ḥwḥ'd*, daneben *ḥwḥ'bd*, *ḥwḥ'br*, auch *ḥwḥ'bd* (Schulthess, *K. u. D.*, 2, S. 241 Anm. 628). Das, wie es scheint, nur in einer einzigen Hs. der arabischen Versionen vorliegende *ḥwḥ'br* (weßhalb Nöldeke, a. a. O., II, 8, *ḥwḥ-tabdr*) hat m. E. keinen unabhängigen Wert; es ist wohl erst aus dem Syr. transliteriert.

<sup>45</sup> Nöldeke, dessen Übersetzung des Syrers S. 24 hier zitiert ist, bemerkte, daß der Verfasser nur die Hälfte der aus sieben *ḥwḥ'br* bestehenden Welt als bewohnt zu betrachten scheine. Im Arabischen: »ein Siebentel aller Winde, so in den 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  Regionen der Welt wehen«.

## PLATES





p. 472]

THE MERCHANT AND THE SPIRIT.  
(Verso page.)

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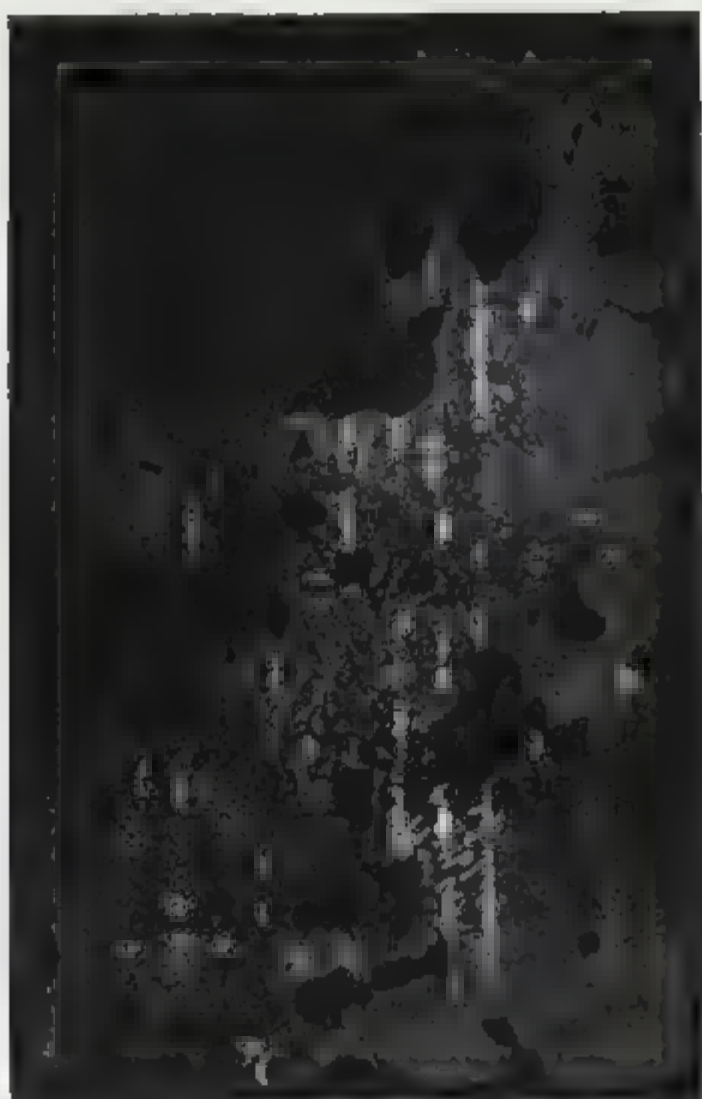




p. 483]

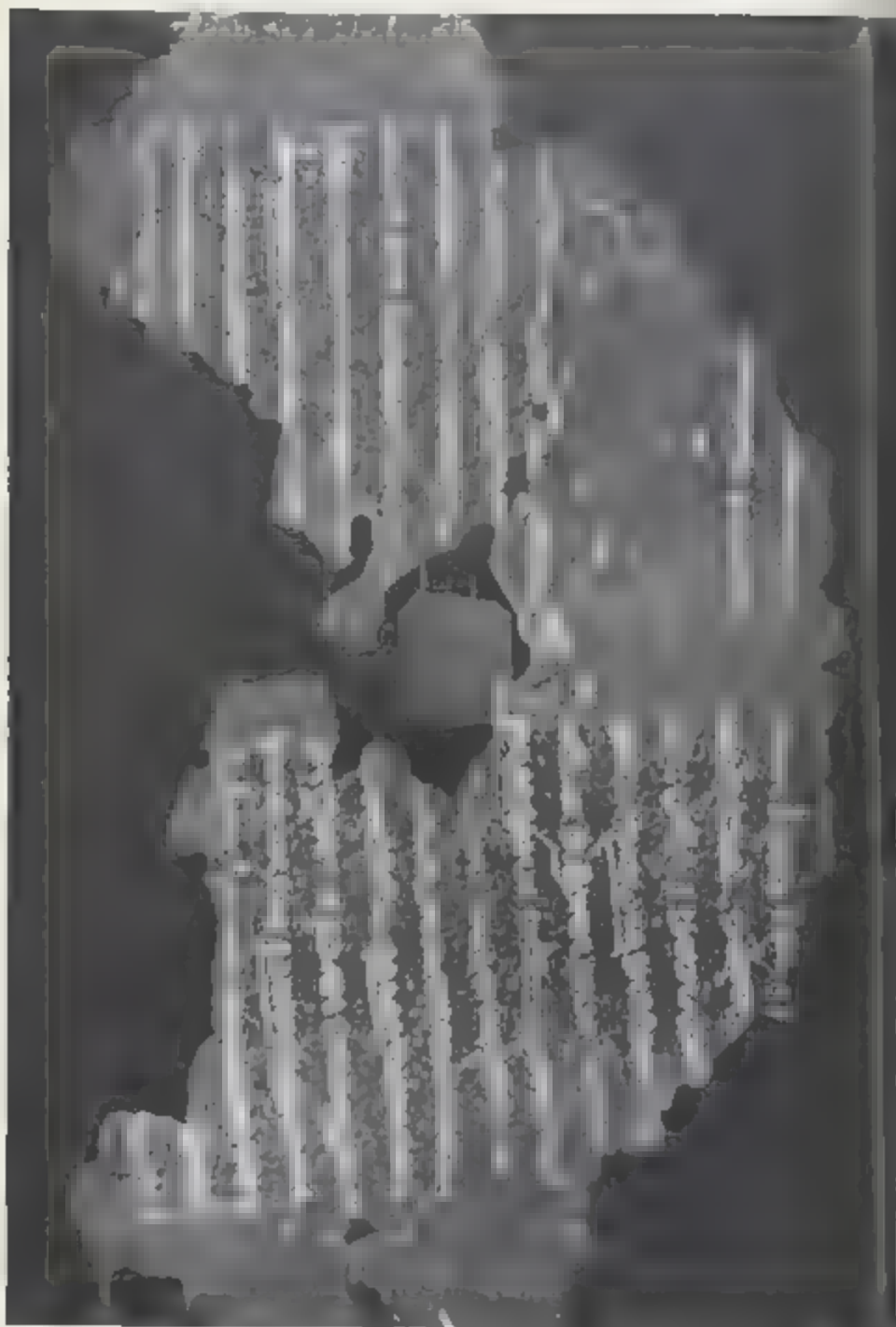
THE KAR FISH.

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A TABLE OF THE MANICHEAN FASTS  
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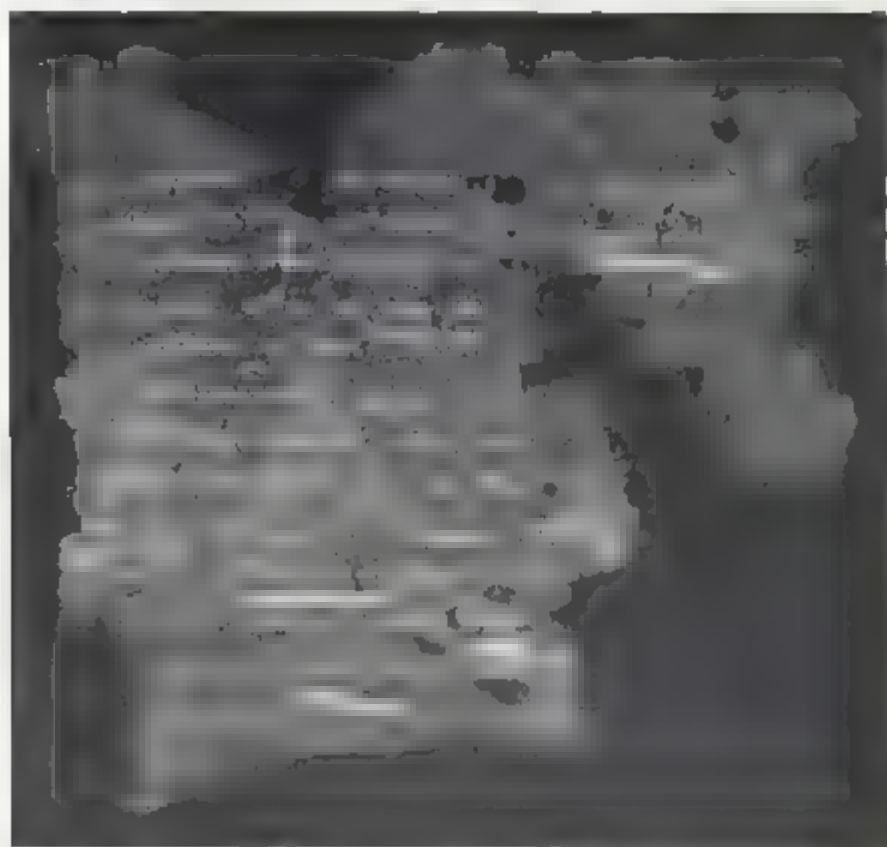
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p. 38)

MIDDLE PERSIAN SPELLS  
(M 762 i R and ii V)

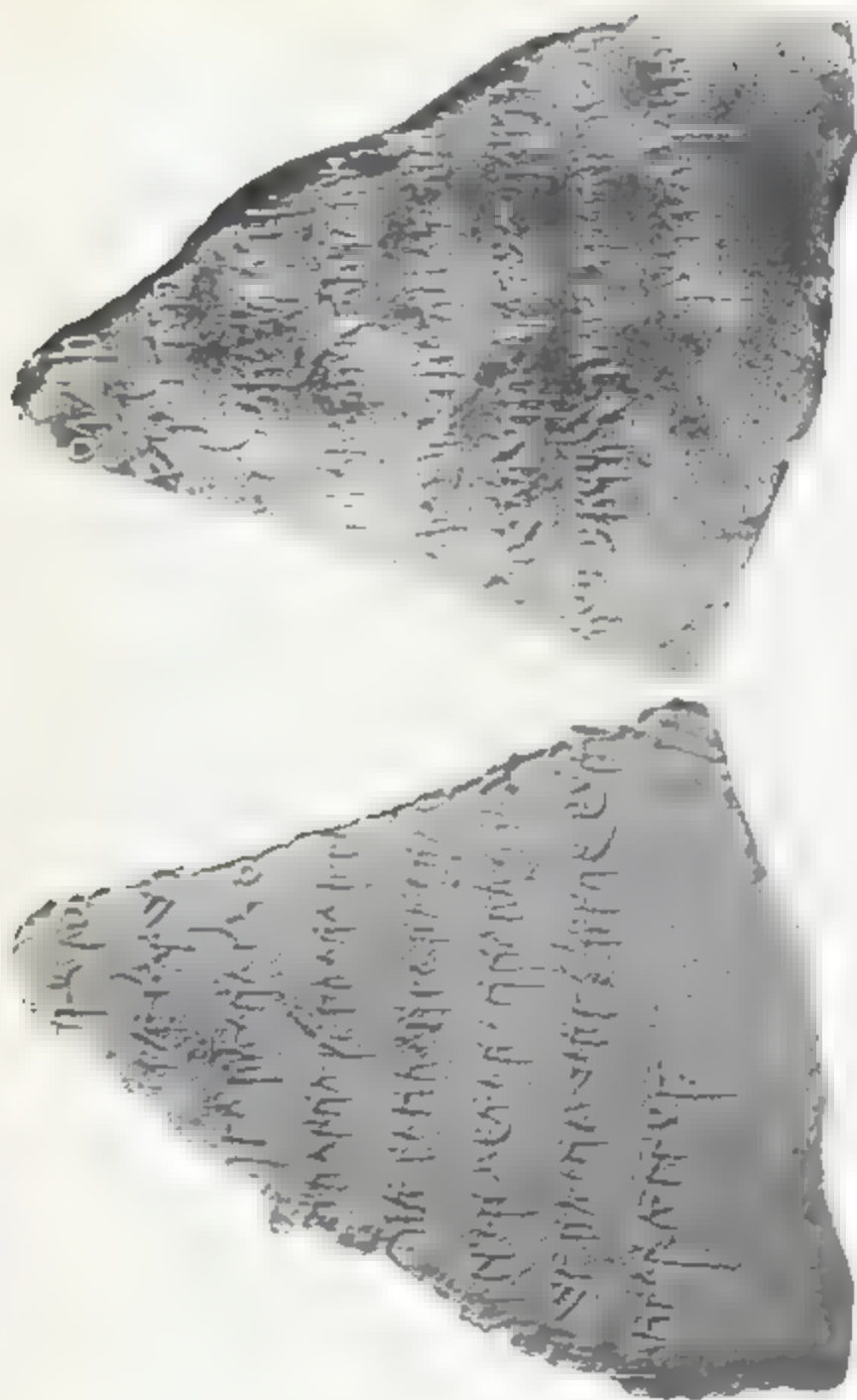
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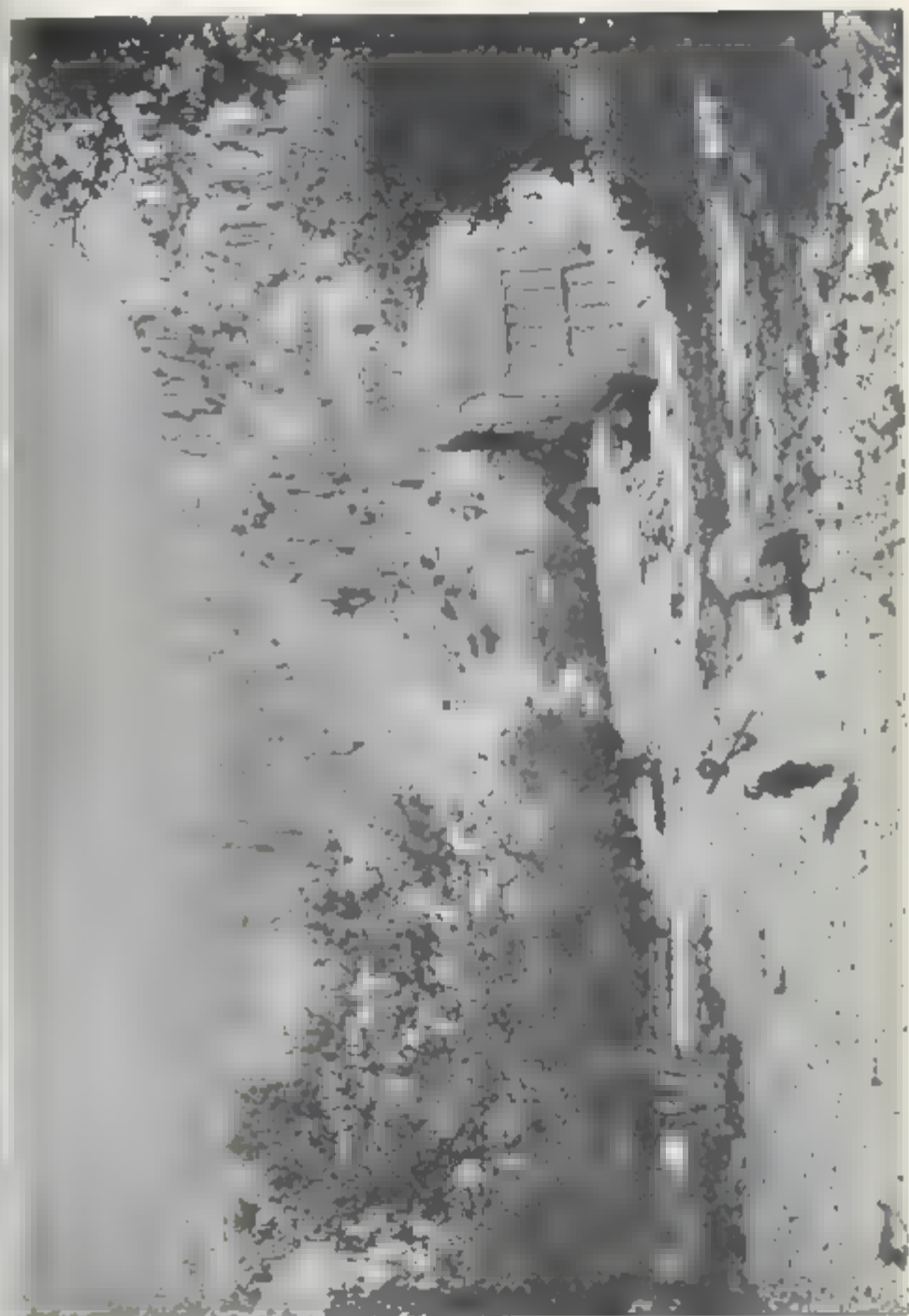


p. 30]

A PARTHIAN AMULET  
(verso page)

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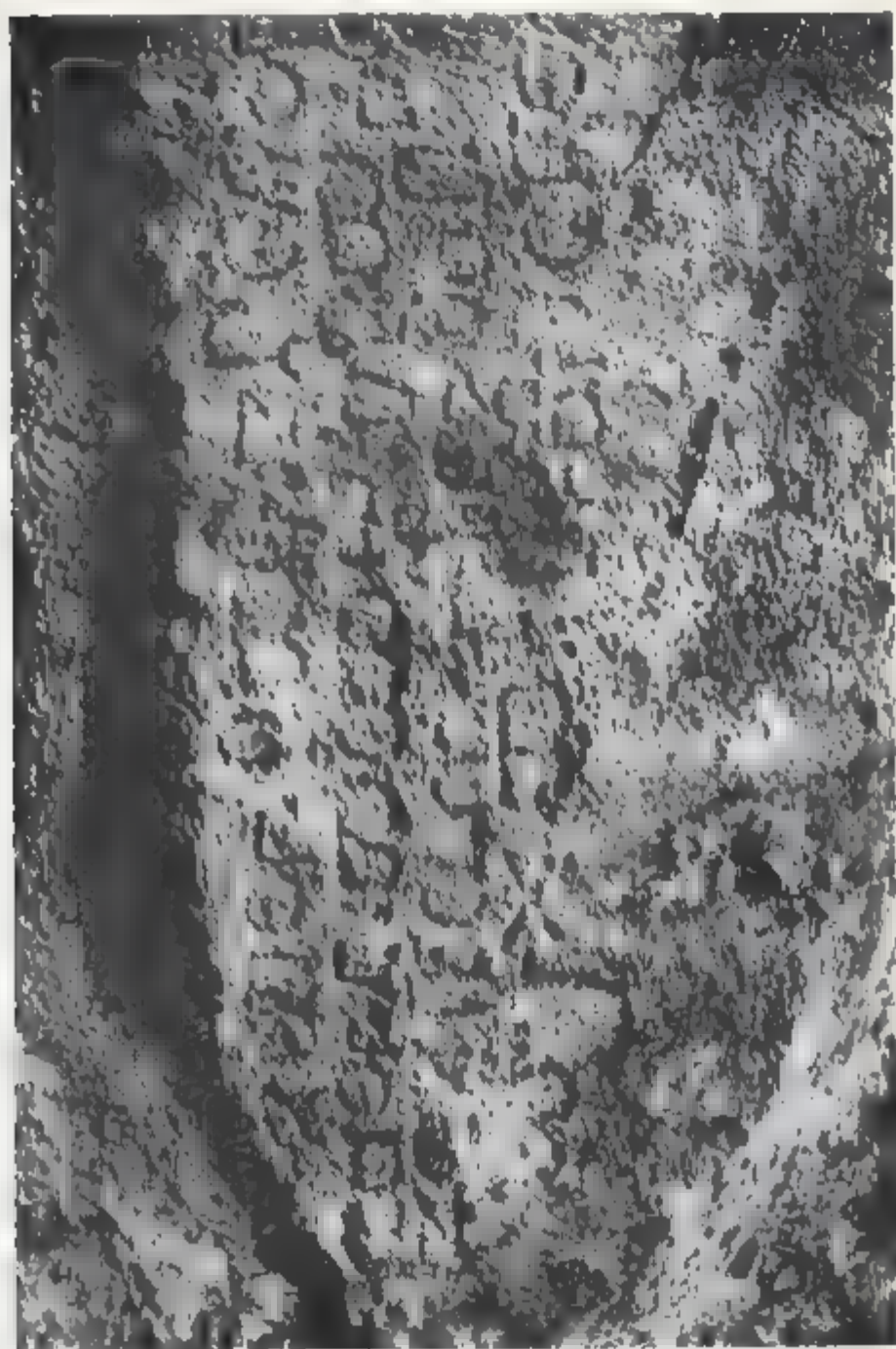


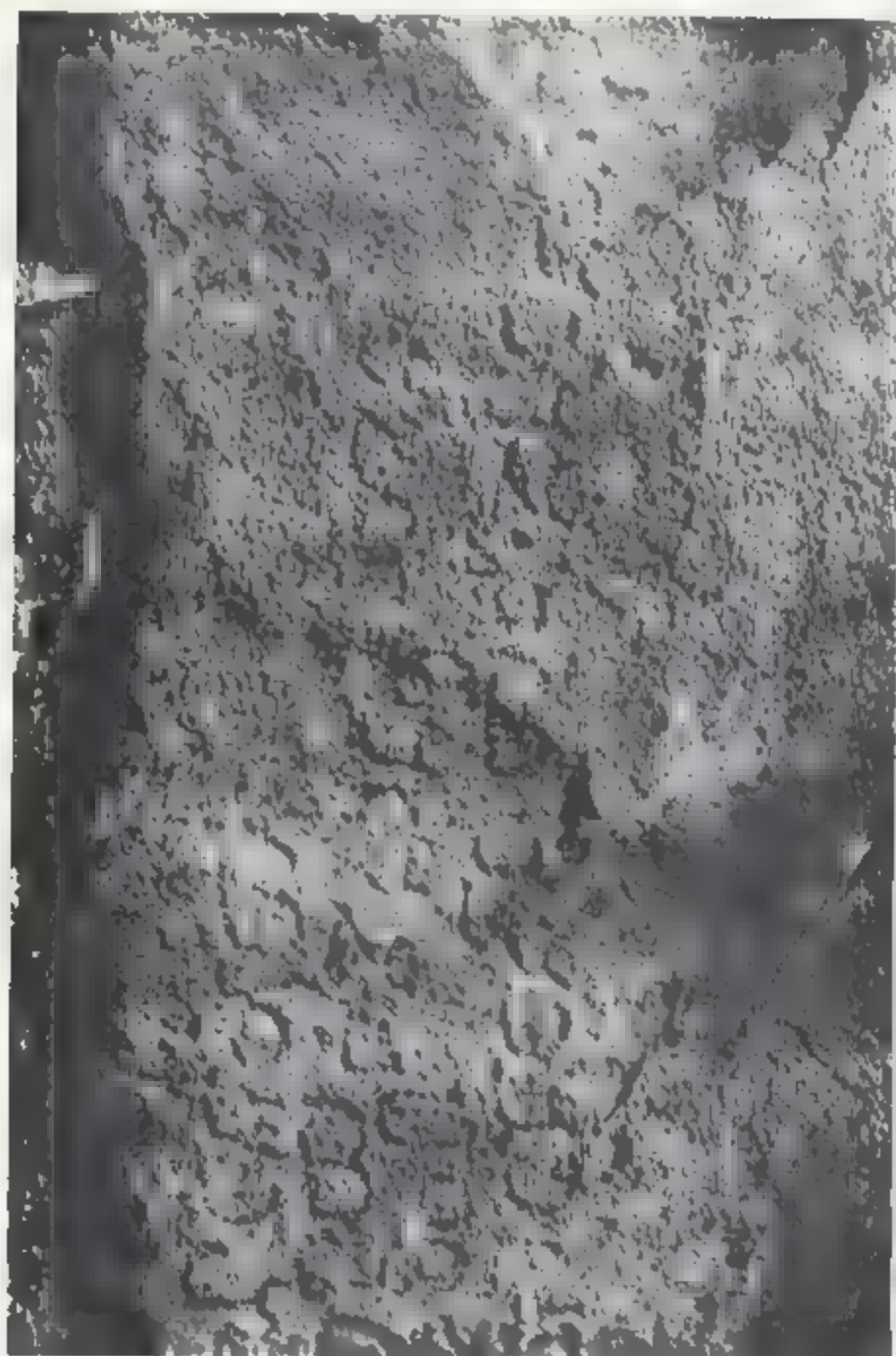














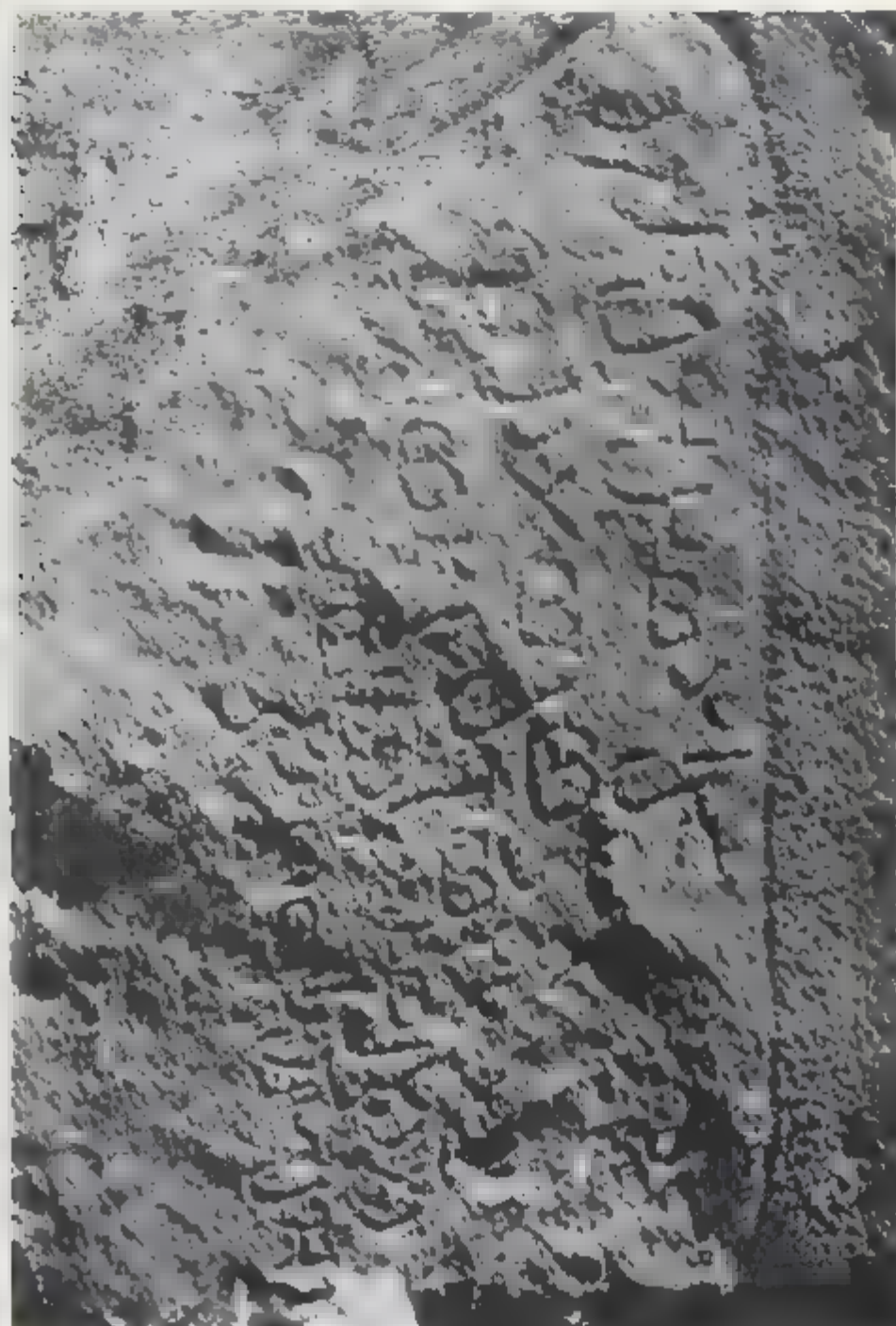






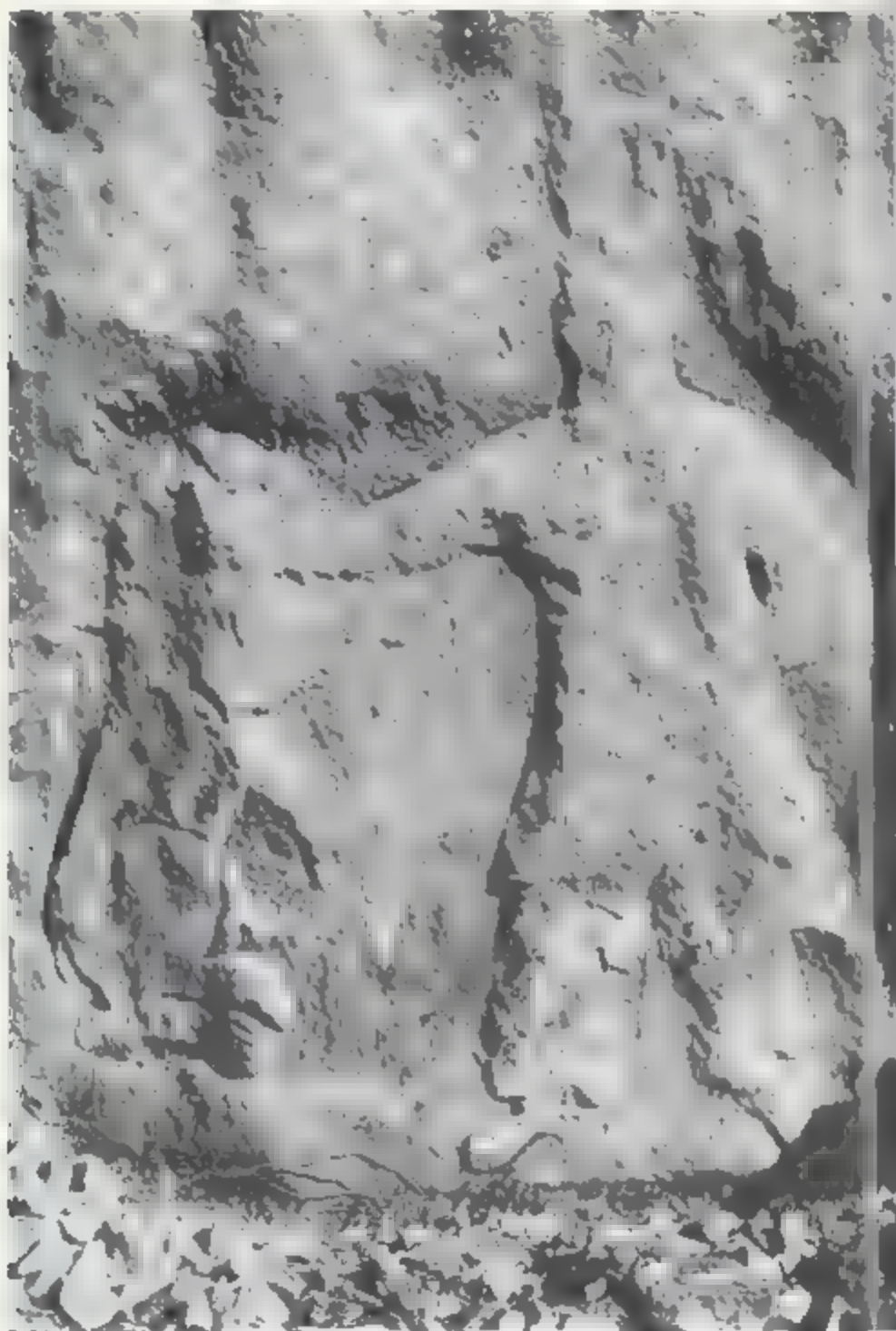


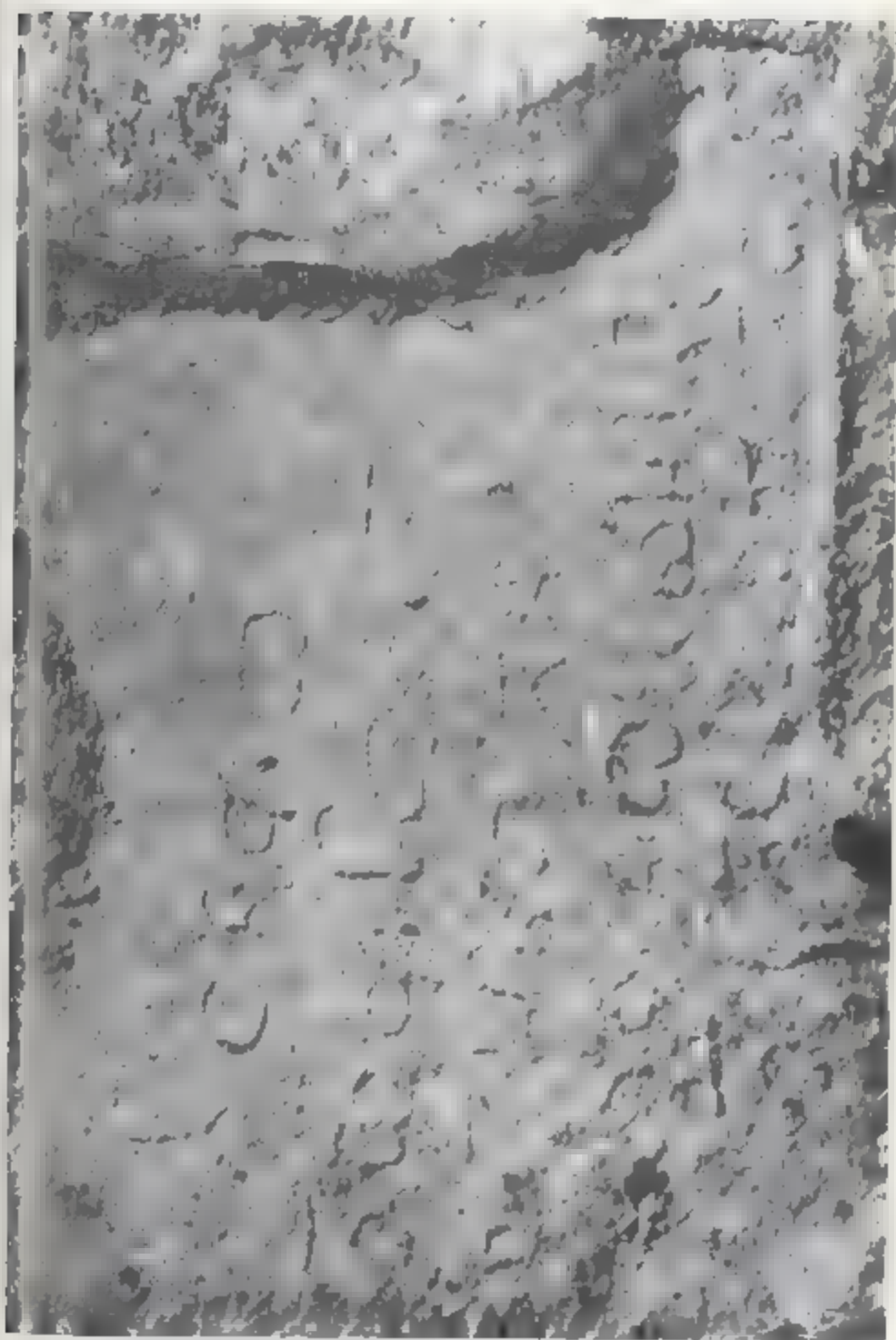


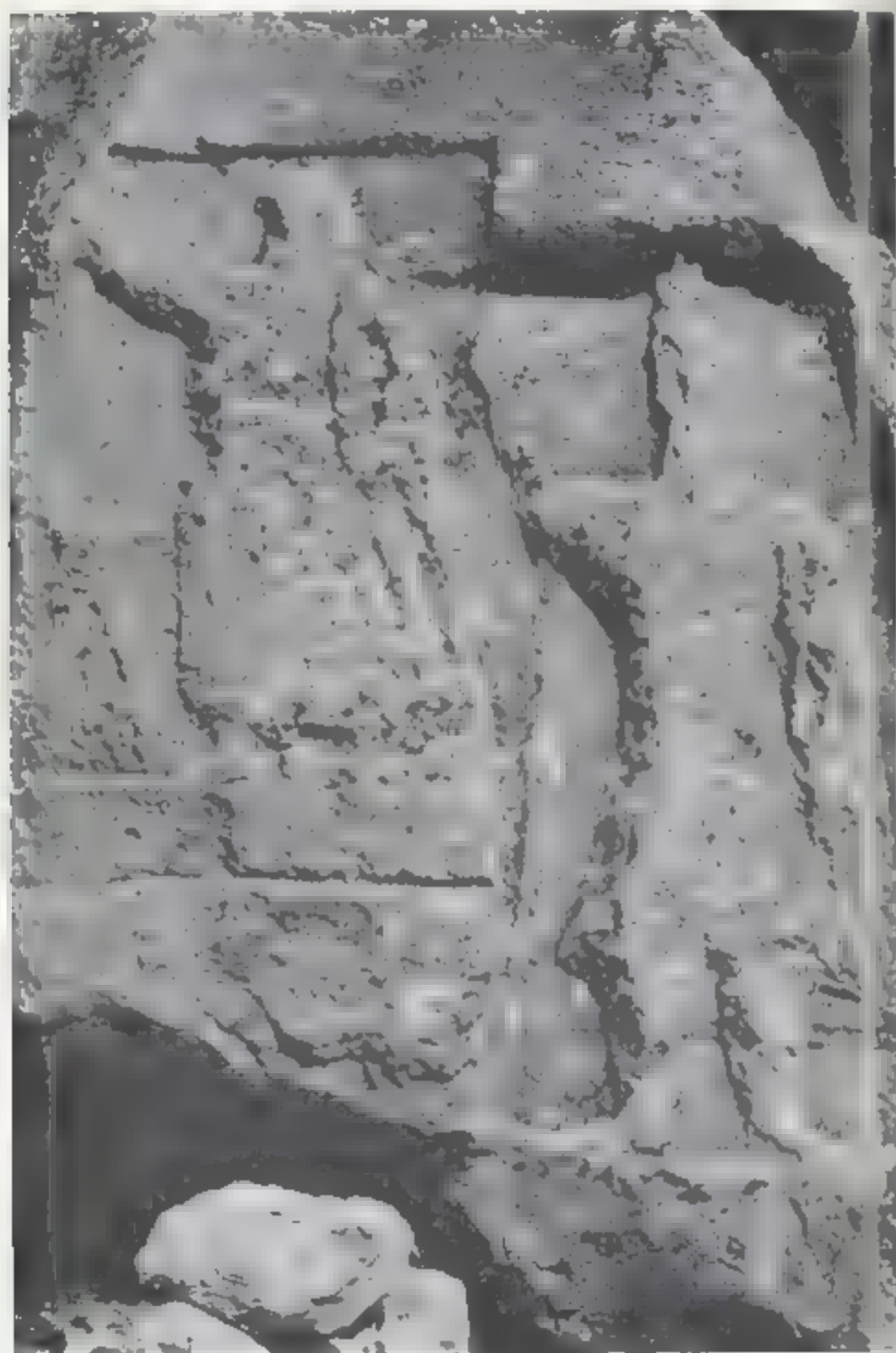










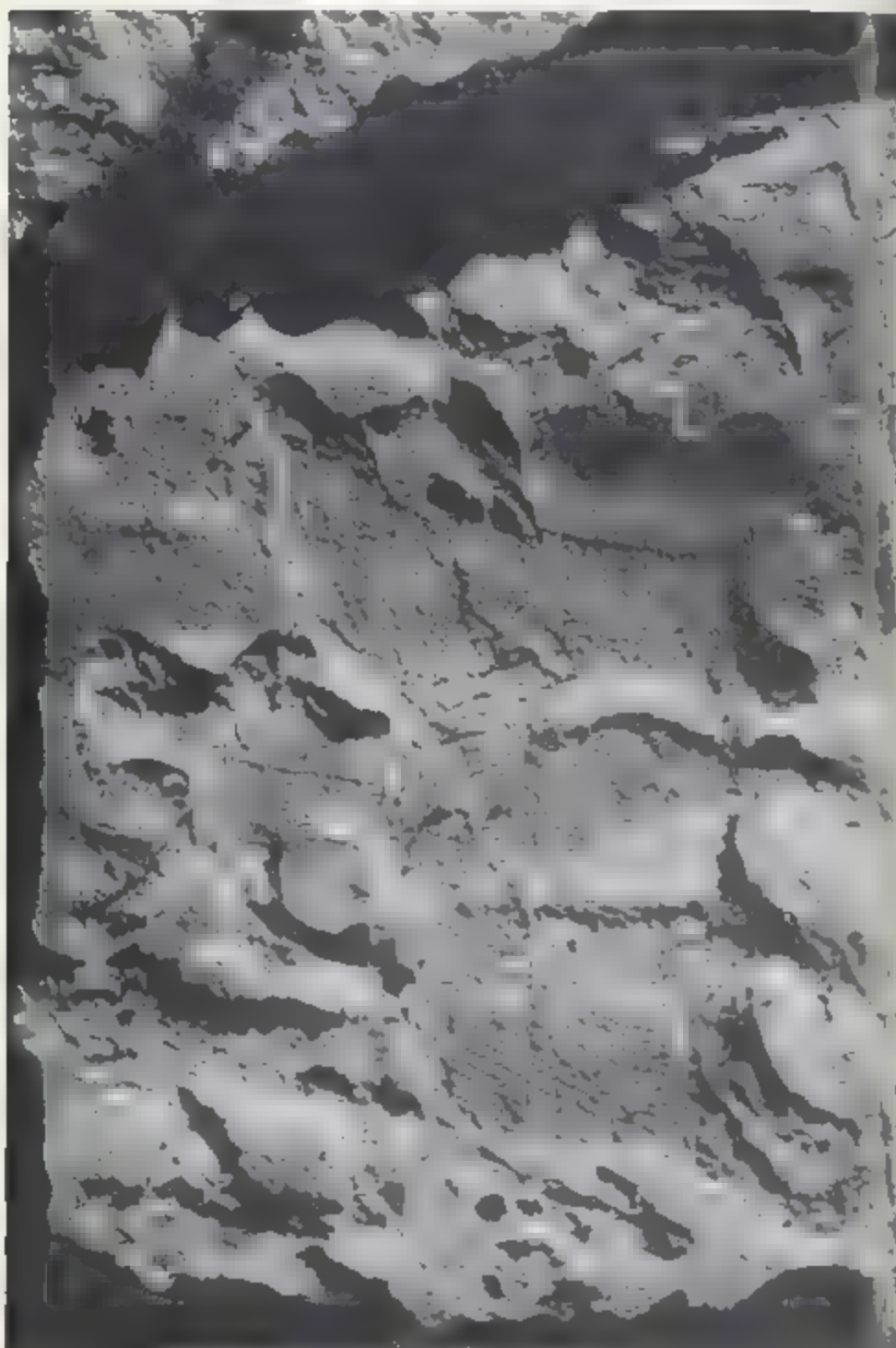








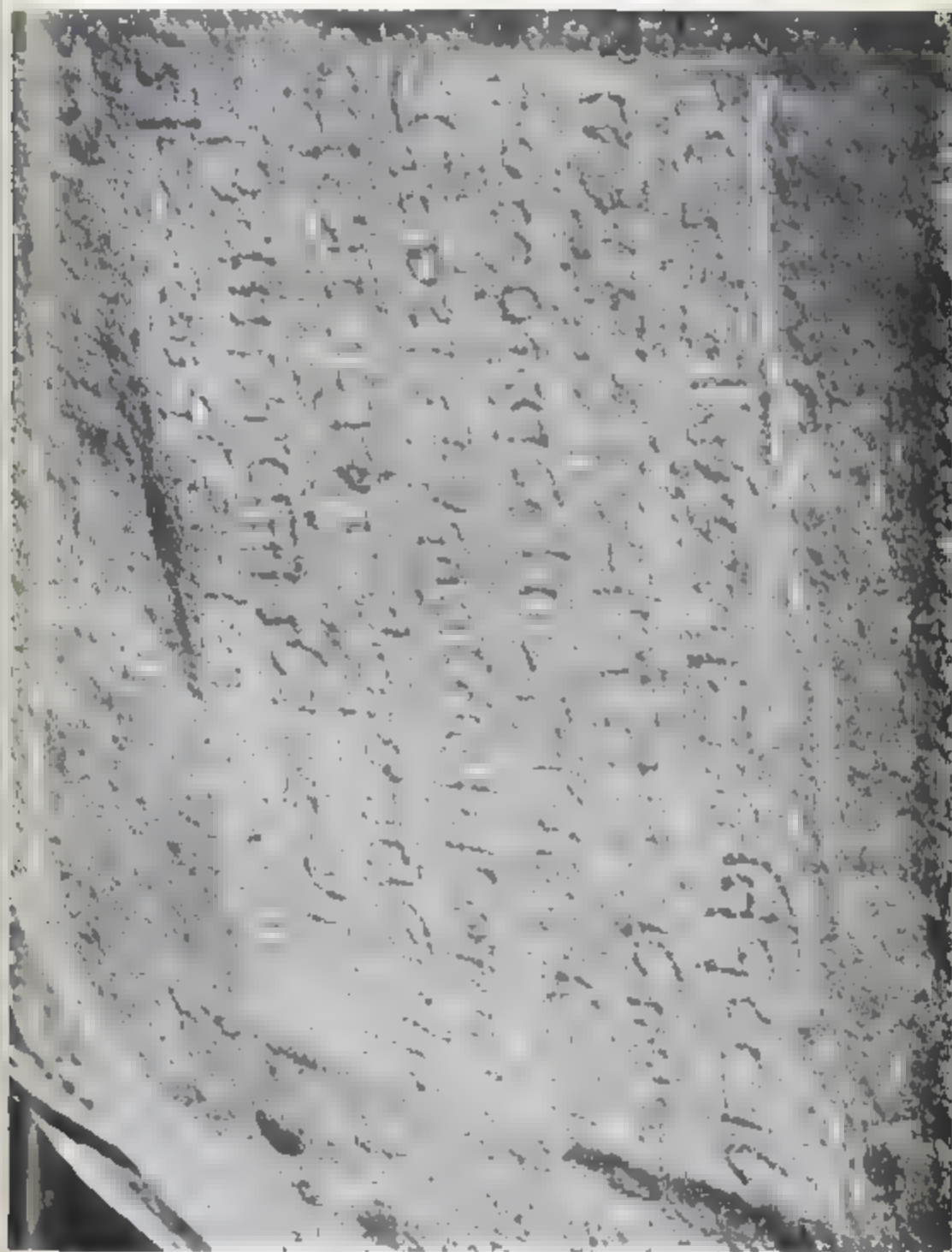




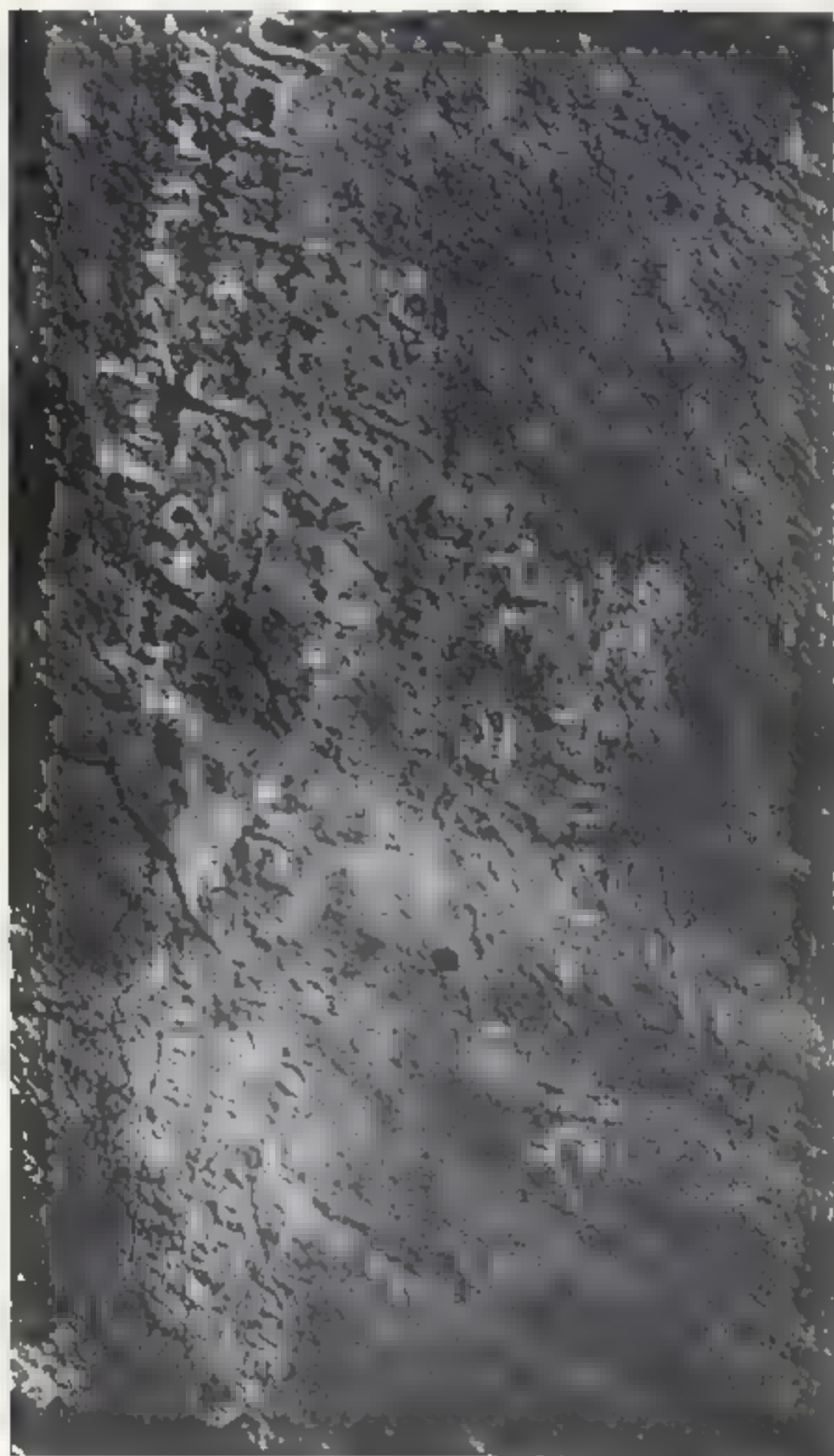


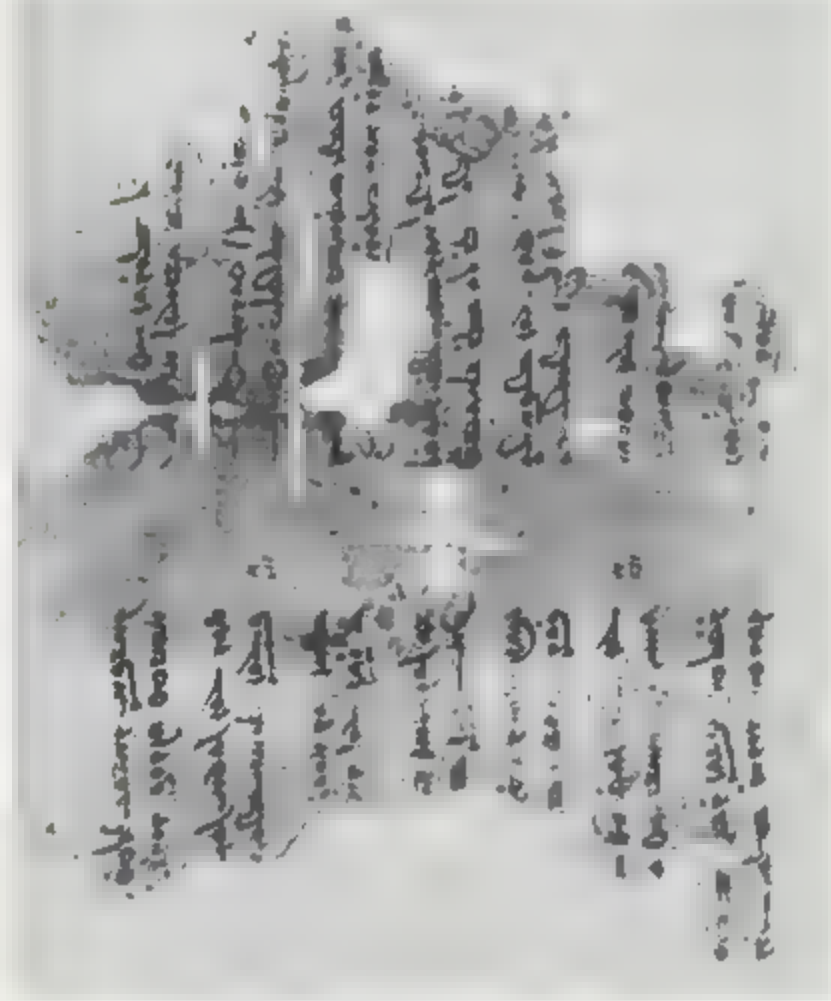




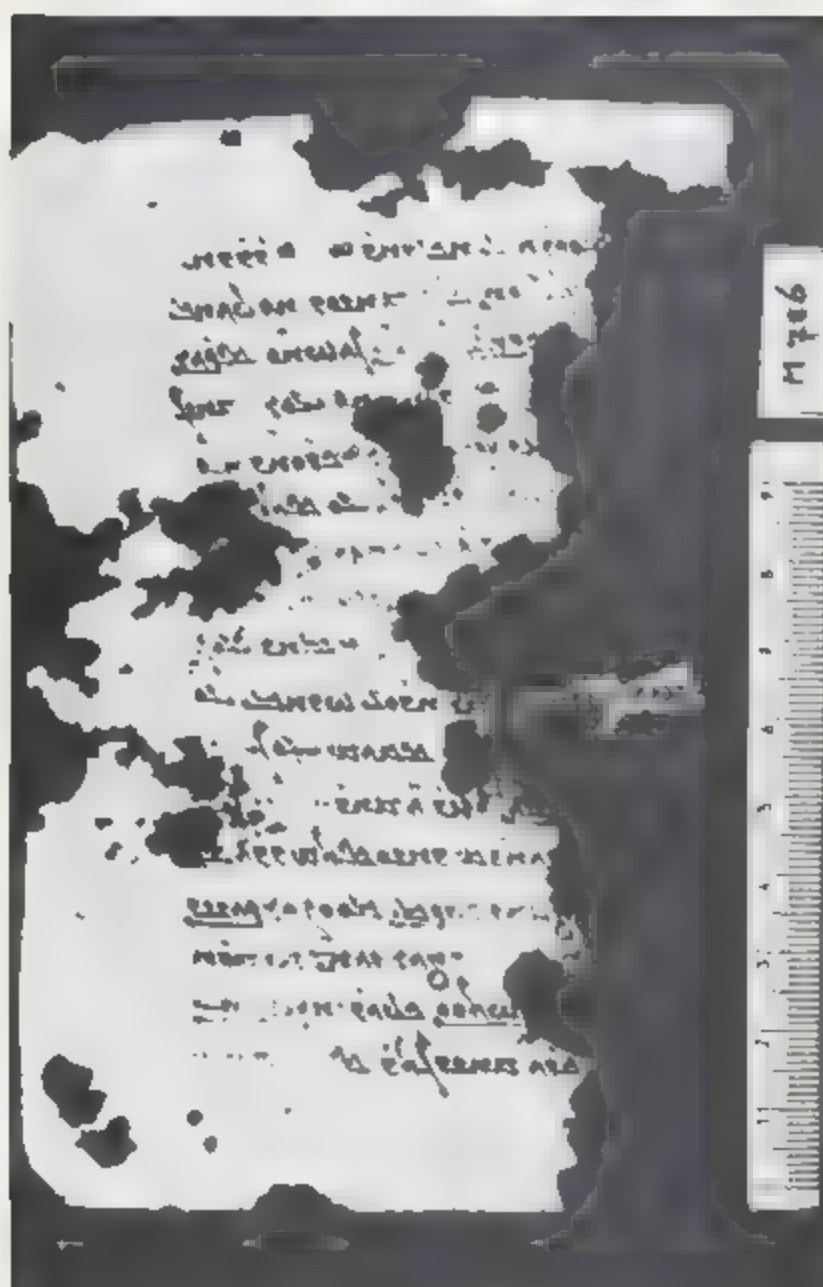








Bilauhar u Būdisaf (A verso and H recto)



A Qasīde (recto)





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